

---

**THE SOCIAL  
CLASS STRUCTURE  
OF THE WORKING  
CLASS  
IN ALBANIA**

---

THE INSTITUTE OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES  
AT THE CC OF THE PLA

**THE SOCIAL CLASS  
STRUCTURE OF THE WORKING  
CLASS IN ALBANIA**

THE «8 NENTORI» PUBLISHING HOUSE  
TIRANA 1978

In the context of the great revolutionary changes of political, economic, and social character that have taken place in our country after Liberation, under the leadership of the Party headed by comrade Enver Hoxha, the changes in the social and class structure of our society occupy an important place. The social and class changes of the working class during the years of the people's power represent a victory of major historic significance in this respect.

On the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have summed up the experience gained during our revolution and socialist construction about the position and the leading role of the working class in every field of life. In particular, this problem was discussed at the Second National Conference of Social Studies in 1972.

Based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the documents of the Party and the Works of comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as on the analysis of the data accumulated at the centre and in the districts, this publication is an attempt to present, in a summarized form, some of the main aspects of the social and class changes that have taken place in the ranks of our working class, to analyse the trends observed until now, and to discuss some of the

problems connected with the present and future development of the working class.

We hope that the study «The Social and Class Structure of the Working Class» will enable the reader to form a general picture of the changes that have occurred amongst the working class of our country. It can also serve as an initial factual and methodologic basis for other studies that may be undertaken in this field.

All critical observations, recommendations, and suggestions by the reader will help to avoid possible omissions and shortcomings of this book in a future publication.

For this study, the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies has collaborated with several district party committees and with the General Board of Statistics.

The study and Albanian edition of this book being completed prior to the 7th Congress of the PLA, the very important ideas of the 7th Congress are not reflected in it.

In «The Social and Class Structure of the Working Class» the introduction and parts 1,4,5 and 6 were written by Harilla Papajorgji, part 2 by Teodor Kareco and Fiqri Sheri, part 3 by Edmond Luçi and Gëzim Mara. Valuable aid was given also by Veniamin Toçi.

## INTRODUCTION

The working class is the principal force in the production of material blessings. It is the most progressive and the most revolutionary class of the society, whose historic mission is to overthrow capitalism from its foundations and to destroy it, to put an end to any of exploitation of man by man, and to build socialist and communist society.

Our Party has always attached particular importance to the irreplaceable leading role of the working class in the revolution and the construction of socialism in our country. Like a red thread, this attitude pervades the entire life of the Party. «Our Party,» comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «since the day of its founding has devoted its full attention to the working class because it is the most revolutionary class of the society, and it will be the mainstay of the Party»<sup>1</sup>.

The experience of more than thirty years of revolution and socialist construction has convincingly confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist

---

1) Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 5, p. 556.

teachings on this question and refuted all theories and practices based on the bourgeois and revisionist ideology about the social position and the historic mission of the working class. The great revolutionary changes that have taken place in the social and class structure of our working class are the result of the maternal care of the Party for it and are inseparably linked with the hegemonic role and the historic mission of the working class itself. The materials and the proceedings of the recent plenums of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha constitute a further deepening of the Marxist-Leninist line our Party follows for the enhancement of the guiding and leading role of the working class in the whole life of our country.

\* \* \*

Although as a result of the backward economic and social condition of the country, the working class before Liberation was numerically small and insufficiently formed, the Party relied strongly on it. «The small number of the working class in some countries», comrade Enver Hoxha says, «is no argument to negate its leading role, because the strength and the leading role of a class does not depend on its numbers. The working class plays its leading role through its party, which, as the example of our country demonstrates, can be founded and emerge in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle

even when the working class is small in number and unorganized»<sup>1</sup>.

Ever since its foundation our Party, headed by comrade Enver Hoxha, has fought with determination against the Trotskyite, sectarian and opportunist views of the anti-party elements who, under the pretext that the working class in Albania was numerically small and under developed, opposed the possibility of the founding of the Party and negated its leading role in the revolution. But the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha insisted that the workers must form the base of the Party, since no other force except the workers was able of guiding the people, of fighting and working wholeheartedly for the cause of communism, as they did.

During the National Liberation War and in the period after Liberation, through its Party, the working class succeeded in overcoming all obstacles to its leading role, which originated from the backward semifeudal agrarian state of the country, from the insufficient development of the working class, and from its limited degree of organization.

After Liberation, the working class, from a class oppressed and exploited in the past, seized political power, became the politically ruling class, carried out the socialist transformation of the economy; became the economically ruling class, carried out the uninterrupted ideological and cultural revolution; it is becoming the ideologically ruling class, thus ever more consolidating its leading role in the socialist construction of the country. Our Party and

1) Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of PLA, p. 222.

comrade Enver Hoxha have always stressed that, *in the conditions of socialist construction, the working class must not confine its activity to work and production only, but in the first place, must guide, direct, control, and ensure the continuity of the socialist revolution.*

On this point the Party has always kept in mind the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, who have pointed out that even after seizure of the political power, there can be no dictatorship of the proletariat and no construction of socialism without ensuring the leading role of the working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist Party.

Over that issue our Party has had to wage a bitter struggle especially against the Yugoslav revisionists, who by calling for the fusion of the Party into the National Liberation Front, were actually trying to deny the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party. Our Party has also had to fight without let-up against a series of theories and practices of the modern revisionists with the Soviet revisionists at the head, which lead to the weakening of the leading role of the working class and of its Marxist-Leninist Party. It has criticized both the renunciation by the Party of the questions of the direction of the life of the country, its political activity, the organization of the state, education etc., as well as the reduction of its role to an economic role alone, which in fact turns the party into a simple technical and economic apparatus. In reality, the role of the working class and of the Party in the struggle for the construction of socialism, far from being phased out or restricted, as the revisionists claim and do in their countries, becomes even more

important along with the increase of the tasks and their complexity, with the enlarged participation of the masses in the construction of socialism.

\* \* \*

The thirty year-long experience of socialist construction has proved that the leading and guiding role of the working class has continually been strengthened along with its growth in numbers and improvement of quality, with its revolutionary training and tempering, its active and lively participation in social production, in the direction, control, and defence of our people's power. The help given by the Trade Union organization, which is led by the PLA has been of particular value in this respect.

During the years of socialist construction, our working class has increased by more than 24 times over as against the period immediately before Liberation. Furthermore, in the course of a fierce class struggle for the construction of socialism in the conditions of imperialist and revisionist encirclement, it has undergone also very important qualitative changes: it has raised its political and ideological level, has increased its directing and organizing abilities, has acquired the necessary general knowledge and professional training. Speaking about the development of the working class, comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that "... jointly with the development and advance of the various industrial branches there has also been achieved another great victory of his-

toric and decisive importance for the country's destiny. I am referring to the creation and growth of the new working class, the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the standard-bearer and leader of the socialist construction in Albania. Today, we have a working class large in number, endowed with a high political and class consciousness, and with wonderful capacities, and talents. It is becoming ever more conscious of its role as the class in power.<sup>1</sup>

This has enabled our working class to stand always in the forefront of all actions, of the struggle and efforts led by the Party against the enemies of the revolution and socialism, against the hostile groups and elements that have attempted to overthrow the people's power, against the traitors and the agents of imperialism and revisionism and the corrupt liberal and opportunist bourgeois and revisionist elements, against the bureaucrats and technocrats that try to halt the advance of our socialist revolution. A brilliant example of the role, the courage and the revolutionary activity of the working class is its rising as one man, under the leadership of the Party, against bureaucracy in response to the appeal of the Party: «When the working class speaks, bureaucracy does not speak».

However, as comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, the historic process itself during which our working class is formed, the pressure of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, which is intertwined closely with the blemishes inherited from the past in the consciousness of the workers, with alien conservative and liberal manifestations, make it necessary for the

working class to continually strengthen its socialist class consciousness since in this way it will be able to carry out better the hard tasks with which the Party and our development have charged it.

The consolidation of the hegemonic role of our working class is closely linked with a whole series of measures which the Party has been taking for the all-around revolutionization of the country's life and which have as their main objective the uninterrupted advance of the revolution on the road to socialism and communism, the training and tempering of the new man, the preclusion of all possibilities for the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's ideas on the control by the working class over everybody and everything, the search for the most concrete forms and the most effective ways of action for their practical application are an important contribution to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine about the role of the working class and its control as the class in power in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Workers' control, comrade Enver Hoxha teaches, is the safest means for the working class to keep the dictatorship of the proletariat in its hands and to carry out the policy and the programme of its Party. The Party has laid down the task of strengthening all the three forms of workers' control: the control through the Party, the control through the state, and the direct control by the working class itself. The novelty here is the effective way in which this control is carried out and the better combination of the leading and supervising role of the working class from above — through the Party and the proletarian state with its direct

1) Enver Hoxha, Reports and speeches, 1969-70, p. 70.

control from below. Everybody is subject and must submit to the worker control: cadres, forums administrations, and commissions down to the workers themselves.

To guarantee the leading role of the working class through its Party, particular attention has been and continues to be devoted to the preservation and improvement of the proletarian character of the party ranks and its leading organs. The swelling of the party ranks with workers, who at present make up 37.7 per cent of the total membership and occupy first place in it, and the improvement of the composition of its leading organs through communists from the ranks of the working class, has strengthened and tempered the Party further. The same purpose is served by the communists standing in the forefront of struggle and work, wherever people toil, produce, and defend their gains, on the most difficult fronts of the struggle and work.

A very effective measure for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the bringing of more workers to the state administration. This is directly linked with the fact that the working class is in power with us. It is at the same time a form of worker control arising from the necessity and the struggle to carry out the line of the Party. The practical application of this directive has brought about an increase in the number of workers in the state organs, in the economy, in the mass organizations, and everywhere else. This has revolutionized the struggle against bureaucracy and deepened it, further strengthening and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party has made it

clear that this is a broad front of work, both for achieving a deeper understanding of the great significance of principle of this directive and for taking the necessary ideo-political, organizational and practical measures to teach and train the workers to carry out these tasks and meet these responsibilities better than anyone else. Comrade Enver Hoxha has long set the task of preparing the workers to replace the cadres in positions of leadership, and of training the cadres to do the workers' jobs. This calls for more efforts to raise the educational level of the workers and to broaden their cultural and technical-professional horizon. The combination of learning from the revolutionary struggle and from school, from the life and books, has been and remains at the centre of the attention of the Party as regards the cultural uplift of the working class.

The struggle against bureaucracy, technocracy and intellectualism is another important front on which the working class has its authoritative word to say for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to the teachings of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, the essence of this struggle is the establishment of as correct relations as possible among the leading cadres, the apparatuses, the working class, and the other masses of the working people. The Party insists that the officials should properly carry out the tasks which the working class and the class dictatorship assign to them. With the abolition of private ownership and the establishment of socialist social ownership over the means of production, we have created the objective material conditions necessary for a radical change in the relations among the people, turning them into relations



of cooperation and mutual aid. But these relations are not created immediately following the establishment of social ownership over the means of production. An important role in this respect is played by the allround work of the Party and the state to prevent the transformation of non-antagonistic contradictions that may emerge among them into antagonistic ones. Otherwise, these relations of mutual aid and cooperation may be replaced by relations of oppression and exploitation. From servants of the people, the cadres may turn into rulers and autocrats. That is a lesson we have learned from the negative experience of, and the retrogressive process taking place in, the Soviet Union and the other countries where the revisionist cliques have usurped power.

To avoid these evils, it is necessary to ensure the systematic ideo-political education of the cadres, who must master the Marxist-Leninist theory and be able to consistently apply it in practice. Their ideo-political education, through theoretical study and in the school of the working class, will make the cadres consider themselves as helpers and servants of the working class and the people and encourage them to work wholeheartedly in the interests of the working class. Of particular significance in this respect are the measures taken by the Party to narrow differences in wages between cadres and workers, to draw the cadres into direct participation in production work, to carry out their regular circulation, to make them conscious of their double responsibility, before their superior organs and the mass, the workers' collective, to reorganize the school, etc.

The Party has devoted particular attention to

strengthening the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, under the leadership of the working class. This alliance is the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Albanian peasantry, the ally of the working class, says comrade Enver Hoxha, has always displayed a high revolutionary feeling, a sound judgement on the problems of the Party, considering them as its own, and fighting with determination for their solution. The peasantry gave the Party its new working class on a large scale and the Party trained and educated it with the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Albanian peasantry has always regarded the dictatorship of the proletariat as its own state power, since it is the first and the only state power which fulfilled its wishes and its age-long dreams, which gave it freedom and the land, saved it from misery and backwardness and guaranteed it a rapid progress in all fields on the road to socialism.

In this respect, the orientations of the Party to narrow at a rapid rate the differentials in income, in the standard of living and other essential differences between the town and the countryside, the working class and the peasantry, acquire very great significance and importance. The efforts of the working class are directed towards the creation of material prosperity and the attainment of high cultural level for all. Its ideology does not accept or allow that the benefits of socialism should be enjoyed only by a single class or a particular group of people.

Particular attention has been devoted and continues to be devoted also to the preservation of the purity of the ranks of the working class, its homogeneity and integrity, so that people from other classes

or strata are not unduly reckoned or included in it. Proceeding from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and of our Party about the notion of the «workers» in socialism, only people who participate directly in the production of material blessings for the society by working in the producing sphere, as well as those who perform tasks directly connected with the processes of circulation and services involving the common property of the entire people have been considered in this study as workers, both in general and according to the different economic branches of the economy.

The rich experience of our revolution and socialist construction in regard to the hegemonic role and the historic mission on the working class is at the same time a clear exposure of all the bourgeois and revisionist theories and practices widely spread and zealously carried out in the Soviet Union and the other countries ruled by the revisionist cliques. In those countries, the working class has long lost its political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat is transformed into a dictatorship of the revisionist new bourgeoisie which makes the law and mercilessly oppresses and exploits the working class and the other masses of the working people.

By interpreting the changes that have taken place in the working class of their countries in an idealist, biased, and one-sided manner and with clearly counter-revolutionary intentions, the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, are trying to make the ranks of the working class as heterogeneous as possible, so as to have the working class lose its integrity and its hegemony in society, to «prove» that the working class is allegedly disappearing and

to negate the absolute truth that the working class is the most progressive and the most revolutionary class the history of mankind has ever known.

Life and the reality are the best confirmation of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teachings to the effect that the working class has been and remains the decisive leading force in the revolution for the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries and for the socialist transformation of the society.

The course followed by our Party for the numerical and qualitative growth and development of our working class, for the uninterrupted strengthening of its role in production, in administration, and in the defence and the whole life of the country is everyday ever more and better proving comrade Enver Hoxha's teaching: «it is of special importance to the working class that it itself should understand, in the first place, not only its role as the decisive productive force, but also its political role as the vanguard class in our society»<sup>1</sup>.

---

1) Enver Hoxha. Report to the 8th Congress of FLA, p. 115.

## I

### NUMERICAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR WORKING CLASS

#### 1. A SHORT SURVEY AND SOME BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NUMERICAL GROWTH OF THE WORKING CLASS BEFORE LIBERATION

Prior to the triumph of the people's revolution, Albania was a backward, semi-feudal agrarian country. The first elements of capitalism in Albania began to appear in the second half of the 19th and in the beginning of the 20th century, at a time when in many countries capitalism had entered its last phase of development, the phase of imperialism.

The anti-popular Zog's regime strengthened the feudal relations and intensified the exploitation of workers by landowners and capitalists, and set up an entire system of plundering the people. It inhibited the economic and cultural development of the country and kept it in extreme poverty, backwardness and ignorance.

With the foreign capitalist powers, with Italian imperialism, in particular, Zog's feudal-bourgeois regime followed an «open doors» policy. As a result, Italian capital became gradually the true master of

Albania's national economy. It turned Albania into a semi-colony, a market for its industrial goods and a source of raw materials, until finally it completed its domination with the military occupation of the country.

The penetration of foreign capital into Albania gave a one-sided character to the economy of the country. The Italian colonialist policy, the pronounced survivals of feudalism and the failure to encourage a national economic policy, caused the country to remain virtually without industry. In 1938 Albania had about 300 small factories, which, for the most part, engaged in processing agricultural products, especially flour, oil and tobacco.<sup>1</sup>

Foreign capital, mainly Italian, took firm possession of the oil fields and the chromium, bitumen, and copper mines etc. The oil was in the hands of the Italian company AIPA (Azienda Italiana Petroli-Albania); Italian companies had works, the customs, and almost all the foreign trade, under control.

Capitalist relations had partly begun to effect agriculture. With the fragmentation of big landowners' states and the gradual impoverishment of the petty farmers, the process of polarization in the countryside was intensified, the rich peasantry was born and growing stronger. But it never succeeded in becoming a developed agrarian bourgeoisie. Capitalist relations were established mainly in the large farms owned by Italian capitalist companies, which had dispossessed tens of peasant families and employed their men as day labourers.

Thus, in Albania before Liberation, the capitalist

1) History of the PLA, p. 24.

form of economy was asserting itself in trade, and, to some extent, in industry and agriculture, too. It did not succeed in becoming the dominant form of the Albanian national economy. Feudal-bourgeois. Albania was the most backward country in Europe. Industrial and handicraft production made up only 9.8 per cent of the total production, while income deriving from industry represented only 4.5 per cent of all national income<sup>1</sup>.

This low level of development has its traces also in the condition of the working class. What are some of the main characteristics of the numerical development of the working class in Albania prior to the liberation of the country?

First, «... the working class in Albania was very small and heterogeneous».<sup>2</sup> It numbered only about 15,000 workers<sup>3</sup>.

Most workers were employed in small work-shops and enterprises, in the mines, in the building industry, in the big farms and the other Italian-owned capitalist companies.

To that number may be added several thousands of other workers, who owned no means of production and were obliged to sell their labour as farm hands, as unskilled help to private merchants and the richer craftsmen or as servants to the rich families of the towns and villages, etc.

Second, the extreme backwardness of the economy and its onesided structure was reflected also

1) Ibidem, p. 24.

2) Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 5, p. 556.

3) Statistical Yearbook. «Thirty years of Socialist Albania» p. 41.

in the type of occupation and the composition of the working class itself in the different sectors of the economy. In 1938, of the population engaged in material production, 87 per cent worked in agriculture, and only 13 per cent were engaged in industry and in the other branches of the economy<sup>1</sup>. But even here the working class occupied a very modest place, and its distribution over the different branches of the economy was very unequal.

According to some estimates, which must still be revised, in 1938 the distribution of workers over the various branches of economy was as follows<sup>2</sup>:

Light and food processing industry .....	4,705 workers
Mines and oil wells .....	2,740 »
Agricultural enterprises .....	3,000 »
Building .....	2,230 »
Transport .....	800 »
Trade, communal services and other sectors .....	2,130 »
Total .....	15,610 workers

These figures show that nearly half of the total number of workers were employed in the mines and the small-scale industry that existed, while the remainder were employed in farming enterprises, road building, communal services, transport, etc.

Of the total number of industrial workers 4,705, or about 2/3, were engaged in workshops and facto-

1) History of the PLA, p. 25.

2) Compiled on the basis of data provided by the Statistical Board, published in the «History of Albania», 1973 edition, and in «Historical studies» N° 4, 1965, p. 107.

ries of the light and food processing industry, and 2,730 were employed in the extraction of petroleum, bitumen, chromium and copper ore, etc. Great disproportions existed also in the distribution of workers among the different districts of the country.

Third, there were no important worker concentrations, but the process of concentration had already begun, especially the mining concessions, farming enterprises, salt works, saw mills, road-building enterprises, etc., as can be seen also from the following figures:

*Industrial units grouped according to the average number of workers in 1936-38<sup>1</sup>*

in percent		
Number of workers	Industrial units	Specific weight of the workers
1-10	60.0	16.0
10-15	17.0	9.0
15-50	17.0	21.0
50-100	3.0	10.0
100-500	2.8	23.0
Over-500	0.2	21.0
	100.0	100.0

1) The figures were calculated by the authors.

The above figures show that most of the workshops were either very small, employing fewer than 10 hands each, or such that employed 10-50 hands. About 60 per cent of the industrial units used primitive forms of production and, employed less than 10 hands.<sup>1</sup>

Along with these, larger units began to appear. «With the concessions Zog gave to Italy and the beginnings of oil, copper and chromium extraction, the first foundations for a small nucleus of the proletariat were laid. Its bulk consisted of peasants who fled from starvation in their villages and came to work in construction or road-building sites in pitiable conditions of exploitation by the occupiers and blood-sucking undertakers»<sup>2</sup>. About 1600 Albanian workers were employed in extracting oil and in the auxiliary sectors of the oil fields<sup>3</sup>. Public works, followed by bitumen, chromium and copper mines, timber works, etc., represented relatively bigger concentrations of workers.

But just like in the mines, in the few existing factories and workshops, manual labour was predominant. Motor power was used only in few processes and to a very limited extent. The workshops and factories in general were built with total disregard to technical and hygienic requirements and with the narrow interests of their foreign or local capitalist owners in view.

Fourth, having no possession of the means of production, the working class was subjected to savage

1) History of PLA, p. 24.

2) Enver Hoxha. Works, vol. 5, p. 556.

3) History of PLA, p. 41.

exploitation by foreign or local capitalists. Its working conditions, the material and social position were deplorable for the following reasons: 1) low wages and high cost of living; the wages of the Albanian workers ranked lowest in Europe and were arbitrarily fixed by the employers; 2) social, class, and national discrimination in the retribution of labour; women and children were paid much less than men; in the enterprises employing Albanians and foreigners, the difference of payment was considerable; the Albanian worker was paid several times less than his Italian counterpart for the same work; 3) the Albanian worker had a very long workday, 12-14 hours as a rule, and was not allowed the usual day off; labour legislation and social insurance for the workers were practically dead letters; the hygienic conditions of work were the worst imaginable, especially in the mines; the only aim of the owners was to secure maximum profits; to these conditions must be added the cruel and arbitrary treatment of the workers by the owners and their administrators; 4) direct and indirect taxation imposed by Zog's bureaucratic state system, the plundering practice of fines, the arbitrary conduct of officials, policemen, army officers etc., rendered extremely hard the life of the workers; 5) the difficult economic and political situation of the country favoured the increase of the number of unemployed continually; the free work hands, finding nothing to do inside the country, were forced to take the road of emigration which drained the youngest and most able forces of the country.

Fifth, the economic backwardness had brought in its wake also a marked cultural backwardness.

About 90 per cent of the working class was illiterate, with a very low cultural and technical-professional level. No care at all was taken of the health of the working class and the entire people. They were constantly threatened by lethal diseases.

In view of these aspects of the situation of our working class prior to the liberation of the Homeland, we must stress that, owing to the very conditions in which it worked and lived, our working class was duly being shaped as a class, the revolutionary fighting spirit was being implanted in it more and more. In its class struggle against the oppressors and exploiters it had won a relatively large experience of organization and struggle for the defence of its own interests, the interests of the people and of the Homeland. In connection with this, comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that «... the working class has been the only class of our country which has had the experience of organizing the struggle against the exploiting classes and fascism».

The founding of the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941 by comrade Enver Hoxha was the most decisive moment for these features of the working class to be consolidated and further developed. «... At the call of the Party, the working class stood up, rallied round its Party and throw itself unreservedly in the war to win freedom and its own rights»<sup>1</sup>.

With the Party at the head, the working class secured its leading role in the struggle for national and social liberation, mobilized the poor and middle strata of the town and the country in the National-

<sup>1</sup> Enver Hoxha. Works, vol. 5, p. 557.

Liberation War, and crowned the popular revolution with victory. After the triumph of the revolution, the country could breathe freely; the people were freed once and for all from foreign Italian and German occupiers and from the local, traitors, the former feudal and bourgeois structure was pulled down from its foundations and the new power of the working class was raised upon its ruins.

## **2. THE GREAT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS CARRIED OUT AFTER THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE IMPETUOUS GROWTH OF THE WORKING CLASS**

**Numerical growth of working class during 1944-1950 period**

After the Liberation of the country, with the Party at its head, the working class was transformed from an oppressed and exploited class into a class in power which took hold of the political power and the government of the entire life of the country, its political, economic, ideological, social, life, etc.

Right from the time of the National-Liberation War and immediately after Liberation, the people's power and the working class undertook and carried out a series of profound revolutionary changes in industry, agriculture, banking, home and foreign trade, etc. With the socialist nationalization of indus-

try and the other important branches of the economy, the workers became true masters of the means of production, an 8-hour work-day was established, equality between working men and women was proclaimed; at the same time measures to protect the workers, to facilitate their work, to create proper hygienic working conditions, to raise their ideological, educational, material, and cultural standard, etc., were introduced.

The newly created political, ideological, economic, and social relations led to a radical change in the position of the working class. With every passing day, deep in the foundations of the workers' spiritual life were implanted the lofty interests and ideals of the new society, of building socialism, of prospering their socialist Homeland, of securing the uninterrupted growth of the cultural and material welfare of the people.

Due to the position it occupies in society, by its work, its role and its attitude, the working class is increasingly becoming an example to be followed, a power which transmits its experience and inspires the workers of the country to continually temper their revolutionary consciousness and to uninterruptedly deepen the revolution for the construction of socialism. The working class is the steel ground-work of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which leads the advance of the socialist revolution always forward in all the fields of social and economic activity, which defends the freedom and independence of the country and all its victories from any internal or external danger that may threaten it, with a firm hand.

Our working class is continually growing and developing in quite new social and economic conditions. «The correct and decisive economic policy of the Party, which first carried out the nationalization of the mines, and later, of all the light industry which existed in our country,» comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «created the premises for the growth of the working class, which took in its hands the reins of the country's economy»<sup>1</sup>. No doubt, this constitutes a fundamental feature for the uninterrupted development of the working class and for the constant enhancement of its role under the people's power, the power of the working class in alliance with the working peasantry.

Parallel with measures of a deeply revolutionary character, taken after Liberation to set the country on the road to the construction of socialist society, among the economic, ideological, political, social problems and those concerning the defence of the country, a special place was occupied by the task for the rapid, all round and harmonious development of the productive forces, consequently, the numerical growth and development of the working class. With this aim in view, the policy of socialist industrialization of the country was implemented as an objective necessity for the building of the material and technical basis of socialism. «The direct transition of our country from an economically and technically backward and semi-feudal state to the stage of socialist construction, bypassing the stage of developed industrial capitalism», comrade Enver Hoxha has

---

1) Enver Hoxha. Works, vol. 5, p. 58.



said, «laid before our Party, as one of its most vital and pressing duties, that of creating our industry by the socialist industrialization and electrification of the country»<sup>1</sup>.

The Party has always regarded the socialist industrialization of the country and, as a consequence, the growth and development of the working class, as a primary condition for the consolidation of the proletarian social basis of the people's power. Without advanced industry, there can be no developed working class. On this question, in the very first years after Liberation, comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «This correct orientation of our Party towards the large-scale development of our industry is a solid ground from which we must proceed towards socialism. This orientation will strengthen the working class, will enable it to lead the masses of the people towards the creation of a better life»<sup>2</sup>.

Obviously, the Party has considered the development of the working class as an important question of principle, closely linked with the consolidation of the people's power and our entire system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has been conducting this process in a conscious manner and with definite aims in view, never treating it separately, but always as an objective aim linked with the other duties concerning the economic and social development of the country on the road to socialism.

In all its policy of socialist construction, the Party has abided by the thesis that *the creation of a*

1) Enver Hoxha. Works, vol. 5, p. 236.

2) Enver Hoxha. Works, vol. 5, p. 336.

*strong and independent economy calls not only for a developed industry, but also for an advanced agriculture, both of which should develop together, closely linked with each other and with all the other sectors and branches of our economy and culture.* The reliance of the economy on both industry and agriculture is rather a permanent duty than a temporary one of a given conjuncture or of an isolated stage in the social and economic development of the country. That is why, after the triumph of the people's revolution the conditions which favoured deep-going revolutionary transformations were created in the countryside as well, setting it on the road of socialism: first, by creating and developing the state sector of agriculture, and second, by encouraging the voluntary entry of the peasants in the agricultural cooperatives.

Along with industry and agriculture, due attention was given also to the development of the other branches of the economy: transport, building, state trade, etc.

The program of the Party for the economic development of the country was first reflected in short-term plans, then in yearly plans and then in the two-year plan of 1949-1950. Thanks to the successful realization of those plans, the total industrial production in 1950 was four times higher than of the period before Liberation, agricultural production increased by 20 per cent, the volume of transport 16-times, etc. The development and the strengthening of the national economy as a whole was accompanied by the growth and development of a new working class, the raising of its class consciousness and its

technical-professional standard. The following figures go to illustrate these changes.

*Total number of workers in the years 1947-1950<sup>1</sup>*

Year	Workers
1947	43,000
1948	45,000
1949	47,000
1950	55,000

First as to number came the industrial workers, followed by those of agriculture, building, transport etc. A characteristic of that period was also the concentration of the smaller enterprises and workers in comparatively larger enterprises. It was arrived at within a short time mainly by the merger of smaller enterprises into larger ones, and by setting up new enterprises and reconstructing the existing ones. This had a positive impact, both from the economic and from the political and social point of view, to the enhancement of the role and increased presence of the working class in the life and the entire social and economic activity of the country.

In this way, the bulk of the working class engaged in industrial production was being concentrated

<sup>1</sup> Annual statistics of the PRA — 1961, p. 83.

in the larger enterprises, as can be seen from the following figures:

*Industrial enterprises grouped according to the number of workers employed for the years 1947 and 1950 in per cent*

Grouping of workers	1947		1950	
	Specific weight of units	Specific weight of workers	Specific weight of units	Specific weight of workers
10-15 workers	3.6	2.0	—	—
15-50 "	32.8	10.6	14.8	2.5
50-100 "	36.4	22.4	27.6	8.5
100-500 "	23.6	37.5	47.0	44.5
Over 500 "	3.6	27.5	10.6	44.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The factories with 1-5, 5-10, and 10-15 workers, which in 1938 represented over 70 per cent of all industrial units, were completely liquidated within a short time. In 1950 about 90 per cent of the workers were employed in enterprises with 100-500 and over 500 workers.

The development of the working class went through a process of bitter class struggle. Many difficulties and obstacles, objective and subjective, internal and external, had to be overcome. The working class, with the Party at its head, has played

an active part in this process. At the same time the Yugoslav revisionists launched a wide anti-Albanian hostile activity by committing various acts of sabotage, robbing our national assets and products, resorting to various and sundry ways and forms aimed at the exploitation and the political and economic subjugation of Albania. «The intentions of the Yugoslavs were to inhibit the development of the industry and of the working class and to make our country constantly dependent on Yugoslavia»<sup>1</sup>. But they failed ignominiously in their intentions thanks to the vigilance of the Party and our working class, thanks to the exposure of their aims by the Bolshevik Party with J. V. Stalin at its head.

Our Party has relied on, and has resolutely and consistently put into effect, the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the role and the historic mission of the working class in the revolution and socialist construction. In the course of the great socialist transformations, thanks to the great efforts of the Party for the communist education of the new man, the spiritual world of the working class underwent a gradual change and was enriched with the revolutionary norms and concepts of Marxism-Leninism. In the struggle for the destruction of the old and the creation of the new, the idealistic ideology suffered defeat. The socialist ideology and psychology and the scientific Marxist-Leninist world outlook were implanted more and more in the spiritual life of the working class.

1) Enver Hoxha. Works, vol. 5, p. 57, (Alb. ed.).

**The impetuous growth of the working class in the five-year periods 1951-1975**

The program of the Party of the construction of socialism entered a new phase with the drafting and the implementation of the five-year plans. In the course of the five consecutive five-year plans of our country, the program of the Party for the liquidation of the backwardness inherited from the past and for the building of socialist society found its materialization. The Party pursued consistently the course of socialist industrialization aimed at securing a higher standard of development of the productive forces, the development and the deepening of the technical and scientific revolution, a rapid advance in building the material and technical basis of socialism, in building a complex heavy and light industry, capable of fruitfully utilizing our labour, material, and financial resources, within the shortest time possible.

Despite the many difficulties of growth, despite the obstacles set up by internal and external enemies, despite the savage pressure and the blockade of the imperialists, the Soviet revisionists and the other enemies, the course of the Party for the industrialization of the country as charted in our five-year plans was not altered and is yielding brilliant results. Our country has an entirely new and complex, heavy and light industry. An important leap forward, in quantity and quality, was made by the general transition from the small artisan type of production to the large-scale industrial production using modern technique and equipment. Numerous new branches have been set up in industry such as in the oil,

chromium, copper, iron-nickel, chemical, electric, engineering industries, in the building materials and in the light and food-processing industries. Our socialist industry is playing a leading part in the extended socialist reproduction and has become an important factor for the incessant improvement of the material welfare and cultural level of the working masses, for the strengthening of the defensive capacity and the consolidation of the technical and economic independence of the country. Advancing along these lines, our total industrial output in 1973 was 87 times higher than that of the period before Liberation. Today our industrial production represents 65.7 per cent of the total production of industry and agriculture taken together, as compared with 9.8 per cent in the period before Liberation. Our industry today provides 45.2 per cent of the national income, as compared with 11 per cent in 1950.

By consistently pursuing the policy of relying on both industry and agriculture, important results were also obtained in increasing agricultural production. The complete embarkment of private farming on the socialist road helped to overcome the backwardness and the monoculture and extensive type of agriculture inherited from the past. Consequently, in 1974, as the population of the country doubled, the total agricultural production quadrupled as against the pre-liberation period.

Industry and agriculture have developed in harmony with the other branches of the economy. Building, transport, and trade, responding to the need of the people and of the development of the national economy, have also proceeded at high and dynamic rates of development.

As a result, the structure of the people's economy has undergone important qualitative quantitative changes. From a backward agrarian country, Albania became an advanced agrarian industrial country and is marching resolutely towards its transformation into an industrial-agrarian country.

The great victories of socialist construction that have been achieved under the guidance of the Party have brought in their wake also the rapid qualitative and quantitative development of the working class. In 1973 its ranks numbered nearly 357,000 workers who, together with their families, represented over 36 per cent of the country's population (800,000), as compared with 11.2 per cent in 1950. In general, the working class develops in a relatively uniform manner in all the districts of the country, and by its presence everywhere it exercises an ever growing influence on the political and social life of the people. This stage of development points out better the role played by the working class as the decisive factor in the growth of the national wealth. Though representing only 1/3 of the working population, the working class is responsible for 2/3 of the social production and for about 2/3 of the national income at present.

Thus, the development of the working class has made it possible to uninterruptedly strengthen and extend its vanguard, its hegemonic and leading role in the basis and the superstructure of our society.

In the process of numerical growth of the working class so far several characteristic features, which are closely linked with the economic and social development of our country on its road to socialism, stand out clearly.

What are some of them?

a) *Our working class has developed at very rapid rates as a direct consequence of the rapid development of our economy, in general, and of our industry, in particular. These rapid development rates are an expression of the undisputable superiority of our system over the bourgeois and revisionist system; they characterize each five-year plan.*

The figures below represent the average annual rates of increase of the total industrial production in the four five-year plans in per cent, based on the 1971 prices<sup>1</sup>:

	1st Five-year Plan (1951-55)	2nd Five-year Plan (1956-60)	3d Five-year Plan (1961-65)	4th Five-year Plan (1966-70)
Rates of increase of total industrial production	22.6	16.9	6.8	12.9

During the first three years of the 5th Five-year Plan the overall industrial production has increased at the satisfactory average annual rate of 10.6 per cent.

The working class of our country has been and remains a very important factor in the attainment of

1) Annual Statistics «30 years of Socialist Albania», p. 64.

these growth and development rates of our socialist economy.

On their part, the high development rates of the economy account considerably for the rapid growth of the working class itself.

The increase of the number of workers and their margin of growth from one five-year plan to the other can be illustrated by the following figures<sup>1</sup>:

Year	Number of workers	Increase over preceding period (in thousands)	Average annual increase each five-year plan (in thousands)
1950	55,000	—	—
1955	98,500	43.5	8.7
1960	154,000	55.5	11.1
1965	204,000	50.0	10.0
1970	307,000	103.0	20.6
1973	356,500	(1970-73) 49.5	16.5

It is obvious that the number of workers in general and their yearly growth has increased rapidly from one five-year period to the other.

b) *The growth of the number of workers conditioned by the practical duties carried out in each five-year plan, through the ever better harmonization of the extensive with the intensive mode of development.*

1) Figures are taken from various annual statistics and from «30 years of Socialist Albania», p. 41.

In the first stage of setting up the economic basis of socialism the growth of the forces of production was mainly extensive, with social production increasing mainly by setting up new enterprises and by increasing the number of workers. This was natural, because almost everything had to be started from the beginning and many new branches of production which did not exist before had to be created. But parallel with it, the need to continually raise work productivity was also ensured.

During the period under review, thanks to this policy, the working class grew more rapidly than the relatively small population of the country. In 1960, as compared with 1950, the number of workers increased by about 100,000 or three times as much as it was in 1950.

The construction of the economic basis of socialism marked the passage to a new stage, that of the complete construction of the socialist society. In the course of this stage a better harmonization of the extensive with the intensive mode of development was required. The intensive mode of development calls for such a type of development, where social production is mainly extended by raising the productivity of the existing enterprises and the labour forces on the basis of the improved technique and advanced technological processes, by further raising the qualification of the workers and improving the organization and the administration of the people's economy.

The more successful coordination and harmonization of the extensive with the intensive modes of development could not fail to affect the numerical growth of workers. Thus, in 1970 the number of

workers increased by 153,000, or about twice the number of 1960.

The growth rate of the number of workers during the decade 1960-1970 was slower than during the previous decade. The great increase of production in the period 1960-70 was achieved to a large extent by raising work productivity. But for that, according to calculations it emerges that only for the industry and building sector in the 24 years period (1951-1974) we would have needed about 460,000 workers more than we actually had, the number in 1973 being about 357,000. This would have been to the detriment of the people's economy in general, and especially to the detriment of the development of the countryside and agriculture. That is why, despite the many difficulties and obstacles, despite the imperialist and revisionist blockade, our Party pursued a correct Marxist-Leninist policy in selecting and harmonizing the roads of development of the people's economy.

To cope with the difficulties and obstacles and to give a new impulse to the development of the economy, in the 4th Five-year Plan (1966-70) alone, 103,000 additional workers, or about 1/3, were added to the existing total number. In order to continue the socialist industrialization of the country, apart from the large enterprises, a number of small and middle sized ones were also set up. In the 4th Five-year Plan, particularly, in the framework of the all-around revolutionization of the life of the country and of social production, at a time when large projects with a high standard technique and high productivity were being set up, quite a number of daring initiatives sprang up from the bosom of the

working class to set up new lines of production, factories and departments. These industrial projects needed large numbers of workers who came mostly from the towns where they were substituted by the increasing participation of women in production.

The Party and comrade Enver Hoxha teach us that the movement of the working class and the other working masses for the creation of new lines of production, departments and factories, must be encouraged and sponsored continually. Only in the district of Tirana during the first three years of the 5th Five-year Plan, 516 new lines of production and department were set up with an output that compares favourably with that of some of the larger plants and factories of the country. Apart from that, they open new valuable fronts of work for the young forces that fill the ranks of the working class.

In the 5th Five-year Plan the raised work productivity will account for 70 per cent of the total increase of social production, for 75 per cent of the increase of the national income, for 56 per cent of the increase of the total industrial production, for 90 per cent of the increase of the volume of building-installation work etc. But for this policy, the number of workers would not have increased at the rates mentioned above but much faster, and thus add a heavy burden to our national economy and particularly to the countryside.

From what was said so far it emerges, that the Party has always suited the rapid numerical growth of the working class to the principal objectives of each stage of our socialist construction. And in agreement with these objectives, it has assigned concrete duties concerning the development of the

productive forces and the growth of the ranks of the working class.

c) *An important characteristic of the growth and development of the working class, particularly in the recent years, is the growth of the number of women workers.*

Albanian women have stood out as a very active factor in the history of our country. The first steps towards the liberation and emancipation of women are associated with the great work the Party carried out in this field during the National Liberation War, when women fought side by side with men against the fascist occupiers and the traitors of the country and consolidated their personality as a great political and social power.

The declaration by law of equal rights between women and men, the constant educative work carried out by the Party and the political mass organizations, in which women are very active members, the struggle against the old concepts of underrating women, the struggle and efforts of women themselves to obtain their legitimate rights, have enabled the Albanian women to play an increasingly greater role in the ideological, political, social, and economic life of the country.

The building of socialism, both in town and in the countryside, necessitates the participation of women on the various fronts of socialist construction. This is a constant requirement which furthers not only the interest of the work as such, but also the interest of the complete emancipation of women. The teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha that "the emancipation of women is an extraordinary important problem linked up with the destinies of the

people, with socialism and communism, and with the future of our country», have guided all the activities of the Party, the state and the mass organization in this field.

It is characteristic that the number of women workers, during the five-year periods, increased at particularly high rates much higher than that of the numerical growth of the total labour force. This is clearly shown in the following table which presents the number of people in working relations with the state from one period to another, divided according to the sex.

In thousands

Workers and employees	1960	1973	Difference 1973 from 1960	
			Increase of labour force	times
Total number	202.2	462.9	260.7	2.3
Of these:				
— Male	150.9	275.8	124.9	1.8
— Female	51.3	187.1	135.8	3.6

These figures show that, during the 13 year period from 1960 to 1973 the ranks of the working class and other working people have been filled more with women than with men. While the number of women workers during that period shows an increase of about 136,000, or 3.6 times, the number of men workers had an increase of 125,000, or 1.8 times over.

In pursuing this policy, it became possible to raise the percentage of women workers from 25.1 in 1960 to about 39 in 1973.

It is a general characteristic of our socialist de-

velopment that women participate in practically all the branches and spheres of the economic and social life of the country. Another positive feature is the rapidly increasing number of women workers in some of the smaller districts which had inherited great backwardness from the past. Today only the district of Puka or only the Tractor Spareparts Plant in Tirana employ more women than were employed in the whole of Albania before Liberation.

The participation of women in the various branches of our economy and culture is given in the following table:

*Number of women and their percentage in each branch or sector as compared with the total number of workers in 1973<sup>1</sup>*

In thousands

Branches and sectors of the economy	Number of workers in each branch	Number of women workers in each branch	percentage of women
-------------------------------------	----------------------------------	--	---------------------

Total number of workers			
Of these in:	356.5	138.9	39.0
Industry	147.1	62.8	42.7
Construction	43.0	4.4	10.2
Agriculture	77.3	33.9	43.8
Transport and communications	22.0	3.0	13.6
Trade and storing	34.6	21.3	61.0
Communal services	13.5	4.4	32.4
Education and culture	5.5	3.3	60.0
Health services	3.7	2.7	72.9
Administration	2.1	0.5	23.8
Miscellaneous	7.4	1.9	25.7

<sup>1</sup>) The data are taken from the General Board of Statistics.



As a result of the struggle for the emancipation of women, of the introduction of advanced technique in many processes of production and of the uplift of the standard of qualification, the number of our economy has marked an evident increase.

Today there is no sector of production in which the impact of the women workers is not felt. This is a clear indication of the work done by the Party to engage as many women as possible in the production of material blessings.

Women are working at present in sectors which previously were considered as men's jobs. In the heavy and light industry women represent 42.8 per cent of the working force. In the light industry alone they represent over 70 per cent of the total number of workers and in some branches like the textile, paper, and other industries their percentage is as high as 75-85 per cent etc.

Today women can handle modern equipment of production, machines, instruments and complex automatic devices that are used in the above-mentioned branches and in all the sectors of our socialist economy. This has been achieved thanks to the great efforts of the Party for the raising of the political consciousness and the technical and professional qualification of women workers, through a merciless struggle against the old conservative concepts that «women are incapable», that «women are meant to raise children, to work in the kitchen, and to beautify the house» and many other similar concepts that have weighed on women for centuries.

The number of women workers has been increasing in the other sectors of the sphere of production, in building, transport, etc., with the result

*that the number of women who work in the various branches of the sphere of material production has a specific weight much higher than that of women who work in the other branches of the economy.*

In the agricultural enterprises, too, women participate directly not only in all the farming operations and stock-raising but also in the mechanical sector. In the state sector of agriculture women represent 45 per cent of the total number of women workers. That shows that a great change has taken place in the conscience of women, that they realize deeply the importance of their participation in useful work in our socialist society.

Very significant is also the fact that after comrade Enver Hoxha's speech on February 6, 1967, many young girls who graduated from secondary schools of general education are breaking with the old conservative and bureaucratic concept that they «must work only in the administration or on other selected jobs» and are joining the ranks of the working class. They have made considerable improvement on the composition of women workers, particularly in their general educational standard.

In this way, at the present stage of our socialist development, when the participation of women in production work has become a mass phenomenon, it is necessary to underline what the Party has stressed, that the role of women in the socialist construction of the country has become an extremely important factor. While the working class sets the tone to the whole life of the country, women workers, in addition, stand as vanguard of the entire mass of women. They have set an example to all the women of the country, for their readiness and their cons-

cious efforts in socialist construction, their revolutionary spirit as well as the modesty and the moral qualities which they have acquired from the working class.

The increase of labour force with women was one of the main sources which accounts for the growth of the working class at higher rates than the population growth; at the same time it helped to limit the drain of manpower upon the countryside.

The participation of women in production work and, in particular, the filling of the ranks of the working class with women were not achieved easily and without stern class struggle. The Party tackled this question, too, in a creative and revolutionary style. At first it actuated the participation of women in mass undertakings or voluntary work for the reconstruction of the country in which a great amount of political work was done. It marked the first step towards the participation of women in social production. A determined struggle was needed against the old reactionary concepts and views which discouraged participation of women in production and underrated their abilities at work. A valuable aid in overcoming these difficulties was given by those women who had acquired a high level of political consciousness, particularly, the women who had passed through the fire of the National Liberation War.

It is worth mentioning also the struggle against the class enemy, the expropriated capitalists and kulaks, the clergy of every religion, who by means of persuasion and constraint, including open threats and terror, were trying to prevent the participation of women in production. But the struggle of the

Party and the attitude of women themselves baffled all the attempts of the enemies of socialism.

A closer investigation of the question of women workers in the light of the present and future duties laid down by the Party in this field of activity discloses some new problems that must constantly be borne in mind in the day-to-day work.

First, it must be pointed out that there are still manifestations of conservatism which tend to hold women back within the sphere of activities traditionally known as «women's jobs». That is why the struggle against the division of jobs «for women» and jobs «for men», as a vestige of the old social division of labour, must be deepened and carried forward. This very concept inhibits the development of the productive forces, harms the economic interests of the country, handicaps the full and all-around emancipation of women. In the distribution of jobs among men and women, distinctions can be allowed only when physiological motives and the protection of the health of mothers come into play.

Second, because of these concepts and some subjective preferences, the participation of women in social production work in some branches of the economy is not up to the mark. This is observed especially in construction, transport, communal services, etc. These branches have real possibilities to increase the participation of women. For this purpose, apart from the organizational measures aimed at improving and facilitating their working conditions, it is necessary to intensify the ideological and political work for rooting out such conservative concepts as «work in construction is man's work».

or «the communal services are not suited for women», etc.

Third, the concentration of more than 1/3 of women workers in industry, as the leading branch of the people's economy, is a very positive fact, because the industrial workers play an important guiding role in the whole life of the country. It must also be noted that women workers are engaged not only in the branches of light industry, but also in those of heavy industry and in the production of means of production. The general trend is to increase the number of women in the important branches of industry, such as the engineering, iron-nickel, oil industries, etc. This proves that women have acquired the necessary skills to operate modern equipment, new, complicated or even automatic machines and devices used in the various branches of our socialist industry.

However the indices of the participation of women in work is low in such branches of heavy industry as the cooper, chromium, bitumen, industry, etc. In these branches, apart from the underground work from which women are excluded by law, there are many fronts of work and jobs on which women can work no worse than men. The number of women workers can also be increased in the chemical, oil, wood-processing, paper industries, etc.

Fourth, in some branches and professions the substitution of men by women presents a special problem, especially in the districts where the number of women workers is too small in comparison

with that of the working class. For example, in the paper factory in the district of Lushnja women represent only 31 per cent of the labour force, while in a similar enterprise in Kavaja they reach over 51 per cent. In the wood-processing enterprise in Shkodra women represent only 6 per cent of the workers, as compared with 40 and 50 per cent in similar enterprises in Elbasan and Tirana. This is also the case with the «Dinamo», «Enver», «Traktori», engineering plants in Tirana which are situated in the same district.

Fifth, the degree of women workers' qualification should be better seen to, since as a result of wrong concepts and of women's insufficient technical and professional level, most of the skilled jobs are held by men. The tendency of appointing men to so-called «cleaner» jobs, for which they are better paid than the equally skilled women, must be fought at the same time as the tendency to put women on jobs of lower qualification that do not correspond to their technical, professional and cultural level.

The successful solution, as the Party has pointed out, demands, first of all, that these problems are understood politically and ideologically in depth. This, on the other hand, calls for intensified efforts to raise the educational and technical-professional level of women and to facilitate their household chores. «...Material, organizational measures», comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «though seemingly marginal, are an integral part of the development and strengthening of the socialist economy in general, for they create better conditions for their participation in production, unburden them of house-

hold chores and are far from ineffective in all fields.»<sup>1</sup>

The first steps taken in this direction are significant. Only the number of public catering units from 463 in 1950 has reached 2,516 in 1972. The turnover of goods in the public catering units has increased over tenfold. Today we boast thousands of masses at the enterprises and in the residential quarters. The use of washing machines, refrigerators and other domestic electric equipment and utensils is constantly rising. Over 11,600 washing machines, 4,000 refrigerators, 2,300 sewing machines, and 8,300 TV sets were sold to the population only in 1973.

The network of creches, kindergartens, etc. is extending considerably. In 1973 the number of creches reached 2,287 while their sitting capacity increased 61 times against 1950. More than two thirds of the maintenance cost of the creches is met by the state. The number of kindergartens is over 1620.

But in the future greater attention should be attached to both the further development and improvement of the functioning of the institutions concerned in these services, which not only help to bring up and educate the children but also create favourable conditions for the increased participation of women in useful social production.

The capitalist countries present quite the opposite picture. Women are exploited and discriminated against men. In the United States more than 1,000 laws legalize the discrimination of women in

1) Enver Hoxha, «On Some Aspects of the Problem of Albanian Women», Tirana, 1967, p. 17-18.

the family, in society, and at work. The average wages of the American women workers are only 58,6 per cent of the average men's wages. The position of black women is even worse, their wages being 20 per cent lower than those of white women, which, in turn, are much lower than the men's wages.

In England the women working in material production represent 34 per cent of the total labour force. Only one in ten women earns wages equal to those of the men, besides, they are the first to be laid off from work. In recent years in Italy over one million women have remained unemployed.

Conditions similar to those of the capitalist countries exist in the countries where revisionist cliques are in power. In these countries the number of housewives is constantly growing. While in our country women workers represent 83 per cent of the total number of women, in Poland they represent 63 per cent, in Bulgaria 74 per cent, in Hungary 73 per cent, in USA 40 per cent, in France 43 per cent, in the Federal German Republic 52 per cent etc.<sup>1</sup>

In the Soviet Union the number of housewives and of women doing private work in the small and middle sized towns ranges from 2 to 12 times larger than in the big cities. This is a disguised form of unemployment involving millions of women. In various cities and regions such as Baikal, North Ural etc., with heavy industry predominating, very few women find employment because of the lack of

1) Riabushkin T. V., Geletskaya R.A., «Problemi Narodnaselenia evropeistih stranah SEV», p. 50.

proper work fronts. The same applies to Poland, Czechoslovakia and other revisionist countries.

Even when the question of employing housewives in social production is raised, it is considered only from the aspect of economic advantage. As a result, in these countries capitalist degeneration has led to the practical loss of the victories and rights that women had won when these countries were marching on the road to socialism.

The consistent implementation of the Marxist-Leninist program of our Party for the complete and all-around emancipation of women, which has been undisputably confirmed by our revolutionary life and experience, acquires particular significance. It is an integral part of the program and the general line of our Party for the complete construction of the socialist society.

d) The rapid growth of the ranks of the working class, by the broad engagement of men and women in the sphere of social production, has resulted in higher rates of its increase in comparison with the growth of the population as a whole and of the other groups of society. Here are some figures:

Y e a r	Increase in time of:	
	the population	the working class
1950	1.0	1.0
1960	1.4	3.5
1969	1.7	5.0
1973	1.9	6.0

This increase was in conformity with the general Marxist-Leninist line of the PLA for the socialist construction of the country and for its all-around economic and social development. The leap made by the working class was normal, well balanced, necessary, and was generally achieved without drawing excessively from the manpower of the countryside or out numbering the real needs.

Unlike the capitalist and revisionist countries, our Party has not increased the working class to the detriment of the countryside, by depopulating the villages and leaving them in neglect. Thanks to its solicitude for the harmonious development of industry and agriculture it became possible to establish correct relations between the development of the working class, on the one hand, and the cooperativist peasantry, on the other. Although the working class shows an increase of 6 times during the period from 1950 to 1973, the cooperativist peasantry has also increased in numbers during the same period.

By giving priority to the development of industry, the necessary material conditions were gradually created for a similarly rapid and harmonious development of the other branches of the economy. In this way, industrial production has always been able to supply agriculture and the other branches of the economy with farming machines and tools, spare parts, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, electric power, cement and other building materials. «The development and structure of industry», comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «have always been closely linked with the needs of the other branches of our economy. As a result the balance between the

development of industry and agriculture was maintained, so that industry can serve directly the development of agriculture. Proceeding on that correct and tested road, the development of industry during the 5th five-year plan will be more closely linked with the needs of agriculture for its further modernization and intensification»<sup>1</sup>.

*c) Though the growth rates of the working class are high, the rates of the economic and social development of the country are even higher.*

The analysis of facts shows that from one five-year period to the other the increase of social production, in general, and of the national income, in particular, has been mainly determined by the increased work productivity. For instance, if the national income in 1973 was to be realized by the work productivity standards of 1950, it would have taken more than 2.1 million workers in the producing sphere, or about as many as the present population of the country.

Nevertheless, the simultaneous solution of the numerous problems of socialist construction in the difficult conditions and handicaps of growth and in the conditions of the savage imperialist and revisionist blockade, could not fail to have its effect on some incorrect proportion or index of social work productivity in some of the five-year plans.

Therefore, the Party and the government have laid before the working class important tasks to ceaselessly increase work productivity as one among the fundamental factors for the further strengthen-

ing of our socialist economy and for the economical utilization of manpower available in both the town and the countryside. Every neglect in this respect is fraught with negative economic, political, and social consequences, since it reduces the possibilities of accumulation being increased and the rates of development of the productive forces quickened. If it had been tolerated, it would have been necessary to draw from the villages more workers than are needed in fact and it would have been more difficult to meet the purchasing power of the working people with consumer goods. Being thoroughly acquainted with these questions, the working class is directly interested in improving work productivity indices, as a key to the solution of many other economic and social problems of the present and the future.

*f) The impetuous development of the productive forces, the setting up of large projects, and the intensification of the process of concentration in all the branches of the people's economy have brought about the concentration of workers in increasingly larger enterprises. After the first steps towards the concentration of manpower and production, the realization of the five-year plans has led to a considerable progress in that direction, which constitutes an important feature of the development of our working class.*

At present the country has reached a stage of development in which large-scale mechanized production, as principal requirement for the building of the technical-material basis of socialism, is gradually becoming a distinctive characteristic. With the passage from one five-year plan to the other,

<sup>1</sup> Enver Hoxha. Report to the 6th Congress of PLA, p. 73.

projects have increased not only in number but also in size. If the number of industrial projects built in the 1st Five-year Plan was 150, in the 2nd Five-year Plan it was 250, in the 3rd 400, etc.

Powerful plants and combines are under construction in our country; they are changing the face of our socialist Homeland and are making it stronger, more developed and flourishing. It is a law of the socialist revolution that it never marks time or is complacent with what it has already achieved. «What yesterday was an objective and today an achievement, begins to appear quite insufficient in view of the duties and new horizons opening up to us. Everything that is stationary and conservative is alien to the living spirit of socialism. This applies also to our economic plans which from year to year, and from one five-year plan to the other become more and more magnificent...»<sup>1</sup>. The great projects that are being built in the current five-year plan for the strengthening of the technical and material basis of socialism with the internationalist aid of the PR of China are really magnificent in size and in their technological standard.

As a consequence of this development, the process of workers' concentration in ever larger enterprises has also been deepened. This is how it stands in industry:

1) Enver Hoxha. Speech at the mass rally held in Vau i Dejës with the builders of the «Mao Tsetung» hydro-power plant, published in the «Zëri i Popullit» on June 4, 1970.

*Industrial enterprises grouped according to number of workers in 1963 and 1973<sup>1</sup>*

Worker groupings	Number of enterprises	1963		Number of enterprises	1973		Increase of workers in 1973 as compared with 1963
		Workers			Workers		
		Number	%		Number	%	
Total	209	66,941	100.0	253	121,602	100.0	1.8 times
Under 100	53	2,559	3.8	45	1,610	1.3	0.6 "
101-200	46	6,865	10.7	38	5,630	4.6	0.8 "
201-500	77	24,847	37.1	86	29,173	24.0	1.2 "
501-1,000	23	15,119	22.6	57	39,231	32.3	2.5 "
1,001-2,500	9	13,379	20.0	25	34,951	28.7	2.6 "
over 2,500	1	4,172	6.3	2	10,987	9.1	2.— "

In 1973 the enterprises with more than 500 workers represented over 33 per cent of the total number of industrial enterprises and employed nearly 70 per cent of the total number of workers, while in 1963 they represented only 16 per cent of the number of enterprises and employed about 19 per cent of the total number of workers. The degree of concentration of the workers has been raised by increasing the number of enterprises with higher level of concentration. The above data show that in 1973 the number of industrial workers in general has increased 1.8 times while in the enterprises with more than 500 workers 2.5-2.6 times. The bigger

1) «30 years of Socialist Albania», p. 45.

enterprises are those that put out the bulk of industrial production.

A more or less similar phenomenon has taken place also in the other branches of the people's economy. Thus, in the system of the Ministry of Construction in 1972 the enterprises with more than 500 workers represented 30 per cent of the enterprises and carried out 4/5 of the total volume of construction and production of that system. In agriculture, the enterprises with more than 3,000 ha of land represented 27 per cent of all the agricultural enterprises and cultivated 70 per cent of all the state farming lands.

Our working class is interested in the rational increase of the degree of socialization of production. This interest is directly linked with the growing organizational and administrative role it plays in the process of the production of material blessings and with the advantages offered by the studied development and intensification of this process. In the enterprises with a comparatively high concentration level there are better opportunities for improved organization of production, for larger mechanization, for a wider spread of the experience of advanced workers, etc. In these enterprises the working class is better able to raise its class consciousness, its ideo-political, educational, and cultural standard more quickly and constantly, to acquire more professional skills and better organizational abilities of leadership. Everyday life is the best testimony of this truth.

The increased degree of concentration and specialization of production is accompanied by higher efficiency, by a more rational utilization of the

means and objects of production and of the labour force in the processes of production and the services. In the enterprises of the engineering industry that have a volume of production of 50 to 100 million leks, work productivity is 1.5 to 2.5 times over that of the small factories and mechanical bases with a volume of production of less than 2 million leks. In the building enterprises with a yearly capacity of 30 to 40 million leks, the volume of construction realized for every 1,000 leks in principal means is 80 per cent greater than in the enterprises with a yearly capacity of 50 to 10 million leks. In agriculture also large-scale production proves more efficient than the small fragmented production.

Despite the satisfactory results achieved in raising the degree of concentration and specialization of production, it remains a problem which must be given due attention to in the future. It is not a question of building big enterprises, or of making the concentration of production and manpower a purpose in itself. For the implementation of the principle of self-reliance and the utilization of our internal resources and possibilities better, the Party and the government have issued instructions to encourage medium and small production, to extend and intensify the initiative of setting up new production lines, departments and factories with locally produced materials and equipment, either in existing enterprises or independently of them. But it is essential that the process of production in them should become gradually better organized, that it should bypass the stage of artisan and heterogeneous production and apply the advanced technique and technology. Thereupon they will be



able to raise their degree of concentration, the volume of production and work productivity, the efficiency of production of the small and middle-sized production lines, enterprises and factories.

g) *Man's work has undergone also deep social and economic changes acquiring new qualities and content.* The establishment by law of the right and duty to work, the eight-hour work-day, the new Code of Labour which is ammended from time to time to regulate the relationships in work, including the right of paid leave for every worker; the uplift of the degree of mechanization, and upon this basis, the continual facilities at work, especially, in the more difficult sectors and branches of the economy; the insurance and protection of the workers at work, etc., these are some of the great victories that the working class has achieved under the people's power.

In our country manpower has ceased being an object for sale and the labour market has disappeared once and for all. Compulsory labour has given way to free labour. The worker is happy in what he does, he is free to develop his talents, his natural gifts and his physical and mental energies, he finds joy and genuine satisfaction in performing his task.

The new character and contents of work have given rise to a new socialist attitude towards it. A clear evidence of this attitude is the conscious participation in useful social activities as well as in any kind of work that serves the interest of production of material blessing and the construction of socialism.

A radical revolutionary change has been marked also in the relations of social distribution accord-

ing to the socialist principle «from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work», which expresses the practical liquidation of the exploitation of man by man. Equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex, is guaranteed.

Nevertheless, as the Party has pointed out, some vestiges of the old bourgeois attitude towards work in the psychology of a section of workers still persist. They have a class character and are expressed in the tendency to put the personal interest above the general interest. These alien attitudes and manifestations towards work and social property are noxious to, and dangerous for, our social order, for our Marxist-Leninist ideology and for the very consciousness of the workers. The constant and persistent efforts to free the workers of these left-overs, their education in the standards of socialist attitude towards work and the transformation of these standards into convictions, is an important permanent question.

The foregoing part dealt with some of the more important features of the numerical growth and development of the working class. The other very important questions, such as the ideological, educational, cultural, and technical-professional level of the working class, the place it occupies in the social structure of the population, the workers, average life-span and length of service, etc., will be discussed in the following parts of this study.

## II

### PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF WORKING CLASS INCREASE

#### 1. SOME QUESTIONS ON THE SOURCES SUPPLYING THE RANKS OF THE WORKING CLASS

The ranks of the working class draw chiefly from three sources: a) rapid population growth, b) employment of the able-bodied people, c) planned distribution and re-distribution of manpower among the various branches of the economy, particularly, between the town and the countryside.

In various stages, each of these sources has, in turn, had priority over the others, but always being subordinated to the fundamental objectives of each stage. These sources have been utilized rationally and in conformity with the general state plan for the development of the people's economy.

**The rapid population growth — a source of labour for the ranks of the working class**

aspects of the reproduction of the population in general and of the sources of labour in particular.

From this point of view, the problems of the

The problems of the present and future economic development of the country are closely linked with the various

population growth are not and should not be considered as the exclusive concern of the organs of statistics. They are, in fact, very important problems, which, in the long run, are interwoven with a series of political, ideological, economic, psychological, biological, and social factors. In most cases these factors interact among themselves and influence each other. The growth of population is linked with the entire policy of the Party for the socialist construction of our country, and man stands in its centre.

The reproduction of population does not always proceed at the same rhythm. Various economic and social factors come into play; they intervene and will continue to intervene in many different ways and to different extents with the rate of reproduction of population. Therefore, in order to know the present and future tendency of the growth and development of the working class, we must be well acquainted with the problems regarding the reproduction of population and the sources of labour. Acquaintance with the demographic phenomena is necessary because these have a gradual, though not immediate, effect on the growth of the ranks of the working class and the other working people. The faster the population grows, the faster the sources of fresh labour will grow.

Ours is one of the countries boasting high rates of population growth. This is connected with the new economic and social conditions created after Liberation. The establishment of the people's power, the socialist nationalization of the principal means of production, and the elimination, on this basis, of the exploitation of man by man, the correct policy

of the Party for the constant rise of the material and cultural level of the working masses, the unceasing development of the productive forces, the gratuitous health service, facilities for mother and child, and others, are all important factors contributing to the rapid growth of the population. These conditions have given free scope of action to the social law of demography and reproduction of population.

The rapid growth of the population in the years of socialist construction is illustrated by the following figures.

*Population in different years*

Year	Population in thousands	Population in per cent
1938	1040,4	100.0
1950	1218,9	117.2
1960	1626,3	156.3
1973	2229,8	220.0

These figures show that after the triumph of the people's revolution the reproduction of the population has undergone important positive changes. From an average annual increase of 1.7 per cent in the 1923-1938 period, the rate of increase has risen to 3.2 per cent during the years of the people's power, and the population has doubled.

More than thirty years of experience of socialist construction have confirmed that the growth of population has been and remains a principal factor for the rapid development of the people's economy and for filling the ranks of the working class with new contingents.

Besides, the all-around study of population and

of the working age-groups is important to assess the growth and development of the working class. It is well known that the part of the working population plays the most important role in the economic development of the country, being also the most dynamic, ever in movement, part whose changes and development depend largely on the process of the reproduction of population. But it should be noted that although the increase of the working age-group of the population depends on the reproduction of population in general, these two processes do not coincide in time. The population growth at a given stage does not immediately affect the growth of the working population. The effect may be felt 15-20 years later. This fact must be borne in mind in studying the process of economic development, for it is closely linked with the reproduction of population. The differences among three main age-groups of population have been the following:

*Groups of population under, in, and over work-age group for several years<sup>1</sup>*

*In per cent against total population*

Year	Total population divided in three groups		
	Under work-age	In work-age <sup>2</sup>	Over work-age
1950	38.7	50.7	10.6
1960	41.1	49.4	9.5
1970	42.2	49.2	8.6
1973	40.7	50.6	8.7

1) «30 years of Socialist Albania», p. 27.

2) Under working age-group fall males from 15 to 59 years of age and females from 15 to 54 years.

These data lead to the general conclusion that the growth of population, particularly of work age-group, has been a reliable source of manpower which has provided fresh contingents for the ranks of the working class and other working people. During the period between 1950 and 1973 the able-bodied population has shown an increase of 87 per cent and today it represents more than half of the total number of population. The fact that the general population, as well as the able-bodied population has almost doubled within a period of 23 years is a positive phenomenon without precedent in the other countries of Europe.

It follows that part of the able-bodied population does not join the ranks of working people of the town and countryside. A large section can begin work only on having finished the various courses, secondary schools of general or professional education or university studies. From the figures of the above table we can draw some other conclusions about the characteristic features of the development of population in our country.

— Unlike many other countries, a comparatively high portion of Albania's population is under work-age. From 38.7 per cent in 1950, the age-group under 15 reached almost 41 per cent in 1973. This means that from the point of view of its age, our population is young and dynamic. This is a very positive circumstance. The contingents of young people are a large reserve of labour for the uninterrupted cultural and economic development of the country.

— Another characteristic of our population is that the number of people at work-age has been

growing parallel with the population in general, which has doubled. The number of labour forces and its specific weight in the general population will continue to grow in the future. As the population of the country tends to increase, new contingents of work-age groups will be added to it in ever larger numbers. These forces will favour very much the development rates of our socialist economy and culture, the uninterrupted renewal and growth of the ranks of the working class. Necessarily, their full activation requires the mobilization of all the superiorities of our socialist order, of all the economic and social forces.

— As data indicate, the able-bodied population represents about 50 per cent of the total population of the country. In many countries of Europe, as a result of the reduced birth-rate, the population is «growing old». The following corroborates it: the work-age population in Rumania takes up 59 per cent of the total population, in Bulgaria 58 per cent, in Yugoslavia 57 per cent, in Italy 58 per cent, in Greece 58 per cent, etc. The high specific weight of the younger part of the population in our country is an asset for its future development. But this fact poses the necessity of *stepping up the efforts for the employment and mobilization of the entire able-bodied population so that it should be better and more effectively employed in the socialist construction.*

These specific features of the dynamic development of the population bear directly on planning the growth of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the other working people. They have

been usually taken into account in swelling the ranks of our working class.

Despite the natural growth of population, the working class cannot develop independently from the development of industry and the other branches of the economy. The growth and development of the working class, as was already noted, are also linked with the other social and economic factors. During the years of people's power the population has increased under the conditions of a rapid development of the productive forces, especially in industry, construction, transport and the other branches of the economy. It was accompanied by the rapid growth of the working class. The rapid growth and development of population in general, and of the working class, in particular, has been and remains an essential factor in the general rapid progress of the country on the road to socialism.

Quite different laws govern the demographic policy of the capitalist and revisionist countries. Uncertainty about employment and everyday life, swelling of the ranks of unemployed, continuous prices rises, crises and other phenomena of that nature bring about a sharp fall of the birth-rate in these countries. Capitalist degeneration of the economy, the spread of bourgeois morality and way of life in the countries where the modern revisionists have usurped political power, have introduced to them the laws of the capitalist society in their policy on population. In many republics of the Soviet Union and in some other revisionist countries, even the simple reproduction of the population cannot be obtained. During the last ten years in Byelorussia, Lithuania, Estonia, Georgia,

etc., the population has remained at its 1939 level. In Czechoslovakia the population from 14.2 million in 1965 has reached only 14.4 million in 1973, while in the German Democratic Republic the population in 1973 was 13 million, just at its 1961 level<sup>1</sup>.

The imperialists and social-imperialists concoct and spread various reactionary «theories» and views on the population issue. In USA, for instance, the ruling circles are spreading «theories» about the so-called «population boom» in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, or a «general» halocaust of mankind<sup>2</sup>. In the Soviet Union, although there is much talk against malthusianism, they say that «the rapid growth of the population is a mill-stone round the neck of the developing nations»<sup>3</sup>.

The essence of these views is in no way different from the notorious theory of Malthus, who 170 years ago, when the world's population was less than one thousand million, proclaimed his theory of «overpopulation» and the impossibility of matching the population growth with the increase of production.

Compared with the time of Malthus' notorious sermons, at present the population of the world has increased four-fold and, thanks to the efforts of the broad masses of the people, the material wealth of society has increased at a much higher rate. Hence, the causes of unemployment, poverty, chronic hun-

1) «SSSR i zarubezhnye strani» 1970, p. 25 and «Polish annual statistics of 1973».

2) Minutes from the World Conference on Population, published in «Zëri i Popullit», August 30, 1974.

3) Minutes from the World Conference on Population, published in «Zëri i Popullit», August 30, 1974.

ger, poor health, etc., in many countries is not «overpopulation», as the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists pretend, but the anti-popular social system of exploitation which exists in many countries and the hegemonic and plundering policy of the two super-powers, the USA and the Soviet Union. They are today the biggest international oppressors and exploiters.

In quite a number of countries, especially in the developing ones, despite the growth of the general population, their working class is numerically small and its growth proceeds at very slow rates. Apart from the internal economic and social factors, a considerable inhibiting influence in that respect is exercised by the savage colonial and semi-colonial exploitation of the imperialist powers and of Soviet social-imperialism. These countries are still considered, in one form or another, as the principal bases of raw material supplies for the imperialist and revisionist metropolises.

Therefore, the problems of population growth and the development of the working class in these countries can find a correct solution in the determined and uncompromising struggle against the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist oppressors and exploiters, against the two imperialist superpowers, in the struggle for achieving, consolidating and defending their real national independence, the development of their economy and culture, always relying on their own efforts for their independent political, economic, and social development in line with the national interests and aspirations of each country.

**Full activation of able-bodied population.**

*The drawing in and the fullest and most effective possible employment of all labour sources is one of the principal indices of the vitality of a social and economic order. On the other hand, a social economic order that fails to fully mobilize and employ the labour forces inside the country goes to its inevitable degradation, decomposition and ruin.*

Our revolutionary experience of socialist construction has convincingly demonstrated the superiority of the socialist economic and social order even in this field.

In our People's Republic the sore wound of unemployment has been completely removed along with all its social and economic evils. In line with the rising demand for the development of the productive forces, the participation of the able-bodied population in the various branches of the national economy increased, absorbing all labour sources created by the intensive reproduction of the country's population.

The obstacles and difficulties of growth that have had to be overcome in this field are quite familiar. To these must be added the extreme innocent backwardness of the past, the savage imperialist and revisionist encirclement under which we have been working for the construction of socialism.

With the establishment of the people's power every citizen of the People's Republic of Albania won his legitimate right to work. It did not remain a fictitious right, but became a reality. With the development of the productive forces and thanks

to the extensive ideo-political activity carried out by the Party, an ever increasing part of the population was drawn in social production. The liquidation of the exploitation of man by man and the education of the new man in a communist outlook are inconceivable without the active participation of every worker in social production. During the last 25 years, our people's economy has employed an additional 500,000 people, most of whom have filled the ranks of the working class. This addition was larger than the growth of the able-bodied population. The rest has mainly come from the inclusions of the housewives in social production.

Thanks to this policy, the number of workers per 1,000 inhabitants has constantly increased from one period to another, as can be seen from the following table:

Year	Workers per 1,000 inhabitants	Year	Workers per 1,000 inhabitants
1938	14	1965	109
1950	45	1970	145
1955	71	1973	160
1960	95		

The figures show that during the period between 1938 and 1973 the number of workers per 1,000 inhabitants has increased about 12 fold, which has been made possible primarily by the full activation of the able-bodied population and by elimi-

nating the ugly phenomenon of unemployment and the painful practice of emigration.

The correct policy pursued by the PLA for the full employment of the whole able-bodied population has rendered it possible to increase the active population, the population actually employed. Gradually, together with the creation of the necessary conditions, the active population is becoming the numerically most important part of the able-bodied population, (excluding those who have reached the age to work but attend the various schools and courses). This can be also seen from the following figures:

Year	Specific weight of active population compared with able-bodied population
1950	75.6 per cent
1960	85.8 "
1970	94.8 "

Compared with many other countries, Albania has the highest percentage of active population over the able-bodied population. In Bulgaria this index is 84 per cent, in Hungary and Czechoslovakia 86 per cent etc., while in many other countries the percentage is still lower.

As was already mentioned, the increase of the active population in our country is mainly due to the increased number of working women.

The inclusion of women in social production

has been one of the principal sources for the growth of the working class and a main factor that accounts for the rapid increase of the active population as compared with the general growth of population.

For the correct and prompt solution of these problems, the Party has laid down the duty to further increase the participation of workers in social production, to intensify and deepen the struggle against petty-bourgeois concepts and attitudes of looking for easy jobs, and for cosy «corners», which are carried and spread by particular groups or individuals; to work more efficiently for the rooting in of the concept and feeling that one must work where the needs of the country, the interest of the Party, the people and socialist construction, call for. The objective of all this is that everyone who is able to work, must make his contribution in the great cause of socialist construction within his possibilities. He must earn his living by his own sweat, always placing the general interest above his personal interest. The correct solution of this problem requires rigorous studies and organizational measures not only on a national scale, but also in the districts, towns, and villages, and even in enterprises, depending on the real situation.

With the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, in the capitalist and revisionist world the opposite is the case. In these countries the problem of chronic unemployment is growing increasingly more acute. Despite the trumped-up facts, today the USA has over 5 million unemployed, England about 3 million, Japan 1 million and 700 thousand etc.

In a number of capitalist countries, long term emigration of manpower has become a very serious

social evil. Every year thousands of people leave their countries in search for work in foreign lands. The total number of labour emigrants in Europe, according to minimized official statistics, is well over 15 million. They come mostly from Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey. In different countries of the world today there are about 7 million Italian immigrants, which means that one in every five Italian families has a member in emigration. Here are some figures about the emigration from some countries of Europe.<sup>1</sup>

*Longterm emigration from some countries  
of Europe in 1967-1969*

Nr	Country	1967	1968	1969
1.	Portugal .....	92,500	80,500	95,300
2.	Spain .....	43,200	86,100	120,900
3.	Greece .....	42,700	50,800	43,500

Besides exploiting the labour immigrants to the utmost, the capitalist use them to bring pressure to bear on the local working class. Facts prove that the very countries in which immigration of workers is largest, have also the largest army of unemployed. This is the case today in the USA, Great Britain, Germany, etc.

The phenomenon of unemployment, and even that of emigration, has involved also the revisionist

1) Demographic annual of the UNO, 1970, pp. 784-807.



countries and is growing more acute day by day. The constant degeneration of these countries into capitalism has long created every premiss for the revival of all the phenomena of the capitalist world. The problem of employing all able-bodied people is becoming very acute in the countries ruled by the revisionist cliques, where unemployment exists openly or concealed. It has become a disquieting sore wound.

Unemployment assumes varying forms in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. First of all, it appears as a gigantic shift of millions of workers from one republic to another, from one region to another, from one district to another, from one enterprise to another. In the various enterprises of the Soviet Union every year are removed 20-30 per cent of the workers and employees with the result that each worker loses an average of 17-23 work days a year in search for a new job.

The revisionist propaganda extols the role played by the intensification of work in releasing manpower. Behind this they seek to hide the truth about unemployment. The workers «freed» from an enterprise constitute that part which in these countries is referred to as labour «excess». In fact, the solution they have discovered is typically capitalist, since the «freed» workers find new jobs only after weeks and months of unemployment. Apart from that, the funds «saved» from the wages of «freed» workers are shared among the revisionist administrators and technocratic specialists, who allegedly contribute more to this «rationalization of production». This practice has provoked conflicts between the discharged workers and the bureaucrats,

technocrats, and the aristocracy of the working class inside enterprises.

Another form of dissimulated unemployment in the revisionist countries is the extremely large number of women out of work.

Unemployment in these countries has also resulted from the indiscriminate dispersal of the productive forces among the different regions and districts and among the large, medium sized, and small towns. The number of employed workers per 1,000 inhabitants in the small urban centers is half as large as in the more developed centres of districts and regions.

Like in the capitalist countries, in their efforts to «solve» the problem of unemployment, the revisionists are also resorting to such means as that of putting their labour for sale on the international markets. Typical in this respect is the example of Yugoslavia, which, besides the 400 thousand unemployed inside the country, has over 800 thousands workers employed in the capitalist countries of Western Europe who suffer the savage capitalist exploitation and discrimination. Poland also has 125 thousand workers ready to be sent to the German Federal Republic.

**Planned redistribution of the sources of labour among the branches of the economy**

The one-sided development of the economy under the feudal-bourgeois regime had caused a great part of the working population to be engaged in farming.

After the step-by-step implementation of the Party's program for the harmonious and all-round

development of the people's economy, a new, more advanced and complex structure of the national economy emerged, with important quantitative and qualitative improvements. This new structure of the development of the branches of the economy is a proof that the country is proceeding steadily towards the progress and modernization of industry, agriculture, and the other branches of the people's economy and of the social and cultural activities.

*From an analysis of data it emerges that agriculture and the countryside in general have played an important role in filling the ranks of the working class with new elements.* But the intensity of this phenomenon has varied from one stage of socialist construction to the other. The flow of the population from the countryside to the city to satisfy the needs of industry, construction, transport etc., for manpower was more intense in the mid-sixties, but after this period it has been marking a general fall. The drop is due to such factors as the higher degree of mechanization in industry, transport, construction etc., the increased sources of manpower in the cities from the natural growth of population, the completion of collectivization of agriculture in the mountain zones, the economic and organizational strengthening of agricultural cooperatives, the narrowing of the gap between the town and the countryside, as well as the strengthened discipline in the organized, controlled and planned transfer of manpower from the countryside to the cities.

It can be said that, as a whole, the mechanical movement of the rural population and labour forces to satisfy the needs of the other branches of the economy has been organized and carried out correc-

tly, according to the orientations of the Party to secure the all-around development of the people's economy. Besides providing manpower for the other branches of the economy, the countryside has also increased the number of workers engaged in farming. During the period from 1961 to 1972, 84,000 hands were added to agriculture. The rural area today is inhabited by a population half as many in numbers as in the first years after Liberation. The bulk of the working people that live in the villages are employed in farming, but a section of the rural population is engaged in industry, in social and cultural activities, etc.

The departure of farm-hands from the countryside has been compensated by the intensification of agriculture, which marked a rise in the yields of agricultural production. The latter increased at higher rates than the natural growth of population. The increase of agricultural production has more than equalled the amount of production that the departed hands would have given, had they stayed in the countryside. If agricultural production per head in 1951 is reckoned at 100 per cent, the rise of production per head in 1972 results about 60 per cent higher. This rise has been due to a series of factors, such as: the economic and organizational strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives, the raised educational and professional level of the peasantry, the increased degree of mechanization, irrigation, the extensive use of chemical and organic fertilizers, etc.

Although the flow of labour from the country to the towns and other work centres has slowed down in comparison with the previous years, and the new

situation appears to be more stable, the investigations carried out have shown that the mechanical movement could have been better organized and disciplined.

The drawing-in of part of the rural hands took place at a time when a section of the townspeople, pretending for easier and more convenient jobs, avoided the main fronts of material production. The towns have had the possibility to satisfy the needs of industry and the other branches of the economy for manpower better. No doubt, some other reasons account for this, such as failure to employ housewives, who for a time were partly left out of social production because of conservative and patriarchal customs, old traditions, etc. It was impossible to break them at once, as was proved by our own experience. This was to be achieved in the course of a long and very important process of class struggle which still continues today.

Therefore, much remains to be done in the cities with people who persist in maintaining an alien attitude towards work, who look for easy jobs and refuse to work in agriculture, construction, transport etc.

Another question is the unjustified and unruly departure of manpower from some zones and districts, the more so from the mountain regions. This cannot but affect the development rates of agriculture in the cooperatives of such districts, the full and timely discharge of the great duties laid down by the Party for the further development of agriculture in these districts.

The implementation of party orientations that our highlands be made unviolable strongholds

against imperialist and revisionist enemies, makes it imperative to keep them well populated, stronger and better developed economically.

A convenient form of satisfying the needs of mines, saw-mills, construction sites in the neighbourhood of villages has been the employment of workers from the agricultural cooperatives without having to transfer their families from the villages. This solution is being improved. In 1969, 70,440 men were employed outside cooperatives while their families continued work in the cooperatives; in 1972 their number rose to 120,000. In these zones and cooperatives, women have played an important role in raising agricultural production higher. It is essential that this must not interfere with the work of the cooperatives and must also prevent wrong concepts from emerging and developing. In some hilly-mountain district, the opinion has been entertained that agriculture is an auxiliary and not a fundamental branch of the economy, thus overlooking the teachings of our Party.

Another source of supply for the working class is the curtailment from and transfer of part of the administrative and directing staff to the sector of production of material blessings. In the context of the struggle against bureaucracy, which has been waged by our Party, this has been an occasional practice. But it must not be done with campaigns. The fundamental thing is to prevent the directing staff and office-workers from outnumbering themselves.

Nevertheless, as a result of bureaucratic and technocratic pressure, during the recent years the administrative-directing organs and the research and

scientific institutes in the capital as well as in the districts were inflated. The accumulation of thousands of people in these levels facilitated the development of bureaucracy.

The working class, under the leadership of the party organizations, is waging a continuous struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy, technocracy and intellectualism by doing short work of bureaucratic manifestations in our economic and state administration. This is a revolutionary action which helps the deepening of the revolution and the socialist construction, the defence of victories and the continuation of our march towards socialism, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The replenishing of the ranks of the working class with new contingents from the younger generation calls for constant care and a well-studied organizational work. This is achieved through better planning for the training of the youth according to the specialities needed in production. Upon graduation, these contingents must begin work immediately in the different branches of our people's economy where they are most needed by the country and the people. It is necessary to avoid the occurrence of such cases in which the training of the young workers results inadequate.

## **2. SOME QUESTIONS OF THE FUTURE GROWTH AND FILLING OF THE RANKS OF THE WORKING CLASS**

The dynamic development of the productive forces, the uninterrupted advance towards its transformation from an agrarian-industrial country to an

industrial-agrarian country, and in particular the gradual transition from group-ownership to ownership of the whole people will continue to be associated with the constant numerical growth of the working class.

In the future, just as at present, the numerical growth of the working class and the other working people is closely linked with a series of factors such as: the increased sources of labour, i.e. the growth of the work-age population which can be drawn into active participation in material production and in the sphere of services; the growth of that part of the national income<sup>1</sup> which can be set apart and used for creating new jobs; the maintenance of a most correct ratio between the raising of work productivity and the numerical growth of manpower, etc.

The study of the present trends shows that in the future *the population of the country will continue to grow rapidly; equally rapid will be the growth of the sources of labour*. It is estimated that in 1980 the population will reach 2 million and 762 thousand<sup>1</sup>. This high rate of reproduction in population and the labour sources will serve as a reliable basis for the rapid growth of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, and the other working people. This phenomenon is very favourable for the dynamic development of our socialist economy and culture. It is clear that neither the drain of labour sources nor the risk of depopulation threaten our country,

---

1) «The People's Republic of Albania on the Jubilee of the 30th Anniversary of the P.L.A.», published by the General Board of Statistics, Tirana 1971, p. 15.

since its economy is constantly rising and is being developed in a wellplanned and proportionale way.

In view of these prospects, the mobilization of all the available forces in socially useful and efficient work is a duty of great political, economic and social importance. This faces the state organs of the center and the districts with the need of studying and acquiring a deeper knowledge about the labour sources available for each year and each 5-year period. Since the population will continue to increase, from the studies conducted in this field, it results that labour sources will also continue to grow faster than in the past period. The number of the new forces (the new able-bodied contingents) that will work in the coming two decades will be 60-80 per cent higher than that of the last 20 years<sup>1</sup>.

The putting to work all the new forces of work-age population will require the creation of more new jobs in the town and the country every year. While in the period between 1951 and 1970 new jobs created every year averaged 20 thousand, the estimates for the future are 60-70 per cent higher. Surely, these jobs will be created not only in industry and agriculture, but also in the other branches of the economy and culture. *But it is essential that in the future, just as at present, the main bulk of manpower should be employed in the branches of material production.* Part of these forces will join the ranks of the working class.

The numerical growth of the working class in towns and in village territories raises the question of capital investments that will be needed to open

1) «The Party Road», 6th issue, 1963.

new jobs, as well as the question of their rational and effective utilization.

A survey of our past experience shows that from one five-year period to the other, the amount of capital investments needed for the creation of each new job has been growing continually. From some estimates, it results that for every new job created during the 5th five-year period required 30 per cent more funds than the average outlay for the same purpose in the 10-year period 1960-1970. The rate of increase of the cost of opening new jobs in industry is higher than in all the other branches of the economy, taken separately, and higher than the average expenses for new jobs of the Republic. And this is close to reason. While until recently the workers used simple machines and equipment, today the standard of technical equipment has gradually risen. Large combines have been and are being built. This change has been carried out at a time when agriculture passed from the use of simple hand-plow to powerful tractors, self-propelled combines, etc. The future trend of the expenses necessary for the opening of new jobs will be conditioned by various factors, such as: the structure of the new job (whether the new jobs will be created in the existing branches of the economy or in newly set-up branches), the standard of technical equipment needed for the job, the branches in which more jobs are created (in industry, agriculture, construction, or in the branches of the services), etc.

To cover the expenses of creating new jobs, the Party has recommended to keep a relatively high rate of accumulation without affecting the consumption by the workers. This requirement

renders more urgent the necessity to raise, and at the same time, to economize on the funds for investments and on foreign currency and to constantly raise the effectiveness of their utilization. In this connection, comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Ours is a small country, but one which has taken upon itself tasks and objectives for the complete construction of the socialist society. If we also keep in mind the well-known political and economic factors arising from the capitalist-revisionist encirclement, then the necessity for that high norm of accumulation which we apply in our country will become ever clearer, as well as the necessity for the very large investments which we are obliged to make, for the high rates our socialist construction must maintain, and the need for a strict all round program of economization»<sup>1</sup>.

To put into effect these instructions, we must further deepen the technical and scientific revolution for the reconstruction, modernization and expansion of the existing productive forces, always relying on our own efforts. The pursuit of this policy enables us to cut the average cost of each newly created job, to shorten the time needed for putting into exploitation its productive capacities, to raise the volume of production per unit of capital investment, etc.

To better achieve these objectives, the Party has orientated that the *engineering industry should embark more widely and courageously on the road of the production of machines and other technical equipment, so that greater support is given to*

1) Enver Hoxha. Speeches, 1971-73, p. 370.

*the creation of new productive capacities by utilizing internal resources.*

Of great importance in this respect are the orientations of the Party to open new departments and to build new factories by relying on our own efforts. The working class has played and shall continue to play a vanguard role in this field. But as a result of bureaucratic pressure, in some cases it has been observed that new lines have been created only for the sake of sensation and of providing work posts for some people, regardless of the fact whether the final product of these new lines is necessary. On other occasions, new lines of production have been created without a thorough study of their economic advantage. The lenient attitude towards these weaknesses has caused in some cases the artificially swollen number of workers and employees. The development and furtherance of this movement require that, on the basis of our positive past experience and by avoiding the weaknesses and shortcomings of the past, we must build new lines and factories that are necessary for, and advantageous to, our national economy.

In our country, as experience shows, social production and national income have risen very rapidly. This will be the trend of future development. This, on the other hand, raises the need of establishing and maintaining better proportions between the growth of the social production from increased work productivity and the growth of production from the mobilization of new sources of manpower.

During the period between 1950 and 1974 the increase of industrial production from these two

sources has been achieved in the following amount: 68 per cent by raising work productivity and 32 per cent by increasing labour power.

This dynamic development implies that, in the future too, in order to defray the expenses for the creation of new jobs, the stress should be put on raising work productivity. From this should be ensured the greater part of the increase of social production and of the national income. Only in this way is it possible to maintain the high rates of accumulation, to ensure the systematic rise of the standard of living and the rapid development of the whole people's economy.

Our experience of socialist construction has proved how ungrounded and erroneous is the view of the modern revisionists who claim that the broadening of the economic base tends to slow down the rhythm of economic development. According to their view, even in a socialist society, the greater the development of the economy and the larger its proportion, the smaller will be its possibilities to increase the production and to maintain high rates of development. These are out-and-out anti-Marxist sermons intended to justify their betrayal and their failure in the economic field, to explain the slow rates or the stagnation of the economy in the countries where revisionist cliques are in power.

The rise of work productivity must be considered in close connection also with the accelerated rates for the complete construction of the socialist society, beginning with the rates for the construction of its material and technical base.

As regards the future growth and development of the working class, more attention should be given

and better studied efforts should be made in regard to the sources from which new labour is obtained.

The Party has orientated that the new labour forces needed for the development of industry, mining and the other branches of the economy should be raised first of all in the cities, by engaging all the reserves formed by the natural growth of population and all forces released from particular enterprises or the reduction in administrations of enterprises and other institutions.

At present the towns and the non-farming branches of the economy, in general, have greater possibilities to replenish the ranks of the working class. These new forces can come from the natural growth of population in cities, which have over 800 thousand inhabitants as compared with about 250 thousand in 1950 and 500 thousand in 1960. Apart from that, the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution has prepared favourable conditions for a better mobilization of the working people of the town, particularly of women, for the filling of the ranks of the working class. This is a positive circumstance not only from the economic but also from the ideological-political point of view, since at present better conditions have been created for the working class to increase its ranks from its own midst.

This problem requires the intensification of the struggle against alien tendencies noticed among some townspeople to choose their jobs inside their own towns or districts, or to underrate some kinds of professions or jobs, and against the intellectualist concepts of underrating direct work in production.

When a city or a production center shows an increase of labour exceeding the needs of its indus-

ry and the other related branches, from the social and economic point of view, it is necessary to *engage the surplus labour power in agricultural enterprises, in construction*, and to avoid the practice of creating temporary workshops or unnecessary activities with the intention of employing it all within the city at any cost. In fact, thanks to the superiority of our economic and social order and the rapid economic and cultural development, there is no surplus labour power in our Republic, since our national economy absorbs all available labour sources and offers work to everybody for the construction of socialism.

In this respect, it is of particular importance to support and encourage the commendable initiatives, taken by some party organizations, state power organs and mass organizations to send town workers to the great projects of the five-year plan, in mines and saw-mills, or to have them settle temporarily or permanently in agriculture. Very significant are also the initiatives taken by quite a number, of administrative cadres in the center or the districts who, led by the example of the communists, volunteered to work in direct material production, where the country needs them most and where they can be trained in the great school of the working class.

This practice has sprung from the well-known orientation of the Party that the development, in the socialist sense, of the national economy should be conducted by relying with both feet on industry and agriculture, thus securing a more rapid development of the latter in the hilly and mountain regions. In this respect it should be borne in mind that the countryside and agriculture have never had and will never have surplus labour, that, on the con-

rary, agriculture offers so many work fronts that all the existing workers and those that will be added in future can be employed very efficiently.

Our Party has upheld the theses, now fully confirmed by experience, that *agriculture is one of the fundamental branches of the economy, and that its development is closely linked with the securing and strengthening of the country's independence and the construction of socialism*. Any other interpretation or underation of this vitally important problem for the destinies of socialism, whether due to considerations of momentary economic gains or superficially studied actions, is fraught with harmful political and economic consequences for the whole country. Therefore, in regard to this question, no breach or violation whatever of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party can or should be tolerated.

To prevent the drain upon the labour sources of the countryside, it is necessary to make careful estimates of the possibilities of increasing the degree of mechanization in mining operations, forest exploitation and saw-mills, in the opening of new roads through forest regions, in transport, etc.

It is also necessary to draw up and observe the balance of labour, as a means of valuable information in the hands of the state and economic organs in the center, the districts, and agricultural co-operatives, as a means of finding out how and to what extent the indices of labour respond to the objective economic laws of socialism, in particular, to the demands of the law of the proportional, and planned development of the people's economy. On this issue comrade Enver Hoxha has laid down the task of



keeping exact accounts of the state of existing labour in every district and everywhere, of recording their movements and development, of knowing where they are at present, where some of them can be sent, of keeping records about their age-groups, qualification, sex, etc.

The balance of labour sources must be an active means of discovering the real tendencies that may occur in the future, of encouraging positive tendencies and of taking, on that basis, the necessary steps towards a more correct division of the available manpower between the cities and the countryside, towards raising work productivity and finding the correct solution of many other problems in that field.

The future development of the working class is also linked with *the problem of maintaining a correct ratio between urban and rural population.*

The socialist industrialization of the country, the development of the newly created branches of the economy and culture have led to the increase of the urban population and of its specific weight. The rural population has also increased in number but its specific weight has diminished. In 1950 the rural population represented 84 per cent of the total population of the country and that of the cities only 16 per cent, whereas in 1973 these figures were 66 and 34 per cent respectively.

The present ratio between the urban and rural population is an important success of the policy pursued by the Party in this respect. According to the orientations of the Party, this ratio must be maintained in the future with the help of a series of circumstances and conditions. Thus, the develop-

ment of industry and agriculture, of the town and the countryside, will continue at rapid rates. The urban population is producing increasingly larger numbers of manpower ready to join the ranks of the working class. In the countryside, apart from farming, other branches and sectors of industry, mining, the social-economic sectors, etc., are being developed. To the achievement of this objective will also contribute the further narrowing of the gap between the town and the countryside, the economic and organizational improvements carried out in agricultural cooperatives, the higher standard of scientific planning of the development and distribution of labour sources.

From what is said so far, it is important to understand the correct significance of the notions «population living in village territory» and «farming population». Not all those who live in the villages are engaged in farming; some of them are employed in industrial work, others in the spheres of the services or in auxiliary work, still others in cultural and educational activities, etc. But it is essential that the predominant part of the manpower in the countryside should be employed in agriculture. This road of economic and social development of the countryside will also help to carry out the task of establishing and maintaining a correct ratio between the city population and the population living in village territory.

The modern revisionists hold that the migration of the population from the countryside to the city, regardless of its intensity and its effect on agricultural production, is always a positive phenomenon, which allegedly serves the interests of social

and economic progress. Because of these anti-Marxist concept today in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries a process of depopulation and degeneration of the villages is taking place. It is superfluous to explain here that these views have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and with the construction of a really socialist society. They are, in fact, a product born in the capitalist-revisionist bed.

### III

## THE PLACE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF OUR SOCIETY, ITS DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE DISTRICTS AND AMONG THE SPHERES AND BRANCHES OF OUR ECONOMY

### 1. THE PLACE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN OUR CLASS STRUCTURE

Immediately after the establishment of the people's power, the socialization of the means of production and the land reform transformed the economic and social structure of our country to the advantage of socialism. The country's economy now existed in three principal forms: the socialist economy, the small-scale production and the capitalist economy.

The socialist form was comprised of industry and mining, transport and communications, the financial system, foreign trade and wholesale home trade, the agricultural enterprises and cooperatives, the machine and tractor stations, the forests and the subsoil wealth. By the end of 1947 it occupied a dominant position in our economy. Its specific

gravity represented about 95 per cent of the total industrial output.

The small-scale production engaged the largest part of our working population. It included the small and medium sized peasant holdings and the private craftsmen who did not employ hired labour. All these people lived almost exclusively on the income from their own work.

The capitalist form included the kulak economy in the countryside, the merchants and middlemen, as well as the private craftsmen and the petty undertakers who employed hired labour. Its specific gravity was about 5 per cent of the total economy of the country. Its activity was mainly concentrated in the circulation of commodities. In 1947 private commerce represented about 80 per cent of the total volume of retail trade in the country.

To these three forms of the economy corresponded three distinct social classes: the working class, the working peasantry and the bourgeoisie. The workers and the working peasantry became the two dominant classes of our society. After being divested of its political power and losing its principal means of production, the bourgeoisie lost also its former importance. But in the efforts to defend its class interests it waged a bitter struggle against the socialist construction of the country and, in this, it had the support of international imperialism.

The great economic and social victories achieved in socialist construction have brought radical changes to the social and class structure of the country.

With the construction of the economic foundations of socialism, the multiform economy of the

country gradually disappeared and was replaced by a single economic system — the system of socialist economy. Statistic data show that in 1966 the socialist sector accounted for 99 per cent of the total industrial production, 80 per cent of the agricultural production, 100 per cent of the wholesale and 90 per cent of the retail trade. About 90 per cent of the national income accrued from the socialist sector. Parallel with these changes in the economic structure of the country, similar changes took place in the class structure of society.

In his scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of the economic and social changes that had taken place in our country, at the 4th Congress of PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out: «The characteristic and fundamental feature of the class structure of our country at the present stage is the existence of two friendly classes, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, their alliance under the leadership of the working class, and the consolidation, on this basis, of the moral and political unity of all working people»<sup>1</sup>.

As our revolution advances towards the complete construction of the socialist society, the ranks of the working class, as is already noted, increase rapidly causing considerable changes in the social structure of the country. Consequently, the specific weight of the workers has increased, while that of the peasantry decreased.

The consolidation of the position of the work-

---

1) Enver Hoxha. Report to the 4th Congress of the PLA, Tirana, 1961, p. 38.

ing class in the social structure is clearly demonstrated by the following figures:

*Social structure of the country<sup>1</sup>*

		in per cent		
Nr.		1960	1969	1973
1.	Workers	29.1	32.9	36.2
2.	Peasants	58.7	55.7	49.4
	Of these:			
	Cooperativists	41.6	55.4	49.4
	Individual farmers	17.1	0.3	—
3.	Office workers (intelligentsia)	11.3	11.4	14.4
4.	Private craftsmen, etc.	0.9	0.1	—

These figures show that the social structure of our country has continually improved in correct ratios. From less than 11 per cent of the population in 1950, the working class was over 36 per cent in 1973. This positive tendency clearly demonstrates the growth of the working class and the consolidation of its dominant position in the political, social and economic development of the country.

Although the big landowners, the feudal lords and the capitalists have disappeared as a class long ago, isolated elements of that class are still living and hoping to regain their «lost paradise». In open or underhand ways, as the occasions may present

1) «30 Years of Socialist Albania», p. 28.

themselves, they make desperate efforts to hit the Party and to hinder the socialist construction of our country. That is why the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha teach us to be on the look-out, to sharpen our revolutionary vigilance and to deal mercilessly with all ill-wishers. Of special importance in this struggle is the profound study and the implementation of the teachings of, and duties laid down at, the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th plenums of the Central Committee of the PLA.

At present our country has reached a new historical stage, the stage of the complete construction of a socialist society. The basic tendencies outlined for this stage consist in the further deepening of the ideologic and cultural revolution, the more rapid progress of the productive forces towards the complete construction of the material and technical base of socialism, the further development and improvement of the socialist relations in production, the strengthening and the defence of our socialist Homeland. Upon this basis, new important steps will be made to unceasingly narrow the essential distinctions between the working class and the co-operativist peasantry as well as between those two classes, on the one hand, and the strata of the intelligentsia, on the other.

From time to time, more often in recent years, a number of measures have been taken to narrow the essential distinctions between the two forms of socialist ownership — the socialist state ownership and the co-operativist ownership. An important progress in that respect was made by enlarging the agricultural cooperatives and by setting up new higher-type cooperatives with a higher degree of

socialization of the cooperativist property, bringing it gradually closer to the type of common ownership of the entire people. The differences of income among the workers, cooperativists and the intelligentsia have also been continually narrowed. Similarly, the distinctions in their mode of living, their educational and cultural level as well as their mode of thinking, are being reduced.

In this way, the present classes that compose our society have taken new positions and have acquired quite new features. The working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the stratum of the people's intelligentsia have radically altered their positions and their role in society, and are rapidly developing both in numbers and, especially, in quality. The working class and the peasantry are friendly classes with common aims and ideals, and are guided by the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, with wisdom and foresight.

With the Party at its head, the working class is playing a leading role in the whole life of the country. Speaking at the 6th Congress of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha said: «It is of special importance to the working that it itself should understand, in the first place, not only its role as the decisive productive force, but also its political role as the vanguard class in our society. With its struggle, stand and example, it draws in behind it the whole mass of the rest of the population, induces in everybody the proletarian spirit, discipline and culture in work and life»<sup>1</sup>. Freed once and for all from

capitalist oppression and exploitation, tempered in the class struggle, and trained to overcome all internal and external obstacles and difficulties, our working class is further strengthening its class consciousness and is consolidating its characteristics as a vanguard class which sets the tone to all the life of the country; it has raised its ideological, educational cultural and technical-professional level beyond comparison.

## **2. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORKING CLASS AMONG THE DISTRICTS OF THE COUNTRY**

Another important aspect of the structural changes of the working class is its territorial distribution among the various districts and regions of the country. The distribution of the working class is a direct consequence of the rational development and geographical distribution of the productive forces, of the development of industry, agriculture and the other branches of the production of material production, the development of public services and the social-cultural life in all the districts of the country.

The implementation of the policy of socialist industrialization, has enabled the Party to take measures for the productive forces and the working class to be rationally developed and distributed over the country. The aim of this policy is to insure the more or less harmonious development of all the districts, to overcome the pronounced backwardness the country inherited from the past, particularly in some of the districts to further improve and

<sup>1</sup> Enver Hoxha. Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 115.

raise the living standard of the masses of working people and to strengthen the economic capacity and the defence potential of the country.

The Party has treated these problems not just from the economic vantage point, but first as problems of political and ideological importance. *The presence everywhere of the working class has been and will continue to be considered as an indispensable condition for the diffusion of the class spirit everywhere, for its influence over the other masses of people and for the education of the latter in the qualities of the working class, by increasingly strengthening and enhancing its leading role in the process of socialist construction.*

The numerical growth and development of the working class in all the regions and districts of the country has made it possible to secure the organized and broad participation of all the labour material and financial resources of the country in the economic turnover and in the process of extended socialist reproduction. It has helped to reduce, and will help to completely eliminate in the future, the essential distinctions between the town and the countryside, between industry and agriculture, between the working class and the peasantry.

From the past our country inherited not only and extremely low level of development of its productive forces but also their disproportionate territorial distribution. As a result of their unequal and spontaneous development during the feudal-bourgeois regime of king Zog, even the few existing enterprises and workshops were distributed according to the capitalist criteria of concentrating them there where labour was cheapest and the capitalist

owners could secure largest profits. Thus, in 1938 about 80 per cent of the total number of industrial workers were concentrated in only six of the country's districts (Berat, Korça, Durrës, Shkodra, Tirana and Vlora), while not more than 40 per cent of the country's population lived in these same districts. At the same time, 6 other most backward districts (Kolonja, Mat, Tepelena, Skrapar, Përmet, Tropoja) employed only 0.8 per cent of the industrial workers while over 13 per cent of the population of the country lived in them. The unequal distribution of the working class in the period before Liberation is also witnessed by the fact that in 1938, in the first group of 6 districts, 27 per cent of the population lived in towns, while in the second group the urban population was very small.

The people's power attaches special and continued importance to the question of proportionate distribution of the productive forces. The Marxist-Leninist principles of the territorial distribution of the productive forces have been applied by our Party in a creative manner, in keeping with the conditions of the country, its comparatively small surface, its predominantly mountainous character, the pronounced technical and cultural backwardness inherited from the past, and the present state of complete geographical imperialist and revisionist encirclement.

The vigorous development of the economy in all its branches was followed by a more correct territorial distribution of the productive forces. Every year, hundreds of new signs dot the map of the country, marking newly built factories, power plants and high tension lines, newly opened farm

lands, new cities, the commissioning of new mineral resources and the opening of new roads throughout the country. And all this construction work has been done according to correct criteria and with considerations of economic benefit. «Nothing has been built without a definite purpose, without consideration of economic advantage,» comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «nothing is built where it should not, far from the sources of raw materials, or before securing the raw material locally. This has avoided to the maximum possible the concentration of industry in few centers, and now not a single district of the country is without its factory, without industry in its territory»<sup>1</sup>.

On the basis of this development it became possible to gradually overcome the extreme technical and economic backwardness inherited from the past. The number of workers increased more rapidly in the formerly less developed districts than that of the whole country. Thus in 1972, as compared with 1960, while the total number of workers of the country doubled, in the district of Fier it increased three times, in Kruja more than three times, in Mirdita more than four times, in Tepelena and Kukës 3.5 times, etc. In this way it was possible to eliminate the pronounced disproportions that existed in the economic development of the past and to ensure a more uniform distribution of the productive forces and especially of the working class in the districts.

1) Enver Hoxha. Speech at the meeting with the electors for deputies to the National Assembly, «Zëri i Popullit», March 3, 1962.

This process helped to establish new relations among the districts and regions of the country, including new mineral sources in the sphere of production, particularly in the northern parts of the country which had been much neglected in the past. This made it possible to set up new industrial and residential centers in places where there were none in the past. In 1938 our country had only 19 cities, now there are over 60. Prrenjas, Memaliaj, Rubik, Maliq, Hoxhara, Kurbnesh, Bulqiza, Ballsh and many other new towns have been added up to our map, while the former towns have completely changed their former aspect and have developed into modern centers thanks to the development of industry and the other branches of the economy.

This is a concrete expression of the advantages offered by the rational territorial distribution of the productive forces and the working class in the framework of the planned development of the people's economy. Speaking about these advantages, Engels says: «The proletariat seizes the social power and through it transforms the means of production, taken away from the bourgeoisie, into the property of the entire society... From that moment social production can be carried out according to a previously studied plan»<sup>1</sup>.

However, important differences still exist in the various districts concerning the ratio between the workers and the population, as well as in the development of the different branches of economy. In nine of the country's districts, the relative densi-

1) F. Engels «Anti-Duhring», 1974, p. 325 (Alb. ed.).

ty of the working class is 90-110 per 1,000 inhabitants, as compared with 135, which is the average density, and with 190-280 which is the highest density recorded. Thus, in the districts of Tirana, Durrës, Berat, Mirdita, Kruja, Vlora the density of the working class is 220-280 per 1,000 inhabitants, while in the districts of Përmet, Dibra, Kolonja, Lezha, Mat and Tropoja it is 90-110. Besides, these differences become even more pronounced if only the industrial workers are taken into consideration, since in some districts most of the workers are engaged in public services and agriculture, and comparatively few work in industry. This situation raises a number of problems:

— Differences in the development of the productive forces and particularly in the distribution of industry and the working class among the districts will continue to exist in the foreseeable future. This economic and social problem is just as important as it is hard to solve. Its final solution cannot be expected either in one year or even in five years, for it requires a relatively longer period. Our experience has proved, however, that the question of the territorial distribution of the productive forces, of the coordination among the different branches of the economy, particularly of industry and agriculture, are very important and require our constant attention.

—It is also necessary that the territorial distribution of industry and the other branches of the economy should be decided upon according to sound political, economic and social criteria. It must be said that the central departments do not always pay due attention to the said criteria; they do not

make thorough studies of labour sources available in the districts or of harmonizing the industry and the other branches of production, with agriculture, etc. Therefore, the indices of the distribution of the productive forces, and the working class should be reflected continually in both the drawing-up and the implementation of five-year plans of our economic and cultural development. Such indices may include, for example: 1) The amount of capital investments allotted to the various districts, estimated per 1,000 inhabitants; 2) the degree of harmonization between the natural growth of the population and the creation and extension of new fronts of labour; 3) the degree of employment of the working forces in the town and the countryside; 4) the territorial distribution of the productive forces, in general, and of industry and the working class, in particular; 5) the foreseeable transformations in the structure of urban and rural population, etc.

— For the rational distribution of the industry and consequently of working class, the Party has pointed out the necessity of investigating the possibilities of building closer relations between industry and agriculture, of setting up industry in the remote areas, without interfering with the development of industry in the cities and other large inhabited centers.

This is another problem which requires a special attention and more studies.

The setting-up of workshops and industrial enterprises for the treatment of minerals, timber, building materials, etc. in the remote parts of the country, near villages and near the sources of raw materials, is a commendable experience. It does not



mean that such workshops and enterprises should be set up every-where, but only where the necessary conditions and possibilities exist, where their size admits of such technical equipment and specialization as can match up with the demands for increased output and improved quality of production. This would create propitious conditions for the better employment of the labour forces of both the town and the countryside, for narrowing the distinctions between the city and the country, for improving the living conditions of the population in the countryside, for making more state investments, and for the creation of more jobs. It is obvious that this requires much care and caution, that every exaggeration, which might harm agriculture, should be carefully avoided.

— Engineering, industry plays an important role in the all-round development of the districts. The road followed up to now for the concentrated development of regions has proved very effective. The strengthening of the existing bases and their gradual extension over other districts shall contribute to the setting-up of new lines and sectors of production in towns and villages relying on their own efforts, shall strengthen the repair bases and the production of spare parts, which our people's economy needs.

The translation into life of the guidelines issued by the Party and of the objectives determined by the government regarding these problems will enable us to consider the numerical growth and the distribution of the working class in the various regions and districts of the country in close connection with, and integrated in, all the other econo-

mic and social problems, thus securing the gradual narrowing of the essential differences between the town and the countryside.

### 3. THE STRUCTURE OF THE WORKING CLASS ACCORDING TO THE MAIN SPHERES OF THE ECONOMY

**Composition of workers and working people according to spheres of production — a problem of political and ideological character.**

The problem of planning the distribution of workers among the branches of the sphere of material production and in the non-producing sphere is very important both from the theoretical and practical aspect, because the way in which the distribution of the labour forces between these two spheres is carried out, the way in which the broad criteria are applied and the best ratios maintained in this direction, condition to a large extent the harmonious development of the various branches of the economy, the rational and effective utilization of the labour sources in society, the rates of economic and social development as well as a series of other problems. This bears directly on the all-round material, cultural, spiritual and psychological development of working people, whose requirements and needs are constantly growing and can be met better through their own well-organized and conscious work for the socialist construction of the country. Therefore, on the way labour is distributed among

these spheres by the society depends largely the putting in life of these fundamental objectives of our socialist society.

In viewing the problem from this angle, it is necessary to form most correct notions about the role and place each of these spheres of economic and social development occupies in our socialist order. The producing sphere comprises such branches of the economy that create material values, as industry, agriculture, construction, as well as the branches which upgrade the value of produced goods, such as transport, the packing and wrapping done in trade, the supply of material and technical facilities, etc. The non-producing sphere, on the other hand, is comprised of the branches which do not directly produce material values. Such branches are education, culture, health service, commercial network, administration, etc.

The production work expended in industry, agriculture, construction, etc., directly creates concrete material values, the social product which constitutes the material base for the existence and development of society. The primary necessities of life are food, clothing, housing, as well as the other commodities of daily consumption. Though not directly connected with the creation of material values, the amount of work spent outside the sphere of material production is also necessary and useful when utilized in a reasonable way and in reasonable proportions. It plays an important part in raising the educational and cultural level of, in facilitating the work and in the performance of services for, the people.

*Productive work, the growth of productivity of*

*labour and the creation of material values are indispensable conditions for the existence and the development of activities in the non-producing sphere.* That is why, taking into account the place occupied and the role played by each of the spheres of economic and social development, it is necessary that *the number of workers employed in the branches of material production and their specific weight should be superior to and must have absolute majority over the working people of the non-producing sphere.* The number of workers in the branches of the producing sphere should increase constantly parallel with their work productivity, because the workers are the principal and direct factor of producing material values. Whereas the number of directors, office workers and other personnel should gradually diminish.

The progress of the socialist society cannot even be conceived either without the vigorous development of industry, agriculture, construction and transport, or without the development of education, culture, science and public services. The process of bringing together and coordinating these two spheres of the people's economy, *giving absolute priority to the branches of material production*, is a process of profound dialectic importance.

The further deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution as well as of the technical-scientific revolution, the efforts to carry on the socialist revolution call for trained and skilled working masses, for qualified cadres, able to handle modern machineries and apparatuses with which the various branches of the people's economy have been and will be continually equipped. Therefore, our Party

and our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat attach great attention also to education, culture science, public services, etc.

The significance of the character of work and the ratios established in the distribution of workers between the producing and the non-producing spheres is, in the last analysis, determined by the character and the kind of relations in production.

In capitalist society productive work is that from which the capitalist makes profits. The bourgeois theoreticians and the revisionist ideologists try to «confirm» the need for a rapid growth of the number of workers in the non-producing sphere. Behind the mask of so-called new phenomena and trends created by the technical-scientific revolution and the increased ownership of state monopoly-capitalism, they are speculating with a host of «theories», which have sprung up like so many mushrooms after rain, on the allegedly select role of the intelligentsia, particularly of the technical-scientific type, in production and in the overall development of society, trying in that way to negate the role of the working class in revolution and in production, to justify the growth and strengthening of the bourgeois bureaucratic apparatus which oppresses and exploits the working class and the other masses of working people.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries, the growth of the non-producing sphere is a direct outcome of the nature and composition of the existing social order. At the same time, this growth brings about the intensification of the parasitic nature of that social order, of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the other privileged sections. The problem becomes

more serious, particularly in the conditions of the technical-scientific revolution, in which in order to open a work place much more financial and material means are required. Therefore, it is easier for the bourgeoisie to provide for the extension of the non-producing spheres, such as those of commerce, social services, and others, especially when these require only the employment of low paid workers and secure profits for the capitalists. It is a general characteristic that in the capitalist and revisionist countries, in the bulk of the people engaged in the non-producing sphere a very important place is occupied by the state bureaucratic apparatus, by the military caste, police force, etc.

As a result of this development, in these countries a double tendency is in play: on the one hand, the specific gravity of people in the sphere of production is reduced, while, on the other hand, the specific gravity of the people of the non-producing sphere is increased. Thus, in the main capitalist countries, the non-producing sphere occupies 30-40 per cent of the number of working people. In the Soviet Union, to quote an example, in the year 1960 the people engaged in the non-producing sphere (included here are also the commerce workers) represented 20.8 per cent of the total number of people in work relations, in the year 1971 they increased to 27.6 per cent; in Czechoslovakia the figures grew respectively from 22.5 per cent in 1960, to 28.6 per cent in 1971; in the German Democratic Republic from 26.9 in 1960 to 30 per cent in the year 1970<sup>1</sup>, and so on.

1) «Statisticheskij Yezhegodnik». Moscow 1972, pp. 401-403.

**Structure of working class in two spheres of social activity**

From various analyses and many-years' studies it emerges that the revolutionary line pursued by our Party for the construction of the socialist society has enabled the general and gradual establishment of correct proportions between the producing and non-producing sphere, both on a national scale and on the district and regional scale.

Proceeding from the data of the year 1973, the specific gravity of workers according to the two spheres of the social activity, is as follows:

Name	Specific gravity in per cent
Total number of workers of them:	100
— In the producing sphere* (all told)	84
— In the non-producing sphere	16

The proportions created and the tendencies observed to the distribution of workers between the two spheres of the social activity clearly confirm

\* Note. In the producing sphere are included the workers of the branches of industry, state agriculture, construction, transport and communications and the other branches of productive character. In the non-producing sphere are included the workers of the sector of trade, communal services, education and culture, health services. As for the workers of the producing activities in trade and the other sectors of the non-producing sphere, their number has been included in the number of workers of the producing sphere according to respective branches.

the priority which has been given and continues to be given to the rapid development rates of the productive forces in industry, agriculture, construction, transport of goods, etc.

Parallel with this, the raising of the educational and cultural level as well as the training of cadres, the protection of people's health and the improvement of the services on the part of trade, and the other living conditions of the people have marked a great step forward both in the town and in the country. *The basis created in these fields has had and will have an ever growing impact, in the future, on the allround development of the country.*

A deeper analysis of the said structure and distribution of the other workers and office workers among the two spheres of economic activity reveals the indispensability of devoting increased care to the following fundamental problems:

— To harmonize the rates of development of the producing and the non-producing spheres ever better, *giving priority to the numerical growth and activity of the people employed in the producing sphere. Production and not services, or the non-producing sphere, must always take the lead.*

In giving priority to the numerical growth of the people engaged in the producing sphere, an important part is played by the continuous implementation of the revolutionary line of the Party for the construction of the material-technical basis of socialism at rapid rates, by giving priority to industry, as the leading branch of the entire people's economy, and agriculture, as the basic branch; the commissioning of more new economic and natural resources; the construction of large, middle and small-

scale, projects, the further deepening of the technical-scientific revolution. These measures lead to the rapid growth of the number of workers in the sphere of production as well as the increase of their specific gravity in it. This is an indispensable condition for the successful construction of socialism, for the uninterrupted uplift of the material and cultural level of the people.

— Taking into account the large number of people who are engaged in the non-producing sphere and the material outlays necessitated by the development of this sphere, it is necessary to increase the care for, and to show ever more attention to, it that its development should proceed in harmony with the development of the producing sphere and rely on, and be coped with by, the growth of production and productivity of labour of the workers in the branches of material production.

In our country, the branches of the non-producing sphere develop from the funds of socialist accumulation. Our people pay no taxes or fees. Education and health services are free of charge for everybody in the town and in the country. Under the plan for the year 1975 only, the expenses for the development of education, culture and the health service take up 1/5 of the state budget.

The incorrect planning and utilization of funds for the non-producing sector is of undesirable consequences, because it slows down the development rates of the producing and non-producing spheres. The Party has always recommended that these sectors develop in accordance with the existing conditions and possibilities and the general needs of the country, in harmony with the development rates of the

national economy, and with the tasks of raising the material and cultural level of the working masses; as well as this, it has recommended that exaggerated and inopportune expenditure be fought against. It may be reasonable to establish a rule according to which, in case the producing sphere fails to reach the target of production and productivity foreseen in the plan for a given period, the plan of development of the non-producing sphere should be modified for the same period. This does not necessarily mean to curtail the non-producing sphere, but to harmonize it better with the possibilities offered by the general development of the economy.

*That is why the economical and rational use of manpower in the non-producing sphere is a particularly important question.* In this respect, first of all, we must fight the wrong idea, which existed in the past and occasionally emerges even at present, that the non-producing sphere can be treated as a sector in which work fronts can be extended without established criteria and without preliminary estimates. Much attention is also required in raising the productivity of the workers employed in this sphere. This can be facilitated by standardization of labour and, wherever possible, by mechanization of work processes, by improving the scientific organization of work, etc. But in the everyday practice, there are cases when problems concerning the non-producing sphere receive much less attention than similar problems arising in the producing sphere. That is why in some cases the non-producing sphere employs more personnel than is normally necessary, thus raising the expenses for wages and other purposes.

Apart from the negative economic effect, these

phenomena cannot fail to affect the *qualitative composition of the working class*, since the workers employed in commerce, who limit their activity to little more than selling goods, or those employed in the communal services, are gradually departing from direct material production.

— Particular care and attention are also needed in *establishing a correct ratio between workers and employees, so as not to allow an exaggerated number of people to be included in the personnel of an office, or the swelling of the directing and administrative staff in the state organs* of the center, the district and the smaller divisions, since such swellings create conditions favourable to the development of bureaucracy. Our Party has mercilessly fought bureaucracy and bureaucratic practices and considers this fight an important aspect of the class struggle.

However, this is still a problem of the day which requires much attention and uninterrupted revolutionary vigilance. As a result of the bureaucratic pressure, in some cases the number of personnel and the directing and administrative staff at different points of the state apparatus or the people's economy has been increased in different forms and manners. After the curtailments of the directing and administrative staff carried out in 1966 in the enterprises, the executive committees of the people's councils and the central administration, their number again grew within a very short time. Thus, in 1966 the Ministry of Agriculture, including the central apparatus, the agricultural enterprises and the research institutes had under its dependence 3,044 people employed in its administration; in 1974 their number rose to 9,515. The Ministry of Construction had under its dependen-

ce 2,206 people, but gradually their number in the official personnel and non-official employees grew to 5,726, and so on.

This swelling of the personnel results also from the creation of unnecessary offices, directories over directories, from the division and fragmentation of enterprises etc. In 1966 the Ministry of Communications had under its dependence 30 enterprises and branches, which in 1974, mainly through fragmentation, reached the number of 86. The other central administrations have around themselves also a large number of institutions, at which a lot of specialists and other administrative-directing personnel had been amassed<sup>1</sup>.

The determined and ceaseless struggle against bureaucracy is directly linked with the defence of the revolutionary character of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has been and continues to be waged not only against the superfluous links and excessive swelling of the personnel in institutions and directing organs and links and in services with office workers, but also against the idealist and individualist outlook of cadres and the intelligentsia, against the danger of their detachment and departure from the broad masses of the working people, against concepts, tendencies and practices for an easy life.

The Party teaches us that the active participation of all working people and the organs elected by them and especially of the working class in the running of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat should increase.

It is important to fight with determination

---

1) Enver Hoxha. Reports and Speeches, 1972-1973, p. 40.

against bureaucracy, in order to make the masses as conscious as possible about the discharge of their duties, so that all and everyone should take the responsibility for his own work. This implies that the apparatuses should not be swelled with wage-earners and office workers, so that the apparatuses must become less costly and more manoeuvrable, raising their qualification to the highest degree.

Among other things, these demand that all alien conservative, bureaucratic, technocratic and liberal concepts that crop up their heads time and again, must be broken and thrown away. Some times some voices are heard saying that, with the development of the economy, with the rapid development rates of the productive forces, jobs have also been increasing, therefore the increased personnel is only acceptable and logical. It is true that development there is. It is an objective dialectic development, but at the same time we must not forget that in this entire process of progress, the working class is also developing, its educational, cultural technical-professional level is being continuously raised, and as a consequence its directing ability is also growing. Therefore this development must lead us towards making the apparatuses simple, light and handy, and not towards increasing them unduly. In regard to this question, we must always hold in view the great teaching of comrade Enver Hoxha: «When the class speaks bureaucracy does not speak, on the contrary, when the class does not speak bureaucracy crops up its head»<sup>1</sup>.

As a conclusion it can be said that the solicitude

for the correct and high efficiency development of the non-producing sphere, in the conditions and due to the proportions it has assumed, creates possibilities for its future development to be realized with less expenditures and less people. *This would help improve its harmonious development further in relation with the sphere of material production.*

#### 4. THE STRUCTURE OF THE WORKING CLASS ACCORDING TO BRANCHES OF THE ECONOMY

The economic-social development of our country has been accompanied by important changes in the activity of the population, especially in the distribution of the working class among the various branches of the people's economy. The numerical growth and the distribution of the working class among the branches of the economy follows the general economic-social development of the country step by step.

There is a growth in number of the working class in all the branches of the national economy. It is an expression of the creation and development of an independent people's economy, with a complex light and heavy industry, with modern agriculture and with advanced culture and science. As a result of this development, the numerical growth and the structure of the working class in the main branches of the people's economy appears as follows:

1) Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches, 1972-1973, p. 37.

*Average number of workers in the branches of the people's economy in 1950, 1970 and 1973*

(in thousands)

Branches of the people's economy and culture	1950*	1970	1973	
			Number of workers	In percentage
Total number	82.8	307.0	356.5	100.0
Of these:				
In industry	20.7	124.3	147.1	41.3
In construction	17.9	44.4	43.0	12.1
In agriculture	7.0	72.1	77.3	21.7
In transport and commun.	7.0	13.2	22.0	6.1
In commerce and accoul.	9.0	31.8	34.6	9.7
In communal services	1.0	10.9	13.5	3.8
In education, culture, health	10.8	4.7	9.2	2.5
In administration	8.8	—	2.1	0.6
Miscellaneous	—	5.6	7.7	2.2

The table shows that numerically the industrial workers occupy the first place (41.3%) as compared with the workers employed in the other branches of the people's economy. If the comparison is made with

\*) For lack of data in 1950, the figures represent the total number of all workers according to branches, employees included. In the sector of education culture and the administration the number of workers in 1950 results higher than in the other years, since particularly in these sectors the number of officials and teachers is much higher than the number of workers employed in these sectors. For 1970 and 1973 only the number of workers has been recorded. (From the annual statistics of 1971, 1972 and 1974).

the number of cooperativists and agricultural workers taken together, then the workers in industry will rate second after the workers in agriculture. This shows that despite the impetuous development of industry, the basic branch of our economy, in which the greater amount of social labour is spent, remains agriculture, which has been developing and modernizing unceasingly.

The important thing is to point out that the part of the working class employed in industry secures a higher work productivity than the workers employed in agriculture and in the other branches of the economy. Most of the industrial workers operate machines and work according to new technologic processes.

It is also of fundamental importance to point out that the greater part (over 85 per cent) of the industrial workers are engaged in direct industrial activities, while the remainder are engaged in construction, transport and other such activities.

In comparison with the past, the structure of the workers in industry has undergone a radical change from the point of view of their distribution among the various branches of industry. As a result of the priority given to heavy industry over the light industry, production of the means of production (group A) stands for about 60 per cent of the overall industrial output, whereas the production of consumer goods about 40 per cent. Therefore, in the army of industrial workers the main place, about 63 per cent, is taken up by the workers of the oil, mining, engineering, electric and chemical, the building materials, timber and paper industries. The rest is made up of the workers employed in light and food-processing industry.



*The growth and development of the industrial workers is, first of all, a victory of great political importance. The industrial workers, particularly those of the heavy and mining industries, play a very important political-social part among the working class for the strengthening and consolidation of the revolutionary features of the working class itself and the strengthening and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

In the background of the tasks set by the Party for the further development of the heavy and light industries the number of workers in these branches will continue to grow in the future, too. Besides this, the structure of workers according to the different sub-branches inside the heavy and light industries will be further improved. Thus, by creating and developing the branches of the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the deep oil treatment, the chemical industry, etc., the number of workers in these branches as well as their specific gravity against the total number of workers in heavy industry will increase. The same will take place with the building industry and development of new enterprises of the light and food-processing industry.

From the data of these last 10-15 years it emerges that the most important growth in number has been recorded by the workers of the irrigation sector, agricultural enterprises, the MTS (machine and tractor stations), and those of the research institutes, who participate directly in agricultural production or create the material and technical conditions necessary for its continuous growth. The first place is occupied by workers of agricultural enterprises, followed by those of the MTS, the forestry and the scientific-

research institutes, who, reckoned together represented about 90 per cent of the total number of agricultural workers in 1973. This testifies to the extension of the state sector of agriculture, as well as to the great solicitude of the Party for the strengthening of the material and technical base of agriculture continually, and for the spreading of science in agriculture ever more broadly<sup>1</sup>.

The data also show that the number of workers has increased in communications, commerce, communal services, etc. Thus for example, in commerce the number of workers has reached about 35 thousand, in the communal service about 14 thousand. Only during the decade 1960-70 another 25 thousand workers were added to these sectors and their number has continued to increase during the five-year period 1971-75. In every 55 inhabitants one is employed in the trade services.

A penetrating analysis of these facts shows that we must be much more moderate in the future increase of the number of workers in these sectors. For it is not normal for the trade sector to expand too much unnecessarily or prematurely. It is not infrequent that tradeshops are set up almost in every block of houses in the cities or in every group of 30-40 houses in hamlets. This practice has artificially increased the number of workers and employees in the retail trade, of whom one part must be curtailed. The improvement of the trade, communal and other services can be achieved, first of all, by raising the quality of

---

1) The social-class structure of agricultural workers is treated in detail in a special publication of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies. It deals with the problem of the social-class structure in the countryside.

work, by mechanization of the processes and by applying better forms of organization. The concepts and practices, observed in many cases, of increasing the number of workers without criteria, even when only a few can do the job pretty well, are harmful.

#### 5. THE STRUCTURE OF THE WORKING CLASS WITHIN ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES

Let us go over now to the consideration of questions concerning the internal structure and the ratio of workers in economic enterprises.

To raise the efficiency and the importance of social work, particular attention is also required by the problems of establishing a structure with a more correct distribution of workers employed in the essential processes and those in the auxiliary processes of service in the economic enterprises. The establishment of correct proportions in this respect and their constant improvement is such that requires careful study and planning. It is right here, in the enterprise, that the real task of establishing correct proportions between workers and employees, between essential and auxiliary workers, begins. If correct proportions are determined and observed here, in the basic cells of social production, no doubt, they will be established and maintained also in the level of sectors and branches, indeed, in the whole economy. It is the enterprises which condition the beginnings of this process, therefore, the work to hit the alien bureaucratic and technocratic tendencies and manifestations must be extended over and deepened inside enterprises, factories and various work-shops. Here are great reserves for the reduction of the number and better utilization of workers and working people.

In the whole economic-productive activity of the enterprise, the main and decisive role is played by the workers who are directly employed in production and, first of all, by those engaged in the main processes of production. That is why comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, «... we do not think, as is sometimes the case of those who claim, that without engineers, without agronomists, without these or those high specialists, we cannot make headway, the work cannot go ahead. It is true, and we estimate the role they play in the development of production, but it must never be forgotten that the tools and the means of production and the industrial goods are directly produced by the worker, that grain is directly grown by the peasant, the cooperativist, that they are the decisive factors in the production of material blessings.»<sup>1</sup>

The party organizations and the state organs have been working to put into effect this lesson of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha. In practice, however, many cases of incorrect actions are noticed, which speak of a lack of deep understanding of the vital importance these problem carry, of the need for waging a more resolute struggle against bureaucracy and technocracy, with the aim of ensuring a further growth of the productivity of social work and, as a result, the improvement of the people's wellbeing. Here is the origin of the wrong practices observed in some enterprises, where one out of 7-9 workers is a supervisor or a technical or economic employee not directly engaged in production.<sup>2</sup> This shows that in these enterprises the proportions are

1) Enver Hoxha. Reports and Speeches, 1969-1970, p. 313.

2) «Zëri i Popullit», April 3, 5 and 6, 1975.

incorrect. The number of the technical, economic and administrative personnel is too high, which accounts for low productivity of direction work, for fragmentary and insufficient organization of work and for other manifestations of a bureaucratic nature.

Incorrect proportions exist in some economic enterprises also between the workers engaged in the main processes of production and those engaged in auxiliary duties and services. There are cases where one in every 4-5 workers is employed in some auxiliary section (in the workshops, the boiler's transport etc.), or is engaged in auxiliary and service processes in the main sectors. This proves that in the auxiliary processes and sectors of production the standards of mechanization and the indices of productivity are low, that the norms of work and the criteria of putting workers to these processes have not always been based on studies and on sound scientific principles. Therefore, the task has been set that the struggle against bureaucracy in this field, too, must be waged uninterruptedly and closely connected with the difficulties, contradictions and preoccupations. This struggle can put up with neither formalism, nor one-sidedness.

Of course, this process develops through some contradictions. An important problem in this respect is, for example, the size of the sections and departments of an enterprise. Despite the great successes achieved in the concentration of production, the duties laid down for its rapid development and for the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution often encounter the obstacles of obsolete organizational structures of production and too small departments and sections. This contradiction can be settled

by introducing the principles of concentration and specialization of the production not only on the enterprise or the branch level, but also inside the enterprises, in order to enlarge and improve their organizational structure and set them on better scientific foundations. This constitutes an urgent need to raise the effectiveness of production, to make more efficient use of labour, to reduce and better employ the technical-economic and administrative personnel. The reductions that will be brought about by these improvements in production will lead to the growth of the number of workers engaged directly in the production of material values, as has been the case in many workers' collectives in different enterprises.

From the public discussion conducted in the framework of the intensification of the struggle against bureaucracy, it emerged that one of the causes of increasing the number of the technical, economic, and administrative personnel has been also the incorrect and inaccurate division of the working people of enterprises into workers and office workers. Thus, for example, a part of the management staff and office workers, normists, filers, consigners and many others, have often been included in the lists of personnel and have been described as «non-producing manpower» or simply as workers, thus artificially increasing the number of workers not directly engaged in the production of material goods. That is why the study and the correct application of the relevant Government decisions adopted recently about a most correct division of the labour forces of the enterprises into workers and office workers, assumes great importance in helping us to mend the errors and to establish correct proportions between workers and the technical-administrative personnel.

The reduction of the number of auxiliary workers in favour of increasing that of the workers engaged in the principal activities is another problem which requires constant attention and treatment. In some branches of production, for example, in the chemical industry, auxiliary workers constitute 1/4 of the total number of workers. The same is the case in the timber, paper, and cardboard industry, in the enterprises of construction materials, etc. The comparatively low standards of mechanization existing in some enterprises of those branches makes it necessary to engage a large number of workers in these processes and departments. Here is a very broad front of work to encourage and support the revolutionary initiative that the workers of many enterprises have taken to devise and commission various kinds of mechanism, not only of high standards but also simple mechanisms, which, in all cases, are an improvement upon manual work. This will help save the labour of auxiliary workers, will curtail their number and will raise work productivity.

The care for the further improvement of the proportions in the distribution of the workers and other working people implies the establishment of better relations in the enterprises as well as in a district or ministerial level, in the following directions:

1. In the ratio between worker and office worker, in general, regardless of the fact whether the worker is listed in the personnel.

2. In the ratio between workers engaged in principal sectors and workers employed in auxiliary sectors.

3. In the ratio between the working people employed in the auxiliary sections and the working

people employed in the principal sectors (workers and office workers taken together).

4. In the ratio between the workers of the production and non-producing spheres, in the latter including both the workers and the office workers in trade, communal services, communications, health service, education, etc. Other ratios like these can be studied, too. The Party has pointed out that these ratios must always be under the particular care and observation of the party, state and economic organs. It must be considered as an indisputable rule that *the rate of growth of the number of office workers both in the new and old enterprises should be much slower than that of the workers.*

Likewise, *the rate of growth of the number of principal workers should be faster than that of auxiliary workers. At the same time, the number of workers in the principal sectors and departments should grow faster than that of the auxiliary sectors and departments.*

The distribution of workers and office workers among the various economic and social spheres of activity has been and continues to be a very important problem in the political work of the Party for the all-round development of the country. The struggle against bureaucracy, technocratism, and liberalism, waged successfully in our country in the light of the documents of the 4th, 5th and 6th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, shall ensure the maintenance and further strengthening of *the dominant role of the working class in the sphere of material production.*

This is a problem of great principled importance and constitutes one of the indispensable conditions for the working class to keep and consolidate its position and its leading role in and control over the whole process of our socialist construction.

#### IV

### **EDUCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL- -PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS**

#### **1. EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS**

The great duties of the socialist construction of the country, the rapid development of the economy, the continual deepening of the ideological and technical-scientific revolution, the systematic uplift of the material and cultural standard of the working masses, cannot be conceived and carried out without raising the general educational and cultural standard of the people as a whole, and of the working class, in particular.

The Party has considered and considers the education of the broad masses of people and the working class as one of the fundamental links of our ideologic revolution. To this problem it has always dedicated and dedicates a special attention.

The great work of the Party in the field of education began in conditions of great educational and cultural backwardness inherited from the past. Before

Liberation, more than 90 per cent of the working class was illiterate. The first efforts were mainly concentrated on the spread of primary education in breadth and of the struggle against illiteracy among adults. Obligatory primary education was introduced in 1946 and by 1951 it was successfully applied throughout the country; as a result the number of workers of primary education increased greatly. Illiteracy was completely obliterated among the workers aged under forty. It was a great victory which prepared the ground for a further rise of the educational and cultural level of the working class.

The introduction of obligatory 7-year education began in 1952. In 1963 the 8-year education became obligatory and by 1969 it covered the entire population of the town and the countryside. These stages, through which our obligatory education has gone, are a clear expression of the correct policy of our Party for the raising of the educational and cultural level of the people. They responded to the requirements for the continual ideological and political uplift of the working masses, and were dictated by the ever growing development of the productive forces by the rising level of technique and technology of production, by the growing demands on the part of the different sectors of economic and social activity of the country.

By proceeding on this road, the number of workers of 7 or 8-year education began to grow.

After the 8th Plenum of the CC of PLA for the further revolutionization of the school, the opening of tens of part-time 8-year and secondary schools at work and production centres, in the midst of the working class, with thousands of workers attending,

witness to the decisive step taken towards imparting a mass character to education. In 1974 the number of workers enrolled in part-time eight-year schools reached well over 30 thousand. Likewise, about 53 thousand workers attended secondary schools, without interrupting work. Most of them came from the ranks of the working class. Equally significant is the fact that 42,800, or about 80 per cent of these people attend part-time professional secondary schools.

About 16,500 student-workers, or about 69 per cent of the total number of students, are attending part-time higher schools.

Apart from the full-time or part-time schools, the various forms of extra-scholastic education for the training and qualification of the workers, which cover all the branches of economic and social activity, as well as the extensive network of cultural, propaganda and social communication institutions have been and are of great help for the raising of the educational, cultural and professional standard of the workers.

As a result of the considerable work carried out by the Party and the thirst for knowledge and education displayed by the working class, nearly 50 per cent of the workers have been able to complete their 8-year or secondary education, as compared with 26 per cent in 1960. In some industrial branches the figure has reached 60 per cent, in commerce 55 per cent, etc.

Significant progress has been made also in raising the educational and cultural level of the woman worker. The specific gravity of the female pupils and students in all the schools of the country is about 47 per cent. This is indicative of a generally correct ratio existing between the two sexes in regard to educa-

tional level. This is a great success, particularly if we take into account the fact that in 1945 more than 95 per cent of women were illiterate. None of our neighbouring countries has such a high female attendance of school. In the ranks of the workers, thousands of women have gone through secondary education and can be counted among the women workers. At present about 41 per cent of pupils and students who attend part-time school are women and a large number of them are workers.

At a time when our country is going through a deep revolution in education, in many countries of the world, including some of the industrial states, illiterary is still a social wound. In Portugal, for example, 50 per cent of women cannot read or write, in Italy, two million women use a cross instead of their signature, in Spain 75 per cent of women workers are employed on simple manual tasks and have no professional skill at all.

## 2. ON THE TECHNICAL-PROFESSIONAL LEVEL OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE TASKS EMERGING FOR THE FUTURE

The uplift of the educational and cultural level of the working class has served and will serve directly its everyday and continuous technical-professional qualification. Obviously, without the respective general education, high categories are impossible for workers. The research-study data in this field indicate that workers with necessary education can be qualified with a period 2-3 times shorter than the period requi-

red by workers who lack the necessary educational level.

The qualification of the workers in the various branches of the economy has been going on at rapid rates, in keeping with the needs of the development of the people's economy. Over 55 per cent of the workers have acquired middle or high professional qualification level. As a natural consequence, their love for profession has been growing stronger. The discrepancies between the workers' personal category and the real category the work-place has continually diminished, as can be seen from the following figures:

*Distribution of workers according to their personal categories and the category of the work-place.*

*In percentage*

	For all the workers	For all workers excluding the first category
1. Working in sections where personal category corresponds to that of the job	50	56
2. Working in processes of category higher than their personal category	37	25
3. Working in processes of category lower than their personal category	13	19
Total	100	100

These figures show that about 65 per cent of the workers (or 75% if reckoned without the first cate-

gory) are employed in processes where their personal category corresponds to, or is higher than, the category of their job. This is a tremendous step forward achieved through the uninterrupted qualification of the workers.

From some observations it emerges that the number of workers of the first category in the different branches of the economy has fallen by 10-12 per cent since 1969, while that of the workers of the third category has increased by 8-10 per cent. Higher categories also have shown a rise. In 1971 only the industrial branches employed 48 thousand skilled workers of the IV, V and VI category. Thus, the growth of the number of workers with medium and high categories is a positive feature. This is a correct tendency which responds to the uninterrupted technical progress and the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution.

The rapid building of the material-technical base of socialism and the adequate technical equipment of all the branches of the people's economy have led to the birth and development of new professions, unknown in the past. While in 1947 the law for the categorization of the workers comprised only 85 principal professions, of which only 50 were connected with the operation of machinery, today there are about 2,000 professions, most of which call for operation of machinery and are connected with new technological processes. It is another indication of the constantly growing professional skills of the workers in our country. The workers have been able to master not only the existing and comparatively familiar professions, but have also acquired new professions belonging to branches only recently introduced in our country, such as ferrous and non-ferrous meta-

llurgy, chemical industry (fertilizers and pesticides for agriculture, caustic soda, polyvinyl chloride, petrochemistry, pharmaceutical industry, etc.), engineering and electrothermic industry, professions connected with the use of weak currents etc.

The ability and efforts of our workers to master new techniques became more evident during the last 15 years, when they, successfully coping with the all-round savage imperialist-revisionist blockade, took over completely the tasks of the foreign specialists in the different sectors of production, courageously undertook the designing and construction of complex projects which were to have been designed only with the aid of foreign specialists; they prospected for and commissioned new oil-wells, new sources of natural gas and valuable minerals, thus disproving the pessimistic and hostile forecasts of the revisionists. They went even further. The high skill of our workers, their profound knowledge, combined with their political and ideological maturity and their socialist patriotism, were forcefully manifested during the movement for the discovery and exploitation of internal reserves and for the building of new factories, departments, lines of production and equipment relying on our own forces.

*The Party has set the task of perfecting and carrying further the great qualitative transformations achieved in raising the educational and technical-professional level of the working class.* This is connected, first of all, with the role and the historic mission of the working class, with its Party at the head, as a guiding and directing force of the whole life of the country. It has fulfilled its mission ever better and, the more it raises not only its ideo-political standard,



but also its educational, cultural technical-professional preparation, the better will it fulfil it in the future.

The all-round development of our people's economy and the building of the material-technical base of socialism, require the ever broader use of machinery technique, of new technological processes based on the continual technical-scientific progress. But these require also a high educational level and further qualification of the workers and specialists, it requires people acquainted better with the technique of socialist production, people with rich work experience and habits.

In this field, however, there still remain problems that call for solution, difficulties and contradictions of growth that must be overcome so that the educational and technical-professional level of the workers can be raised higher and respond to the demands of the present stage of the complete construction of our socialist society better. A study of the educational level of the working class reveals that a considerable part of the workers, particularly in the northern districts of the country, are still at the elementary school level or have not yet finished 8-year education. This is more frequently noticed among the part of workers employed in agriculture, construction, the communal services, the lumber stations and mining industry. On the other hand, in many of the newly created branches and enterprises and in those under construction it is required that the workers have secondary and even higher education.

But in practice, sometimes it happens that more office-workers than workers attend part-time schools, especially higher schools. Besides this, among those

who attend these schools some harbour a wrong concept that once they graduate from secondary or higher school they must be placed in office jobs without fail. The Party instructs that our professional and general secondary schools must root deeply in the conscience of their pupils that they are trained for workers, to work on the different fronts of production and to turn their hands to anything, beginning with more simple jobs and passing gradually on to more complicated and more qualified duties. Similarly, those who graduate from higher schools are not necessarily to be scoured in a post included in personnel lists, because they can very well work as masters of production or brigade leaders, according to their speciality, and be paid wages according to the fulfilment of plan or to the place they occupy. In the struggle against alien and wrong concepts in that field, an important role is played by the mass organizations, particularly by the trade unions, under the guidance of the Party.

Despite the great results achieved and in the conditions of the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, there still exists a contradiction, continually attenuated, between the high development rates of technique, on the one hand, and the relatively low technical and professional training level of the workers who use that technique, on the other. This contradiction finds its concrete expression in the discrepancy between the average category of work processes and the average individual category of the workers. From the above data about the qualification of the workers it emerges that about 37 per cent of the workers are employed in work places of higher category than their personal category.

In some sectors of the economy the situation appears as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Branches of production	Mean category of the workers	Mean category of the work-place	Differences — or +
1. Mining	2.4	2.8	—0.4
2. Geology	2.5	2.6	—0.1
3. Chemistry-metallurgy	2.7	3.4	—0.7
4. Timber	2.9	3.2	—0.3
5. Oil	2.8	3.1	—0.3
6. Engineering industry	3.0	4.0	—1.0
7. Electric industry	3.7	4.9	—1.2
8. Construction	2.5	3.0	—0.5

The less skilled workers (categories I-III) are more numerous, while those with higher qualification (categories IV-VI) are less than necessary. Thus, in the factories and workshops of the Ministry of Industry and Mining there are 550 low category workers too many, and about 1,300 workers short of required qualification. In the chemical industry about 60 per cent of the workers of the lower categories are working at processes requiring a higher skill, the industry of ceramic and building materials about 66 per cent, and so on. The figures show that in these and in other branches of the economy the situation, in connection

1) «On some Problems of Perfecting Work Norms and Qualification of the Workers», published by the CC of PLA and the Work and Wages Committee at the Council of Ministers of the PR Albania, 1974, p. 63.

tion with qualification of workers, remains practically the same. This is accounted for by objective and subjective factors.

First, it is connected with the rapid development rates of the different branches of the economy and their technical equipment. While a new enterprise can be built in 3-4 years, it takes much longer to train a highly skilled worker. That is why, despite the accelerated rate of technical-professional qualification of workers, it could not match in every case the technical and technological development of the various enterprises and branches of the people's economy.

Second, as a result of the extended reproduction of labour forces, a tendency is observed, namely, that the newly employed workers of low qualification level are much more numerous than the workers who retire and who, naturally, have a high degree of qualification. This is a phenomenon that will continue to exercise its influence for some time in the future. Naturally, the impact of such factors will gradually diminish, because the ranks of the working class will be filled by new people with higher educational level, which will shorten the period necessary for their professional qualification. From some approximate estimates it can be foreseen that by 1990 over 90 per cent of the working class will have completed 8-year or higher education. It will be an important factor for the further economic and cultural development and for the ideological and technical-professional tempering of the working class and the other working people. It will enable them to respond to the growing demands of the complete construction of socialism ever better. At the same time, it will help to shorten

the period necessary for the workers' technical-professional training. In this way, the rapid development rates of the economy and the technique will be more closely matched by the rates of technical-professional preparation of the workers.

Third, this disparity between the average personal category of the worker and that of the work-places is accounted for by some shortcomings of a subjective nature. Thus, being paid according to the category of the work-place or being satisfied with the amount of income they receive, some workers, do not show the necessary interest or make no efforts to raise their qualification level. Being paid according to the category of the work-place, some workers are interested, in the first place, to get the practical side of the profession (work habits) in order to be able to be up to the processes that are required of them, and fail to make the necessary efforts to become familiar with the work processes and operations on a scientific base.

Some directors of enterprises, who consider the problem from a narrow angle, do not always create conditions favourable for the workers to attend part-time professional schools or to follow courses and other forms of qualification.

To a certain extent, this situation is due to shortcomings observed now and then in planning the needs for new workers in accordance to their specialties and qualification level. In some new projects and in the mining and geologic sectors, in forestry and the branches of seasonal work, the efforts for raising the workers' educational and technical-professional level are insufficient. As a consequence, the

personal category of the workers in these sectors is still low.

Fourth, it must be pointed out that a not negligible difference between the educational and professional level of the men and women workers still exists today. The old concepts and the conservative and backward ways of thinking that for a young woman marriage ranks foremost, whereas schooling and education are of minor importance, have inhibited her allround emancipation for a long time and have become an obstacle to raising the educational and professional standard of women. Although today these concepts are broken, there remains much to be done to wipe them out completely.

To overcome the above mentioned obstacles and the shortcomings noticed it is necessary *that everybody consider the problem of the further raising of the educational and technical-professional level of the working class, as the Party teaches us, as a basic problem for our socialist construction, for the general economic and social development of the country.* To this end, it must be seen in its dialectic unity with the entire educational work carried out among the working class. Just as the insufficient ideological level causes failure of one part of the working class to correctly understand the need of raising their educational and professional level, so the low educational level becomes an obstacle to raising the workers' ideological level. Therefore, a correct political and ideological understanding is always necessary in order to consider the problem of educational uplift as an integral part of the education and the formation of the Marxist-Leninist outlook in the ranks of the working class. For the educational and technical-

professional uplift of the workers it is necessary to, bear in mind the following questions.

**Some duties for the educational and professional uplift of the working class.**

*First*, in the present conditions, when part of the working class has not yet completed elementary or 8-year education, it is necessary to intensify the efforts to have every worker go through 8-year education.

In discharging this duty, there are cases of party organizations which still work with hits and starts. This is borne out by the fact that during the 1974-1975 school-year only about 20,000 workers were enrolled in the 8-year part-time schools. In view of the possibilities, readiness and the needs, today it is possible to double or even treble that number.

*Second*, in the present stage, when the degree of technical equipment of the economy has been raised and is developing rapidly, when the educational possibilities of the workers are unlimited, when the high standards of the technique and technology of production require a closer connection between practical training and theoretical preparation, it is high time that the workers have not only 8-year education, but also secondary education and in some sectors even a university degree.

*Third*, in order to attenuate the contradiction between the level of advanced technique and the relative backwardness of the workers' qualification, it is necessary to intensify and improve the work for the technical-professional training of workers of different categories, particularly the young workers.

Despite the favourable conditions that have been

created, it must be admitted that the plan for the qualification of the workers in part-time schools is not always carried out in a satisfactory way. Of 175,000 workers planned for 1975 only 107,000 or about 62 per cent, attended the relative schools. In some sectors of the economy attendance was much lower. In the building enterprises, for example, only 20 per cent of the number of workers envisaged to attend the different forms of qualification did so, in the communications enterprises only 19 per cent, etc.

*Fourth*, the work for raising the qualification level of working people calls for the adoption of measures to improve its planning, by placing its contents on a more scientific base. In planning the tasks of raising the qualification of the workers, it is necessary, in the first place, to establish such rates, which within a short time, guarantee the raising of their technical-professional qualification up to the level required by the process of production, namely, up to the average category of the work-places, in keeping with the present and future needs of the enterprises, taking into account also the tasks of preparing workers for the new projects.

As well as this, it is required that the needs for raising the qualification of the workers should be determined on the basis of continued and detailed study. These needs will be correctly determined if the shortcomings, deficiencies and wastes in production are recorded according to the workers' social composition, age, seniority of service, qualification and educational level, etc. The analysis of data divided in groups according to these criteria will help determine the concrete tasks and measures that must be taken for raising the qualification of the workers in harmony with the needs.

*Fifth*, it is necessary to raise the standard of teaching in the various forms of qualification of the workers. On this ground, it is also necessary to increase the number of low professional part-time schools, which will guarantee a qualitative rise of the efforts, for the workers' qualification. It is advisable also that the courses and other forms of qualification be attended by workers of equal qualification level. The school programs and textbooks also must be adopted to these groups. This work must be better programmed and conducted by the ministries and the other central institutions. The publishing of more handbooks, technical-professional books and booklets will be of great help, too. Other forms, such as lectures, technical and scientific sessions, practical experimental demonstrations of a mass character, and other, should become more widespread.

According to the orientations recently issued by the Central Committee of the Party, and which have been embodied in the relative decisions of the Council of Ministers of the RP of Albania in 1976, *personal category, as a measure of workers' qualification, will be replaced by a system of estimating their qualification by their cultural and professional attestation*. This reform, which is an important qualitative step forward, will make it possible to devote greater attention to the problems of the all-round uplift of the workers' ideo-political, educational, cultural and technical-professional level. In this way, the technical-professional and educational standard of the working class will better correspond to the present stage of economic development and to the great tasks the Party has laid before the working class, as

the class which guides the economy of the whole country, as the principal social force of the country.

The successful carrying on of the ceaseless revolutionization of the life of the country, the strengthening of the Party and its leading role, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the development of the socialist revolution further, are closely connected, as comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, with the growth, strengthening, and uninterrupted qualification of the working class, with the enhancement of its leading role, under the leadership of the Party, in the whole life of the country. On the other hand, tempering and continual improvement of the quality of socialist production and the high development rates of the productive forces on the road to the complete construction of socialist society, to a great extent, are conditioned by, and dependent on, the educational and technical-professional level of the working class.

The transition to the system of assessing the qualification of the workers by cultural and professional attestation, together with the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, will encourage and facilitate the process of gradually narrowing the essential differences existing between physical and mental work, between work in industry and in agriculture.

The system of cultural and professional attestation is based on the present wide extension and deep penetration of the ideological and cultural revolution. It was prepared by the favourable conditions and large material possibilities of development the Party and the people's government have created for the working class and all the masses of working people of the country.

Which are the main features that distinguish the system of cultural and professional attestation of the workers from the former system of qualification according to personal category?

*First*, the evaluation of the workers' skill by cultural and professional attestation is based on the fundamental principle of remuneration according to the work done. It is based on the categorization of the process and place of work and on payment according to the category of the work-place. In our country, every one's work is estimated and paid according to its quantity and quality. The attestation of a worker does not serve as a basis for his remuneration, it only gives him the right to perform a kind of work which corresponds to the standard of qualification he has reached. That is why the gradations of attestation are, to some extent, approximate to the categories of the work-places of each branch of production. Obviously, a complete identification cannot be established for a number of reasons. Every branch of production has a number of simple tasks for which no particular skill is required and, as a result, they are performed by workers from whom no attestation is required. On the other hand, as a result of the technical progress in production and the general uplift of the technical and educational standard of the masses of workers, the differences in the evaluation of the work are gradually reduced. As a consequence, in the future, the numbers of categories will gradually be reduced to 3-4 instead of the 5-7 categories that exist today in the different branches of the economy. Bearing in mind these perspectives, it is considered appropriate that the evaluation of the workers' qualification should be made in 3-4 degrees of

attestation instead of the 6-7 categories used at present for the determination of the degree of their qualification. Lastly, the maintenance of a «fragmented» qualification, in other words, the maintenance of as many degrees of attestation as the categories of work-places, as practice has shown, would have raised the necessity of defining some requirements which are difficult to distinguish from one category to the other. This may be one of the reasons for the partiality observed when some workers were raised to categories which they did not deserve. The evaluation of the workers' skill by cultural and professional attestation will help to put each worker to tasks that correspond to his skill and to the possibilities of the enterprise.

*Second*, the evaluation of the workers' skill by cultural and professional attestation creates a closer link between the educational level and the degree of professional qualification of the worker. From a look in the books used so far to determine the workers' qualification level it is seen that they contain no concrete requirements as regards the educational level for every work-place in production. If allowed to persist, this mission would induce the workers to neglect their training, thus failing to match it with the present higher demands and with the tasks of future development of the economy.

That is why the accepted criteria provide that each worker is given the degree of attestation that responds to the personal category he has at present. The workers over 35 years of age are exempted from this rule about educational requirements. There will be differentiations also in the educational level for the high degree of attestation for the workers of certain professions in mining, geology, oil, saw-mills,

construction, agriculture and some other sectors. In this way, the workers who require a higher degree of qualification and, in general, the younger workers must fulfil the requirements regarding the level of education. This will help eliminate the narrow, one-sided professional training and will enable them to acquire a broader and all-round training, in line with the full use of the new technique and the mastering of modern technology of production.

*Third*, the new system of evaluating the workers' qualification by cultural and professional attestation represents a set of coordinated criteria and requirements, without which it is difficult to acquire the general and technical-professional culture which is needed by the worker to meet the demands of the great socialist production. Seniority of service, educational standard, technical-professional level, theoretical knowledge and practical skill cannot be seen as a mechanical and accidental combination of separate elements of the overall formation of the worker. They are organically linked with each other. According to the features of each branch of production, of each speciality and trade, they must create all the conditions for the workers to acquire knowledge, skills, habits and other qualities necessary for conducting with success the work and the technologic process and for guaranteeing the highest effectiveness of labour possible.

*Fourth*, the objective of the system of evaluation of the workers' qualification by educational and professional attestation is to unite the requirements for the proper training of the workers as producers of material wealth with those bearing on the social position and the leading role of the working class, under

the leadership of the Party, in the whole life of the country.

The evaluation of the workers' qualification by cultural and professional attestation, besides the above-mentioned demands, includes also demands of a theoretical-social, organizational-economic and ethical nature.

The above system of evaluation of the workers' qualification raises the need now to improve considerably the content of the work in the elementary professional schools and the other forms of the workers' training and qualification.

Therefore, the correct and timely solution of the problems related to the raising of the ideo-political, educational, and technical-professional standard of the working class has a first rate importance for the all-around development of the working class itself and the development of our economic-social order on the road to the complete construction of socialist society.

## V

### COMPOSITION OF THE WORKING CLASS AS REGARDS AGE, SENIORITY OF SERVICE, SOCIAL ORIGIN AND PARTY MEMBERSHIP

**Composition of the working class as regards age and length of service**

The high proportion of young population gradually joining the sphere of social production and the impetuous growth of the productive forces are affecting the indices of age and length of service of our working class considerably. The average age of the workers in the people's economy is 34 and the number of workers aged under 35 represents the majority of the total number of workers. This is typical for practically all the branches of our people's economy. In industry, however, the proportion of younger workers is slightly higher than in the other branches. In industry the workers aged under 25 represent about 26 per cent, in agriculture 32 per cent, in communications 27 per cent, of the total number of workers. This difference between industry and the

other branches of the economy are mainly accounted for by the high development rates of industry, the difficulties of mastering the new technique in many of its branches, its requirements for relatively higher level of education, etc.

The dynamic young age of the workers in our country is closely linked with the high development rates of our socialist economy, which not only exclude unemployment but also absorb in social production the bulk of the active population, while a small part is employed in the non-producing sectors. During the period 1954-1974, industrial production has increased 13.8 per cent yearly. It is also linked with the setting up of a number of new branches of industry, which together with the existing ones and the new branches created in the other sectors of the economy, present ever increasing difficulties and complexities which require increasingly higher standards of skill and training on the part of the workers. Apart from this, the young age of the workers is also linked with the rapid growth of the population in general and particularly of the working-age population (the age-group between 15 and 30 represents about 28 per cent of the total population).

The young age of the working class is also a cause for its comparatively short seniority of service, which in various branches is about 10-12 years. Nearly half of the workers have a length of service of 13-15 years or more.



*Seniority of service of the working class  
in some districts*

Year 1972  
in per cent

Seniority of service	Total in %	Industry	Agricul- ture	Construc- tion	Communi- cations
Total number of workers	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 5 years	24.9	27.1	22.9	25.0	16.8
6-10 years	26.7	19.6	29.0	22.9	22.0
11-14 years	12.0	16.0	15.4	14.6	12.7
15-19 years	28.9	29.5	29.5	29.4	33.0
Over 20 years	7.5	7.8	3.2	8.1	15.5

As regards length of service, too, the industrial workers with seniority under 5 years have a higher specific weight than the workers of the other branches of the economy, especially in comparison with the transport and communications workers. It is also characteristic that the majority of workers with a short length of service are very young.

The comparatively young age of the workers and their correspondingly short length of service should be regarded from two points of view. *First*, it must be admitted that this is the age most likely to secure a high level of work productivity, to promote the growth of the productive forces at rapid rates, to master science and technique. *Second*, this circumstance raises some specific problems. For the formation of the young workers a series of tasks

must be carried out first, such as the constant moulding and strengthening of their proletarian political and ideological class consciousness, the creation and implanting of class qualities and feelings, the acquisition and broadening of the experience in the management and administration of social production, raising the standard of technical and professional skill, etc. With these problems in view, comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Our working class is comparatively young. We must always bear these facts in mind in our work, for only in this way shall we see the importance of the tasks which the Party must accomplish. In our country, the working class, as such was formed and grew up only after the Liberation of the Homeland and during the gradual creation of our socialist industry»<sup>1</sup>.

The magnificent victories achieved in the socialist construction of the country bear the stamp of the creative efforts and the inexhaustible energies of the working class, in the first place. Our working class has grown and gained strength on this heroic road, overcoming many obstacles and difficulties, making great sacrifices. «Its conscience and its organization have been raised to a higher level. The working class has grown more mature politically and ideologically, it has become better prepared and more able to cope with great new tasks, to fulfil its role and its historic mission as an irreplaceable leading force of the entire life of the country, which holds in its hands the political power and the destinies of the country»<sup>2</sup>. These are the results of the great educative ac-

1) Enver Hoxha. Reports and Speeches, 1967-1968, p. 208.

2) Enver Hoxha. Speech at the 7th Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions, p. 13.

tivity and the all-round care of the Party for the working class.

Young workers in general have good educational and professional horizons as well as the necessary real and inclination to master the new technique; they support new and progressive initiatives and take active part in the movement for the revolutionization of production. They bear a large part of the burden of labour and in many enterprises they constitute the majority of the workers. The young workers are distinguished for the courage, their revolutionary efforts and impetus, they are the future of our working class, its young blood.

But together with the positive qualities mentioned, the young workers have a deficiency when compared with the more aged ones. They must be better acquainted with the situation and the dark past of the country before liberation, with the struggle and the difficulties that the working class had to overcome in the past, with the efforts it had to make to consolidate its character and its physiognomy as a class. For this reason, we should work with the young workers to acquaint them with the past of our working class. That is all the more necessary because among the younger workers, in particular, emerge some manifestations that are alien to the working class, manifestations that are related not only to their social background, but also, and more particularly so, stem from the ideological pressure of imperialism and modern revisionism. There are young people who take life easily, who have simple and narrow concepts about work and life, who regard work only as a means to satisfy some of their personal needs. Workers harbouring such concepts have weak ties

with the problems and the life in their enterprise, they make no efforts to raise their educational and professional level, some of them even manifest signs of indiscipline at work, etc.

These problems are the object of the activity of the youth organizations and the trade unions, under the leadership of the Party. From the youth organizations, in collaboration with the trade unions, valuable initiatives to learn from the working class and the older workers have been born. An increasingly better organized struggle is being waged against alien manifestations and leftovers in the consciousness of the young people especially after the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Plenums of the CC of the PLA and the programmatic speeches of comrade Enver Hoxha.

If this younger age-group of workers is considered as the future of the working class, it should be better known, and greater, continual and differentiated work should be done with it. Relying on the more advanced part of the workers, the ideo-political work among the younger workers should be raised to a higher level so as to better respond to the tasks laid down by the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha for the revolutionary class moulding and tempering of all the workers. In the work for the education of the young workers, it is indispensable to hold in view always the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha. «Our young workers, who have not known capitalist oppression, must continually be made conscious of it through ideo-political education. They must understand that only now, in socialism, people are able to raise their heads and straighten their backs, that under socialism man can work for the society, consequently for himself, he is able to fully possess the

means of work, to rely freely and with creative courage on the advanced technique, the new inventions, on the modern science and culture»<sup>1</sup>.

### **Social composition of the working class**

In order to have a complete picture of the qualitative changes our working class has undergone, it is also important to study its social composition. The social composition of our working class reflects the great revolutionary transformations and the economic-social development of the country during the years of people's power, under the leadership of the Party. It reflects step by step the changes that have taken place in the social structure of the country's population during the 30 years of Liberation.

In his scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of this problem, comrade Enver Hoxha points out: «A small part of our working class comes from workers or small craftsmen who have experienced the oppression of the bourgeoisie and exploiters. Its other overwhelming part comes from peasants or poor town dwellers who, too, have experienced feudal-capitalist oppression and exploitation»<sup>2</sup>.

From various surveys and the analysis of special data it emerges that even in those regions where the number of the workers before Liberation was comparatively larger than many other regions of the country, the workers of worker origin amount to no more than 12-25 per cent, while in the remaining regions only 4-6 per cent. Although they represent

a relatively inconsiderable number against the total number of workers, they embody the most revolutionary features of our working class, its best fighting traditions, those qualities and virtues that are required by the present and future development of our country on the road to socialism.

The chief place in the social composition of our working class is occupied by workers who draw their origin from, and have their background in, the poor strata of the countryside and the town. In some regions, they represent nearly 60 per cent of the total number of workers, and in most regions it is as high as 80 per cent. These workers filled the ranks of the working class in the years after the Liberation of the country and worked with unprecedented courage and selfdenial during the trying periods of restoration of our economy and culture, the great revolutionary transformations and the construction of our socialist society under the savage imperialist and revisionist encirclement.

Speaking of this great number of workers, comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed: «A considerable part of our working class, whether of worker, peasant or town origin, has participated in the Liberation War under the leadership of the Party. Here in lies one of the main features of our working class. The other great supplementary tempering is the whole period of the struggle for the construction of socialism»<sup>1</sup>. These are the chief reasons why they are characterized by a high political maturity and are linked with the Party like flesh to bone, have appropriated and implement its general line resolutely.

1) Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches, 1969-1970, p. 68.

2) Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches, 1967-1968, p. 208.

1) Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches, 1967-1968, p. 208.

stand always in the front ranks of the struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of victories achieved.

Another quite positive tendency, which is observed in the growth the ranks of our working class, is the filling of its ranks every day with young workers of worker background. This proves best that, in its present stage, our working class is increasing its attitude to reproduce itself. In describing the characteristics of this very positive process which is taking place in the midst of our working class, comrade Enver Hoxha has said that the younger generation of our working class enjoys this good origin, which is its valuable treasure.

A less important place, in the larger districts reaching 15-20 per cent and in the smaller ones 10-16 per cent of the total number of workers, occupy the workers coming from the middle strata of the countryside and the towns who, by working in the midst of the working class, have strengthened and are continually tempering those features and qualities which characterize the working class. Only about 2 per cent is made up of workers drawing their origin from other, rich strata, etc.

«... This composition of the class in development» comrade Enver Hoxha has said. «has brought with it into its ranks also many petty-bourgeois vestiges and views, which damage that cohesion, that consciousness and discipline of the class which we want to create. These vestiges in the consciousness of the workers cannot be liquidated without the political and ideological struggle of the Party, without a deep and many sided struggle»<sup>1</sup> and further com-

rade Enver Hoxha continues: «We must bear in mind also that our workers do not only carry over vestiges and preserve them, but if we do not eliminate them, they constantly get other vestiges from society, if we do not systematically educate this society, too, with the real features of the man of socialist society, with the class features, with the class ideology, with the healthy features of our Party»<sup>1</sup>

It is true that a part of the working class, particularly those coming from the petty-bourgeois strata of the town and the countryside, hold and even unconsciously carry and cultivate concepts and notions that are alien to our socialist ideology. Among some workers coming from the countryside or the private craftsmen of the towns, various petty-bourgeois leftovers, such as, for example, contentment with little, are observed; these workers are still subject to the action of feelings of private ownership and hankering after their personal interests; there are also tendencies and concepts about working to easily overfulfilled norms, etc. These manifestations are more frequently observed in workers who live in the country. Here we must note that most of the workers (about 75 per cent) live in towns together with their families. The others (about 25 per cent) have their families in the country. In some of the smaller regions, like Mat or Puka, nearly 80 per cent of the workers live in the villages, where they have their families. In the district of Kruja that figure is 75 per cent, in Pogradec about 55 per cent, etc.

As the Party teaches us, the structure of the social composition of the working class, as well as

1) Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches, 1967-1968, p. 209.

1) Enver Hoxha Reports and Speeches, 1967-1968, p. 209.

its connections with the countryside, must not serve as a starting-point for its *evaluation*, but only as a premise helping us to *know* it and, on that ground, to build and deepen the educational work for its continuous and revolutionary tempering.

In some enterprises, also working directly in production are some people from the former exploiting classes, who carry the negative traits and tendencies of the overthrown classes. The Party has always instructed that the working class should know these people well. Towards them the working class and the broad masses of working people must increase their revolutionary vigilance still further. Every political blindness, every opportunist and liberal stand in this respect can be of very grave consequences for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The social composition of our working class, its age and comparatively short length of service, as well as the existence of alien manifestations in its ranks, make it necessary to always bear in mind the conclusion of comrade Enver Hoxha that *«... we must take the working class just as it is... and should make it as if ought to be»*<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, the problems of the deep dialectical knowledge of the social origin, age and length of service, the problems of the ideo-political, educational and technical-professional level, and the other problems that regard our working class, must occupy an important and concrete place in the entire educational and organizational work that is being carried out

among the working class under the leadership of the Party and according to its teachings.

All these problems require a special and continuous attention because they are directly connected with the translation into practice of the tasks the Party has set for the strengthening of the leading role in, and the control of the working class over, the whole life of the country.

The need for a deep knowledge of these problems is closely linked with another important and vital problem for the Party and the future of our socialist construction, which is the admission in the Party of people from the ranks of the working class. By sending its best people the working class, to the Party, it conveys to the Party its spirit, determination, unbending will, iron discipline, revolutionary zeal, wisdom and maturity as the most revolutionary class of our society.

### **Growth of worker composition of the Party.**

Ever since its founding, our Party of Labour has been guided by the revolutionary principle that a Marxist-Leninist party must preserve and increasingly develop its character as a party of the working class not only in its ideology, but also in the class composition of its ranks. As in every other problem, the Party has directed the improvement of its class composition in a conscious, organized manner and on a Marxist-Leninist scientific basis, never separating it from its struggle for the development of industry, mining, agriculture, transport and communications and the other branches of the national economy, from the struggle for the uninterrupted intensification of our socialist revolution.

1) Enver Hoxha. Reports and Speeches, 1967-1968, p. 208.

Guided by Marxism-Leninism from the very beginning, our Party was born, grew and was tempered as a revolutionary party of the working class. In its founding, the Party had only 200 members, while the 1st of October 1971, there were 86,980 members and candidates for membership militating in its ranks.

The Party devoted special care to its composition, so that only the best people from the working class and the other masses of working people should be admitted and militate in its ranks. Our Party was created in the conditions of a backward agricultural country, in which the working class was very small in number and the industrial proletariat was almost nonexistent. This accounts for the reason that in the beginning, workers occupied a small place in the social composition of the Party. Some approximative calculations show that in 1941 the workers represented about 8 per cent of the standing membership of the Party<sup>1</sup>. This was partly due to the situation inherited from the communist groups before the founding of the Party, in which the worker element was very limited.

Recognizing this situation, the Meeting of the Communist Groups for the creation of the Party declared in its resolution: «It is necessary that the ranks of the Party must be immediately strengthened with fresh forces, with good fighters, workers and peasants, recruited from among the poor of the towns and the countryside. We must do away once and for all with the sectarian fear of admitting healthy worker and peasant elements in the Party»<sup>2</sup>.

1) National Conference of Social Studies, 1969.

2) PLA — Principal Documents. Tirana 1971. Vol. I, p. 24.

With this orientation and with the work carried out during the period 1942-1943 the percentage of workers in the Party grew from about 8 to about 12 per cent. But the percentage of workers among the other members of the Party was low still. That is why the First Conference of the Party (17-22 March, 1943) laid down the task of intensifying its political activity with the workers, particularly in the industrial centers of the country, in the oil region, in the Selenica mine, etc. It stressed: «We must penetrate deep among the workers and from them recruit new resolute members for the Party, we must open the doors of the Party to the workers, especially today»<sup>1</sup>.

The Party attached importance to the strengthening of its composition with people from the ranks of the working class, since it constituted the social and class foundation of the Party, as the most revolutionary class of society, and as the class which through the Party would play the leading role in the revolution and in the socialist construction.

At the same time the Party gave the orientation that apart from workers, its ranks should be increased also with people from the other strata of the town and the countryside, particularly from poor peasants, who in the end of 1944 stood for about 50 per cent of the standing membership of the Party. The rest came from among employees and progressive intelligentsia.

In this way, during the National Liberation War the Party increased the number of its standing members and strengthened its social composition with

1) PLA — Principal Documents. Tirana 1971, Vol. I, p. 139.

people coming from the poor strata of society! On the eve of Liberation, in October 1944, the Party had in its ranks about 2,800 members.

With regard to the role and mission that the working class must accomplish in the struggle for the construction of socialism and communism, after the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power, our Party, continued consistently on its road to increase the number of communists from the ranks of the working class. At all the Congresses of the Party and orientations issued about admissions to the Party it is stressed clearly that the majority of those admitted should be from the production front and, in the first place, from the working class. In this way, with the growth of the working class, the Party has increasingly filled its ranks with workers, strengthening its class character from the point of view of its composition. From one Congress to the other the number of communists from the working class and their place in the total number of party members and candidates for membership has grown as follows:

Name	Second Congr. (1952)	Third Congr. (1956)	Fourth Congr. (1961)	Fifth Congr. (1966)	Sixth Congr. (1971)
Of these worker members and can- didates (in %)*	44,418	48,644	53,659	66,327	86,985
Total number of members and can- didates	11.6	17.7	29.6	32.9	36.4

\* These figures are taken from Reports to the Party Congresses by comrade Enver Hoxha.

It is obvious that from one Congress to the other the number of party members and candidates has continually increased, but a particular increase is seen in the number of communists from the ranks of the working class. This has also brought about the constant growth of the specific gravity of the communists among the workers, so that at the 6th Congress of the PLA they occupied the first place. About this significant result, comrade Enver Hoxha declared from the tribune of the 6th Congress of the Party: «It is a great joy and a great victory for the Party and all the people that now, for the first time in the history of our Party the worker communists occupy the first place in party membership. At present they make up 36.41 per cent of all the communists»<sup>1</sup>. «... This fact testifies to the deep love of the working class for their Marxist-Leninist Party and their boundless confidence in it. It testifies to the correct organizational line consistently and resolutely followed by the Party, which has resolutely upheld the principle that a party of the working class must be proletarian not only in regard to its ideology, but also in regard to the class composition of its ranks»<sup>2</sup>.

On January 1, 1975 the workers represented 37.7 per cent of the standing party members.

This growth of the specific weight of workers in the standing party members, expressed in figures, means that their number on January 1, 1975 was 8 times larger than in 1950. At the end of that period the overall standing membership has more than

1) Enver Hoxha. Report to the 6th Congress of PLA, p. 180.

2) Ibidem, p. 180.

doubled, but in this general growth the increase with workers has proceeded at a higher rate. This can be seen also in the increasingly greater specific gravity of the workers among the new admissions made from one period to the other. Thus, while during the 5 years 1961-1965 the workers represented 35.3 per cent of the new admissions to party candidates, in the following 5 years 1969-1973 they occupied 41 per cent. This has responded to the growth of the working class, to the need of further strengthening the social composition of the Party, of improving the activity and the leading role of the party basic organizations. The working class is the main supply source of the Party with new members, because it is the most revolutionary class, it leads the revolution and the building of socialism, it is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the same time the Party has shown special care to increase the participation of workers in the directing organs of the Party and the other organs of state power, of the economy and of the mass organizations. This is connected with the uninterrupted preservation and strengthening of the proletarian class character of the Party and of the other organs. In 1971 «55 per cent of the members of the plenums of the party committees in the districts, 85.2 per cent of the members of the bureaus of the basic organizations of the economic enterprises and 86.3 per cent of their secretaries, are workers by origin, background or present status. It is a very positive and significant fact that now taking part there are many workers, who even after being elected to these organs continue their jobs as workers in product-

ion»<sup>1</sup>. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that this has a great importance, since the tragedy of many former communist parties, which degenerated into revisionism, happened also because, though having quite a large number of workers in their ranks, their leading organs were deproletarianized, were filled with various kinds of bureaucratic and technocratic specialists, lackeys of imperialism and the bourgeoisie, elements of the new bourgeoisie.

Our Party has waged and wages a determined struggle against the revisionist views, defending the Leninist principles on party membership to the letter. The Soviet-led modern revisionists, in their treacherous efforts to liquidate the Party of the proletariat, among others, were bent on demolishing its social composition. To this end, under the pretext of re-establishing the norms in the Party, which were allegedly trampled during Stalin's time, they reduced the requirements towards party members and overlooked the criteria established by Lenin for admission. At the 22nd Congress of the revisionist party, Khrushchev proposed the anti-Marxist thesis of replacing the party of the proletariat with the «party of the entire people». This thesis, which denies the class character of the party, was put into practice and was reflected in the policy of admission to the party.

In the Soviet revisionist party the percentage of bureaucrats, white-collar workers, and technocrats is very high. In 1971 about 45 per cent of the standing membership of the Soviet revisionist party were white-collar workers and intellectuals, bureaucrats

1) Enver Hoxha, Report to the 5th Congress of PLA, p. 187.



and technocrats, and representatives of the military caste, and 64 per cent of the delegates to the 22nd Congress of that party in 1971 were office workers<sup>1</sup>. Here it must be noted that even a considerable number of those who are described as workers are not really workers, but either belong to the workers' aristocracy or are office workers and technocrats incorrectly written down as workers. But what is most important in the whole question is the line, the ideology, the faithfulness to the working class and the revolution, to the cause of socialism and communism, which the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist parties have betrayed, by turning into essentially bourgeois and counterr-revolutionary parties.

By enabling the worker communists to occupy the first place in the Party and to militate actively in its leading organs, our Party has struck deep roots in the working class, which has the historic mission to stand always at the head of the revolution and socialist construction.

The 6th Congress of the Party once more set the task that *«in the future, too, we must fight to increase the ranks of the Party with workers, who should have priority over all those from the other classes or strata. Real possibilities for this exist now, because the working class is rapidly growing and developing parallel with the development of the economy and especially of industry»*<sup>2</sup>.

1) Facts from the book «Problems of the Party structure». Rus. ed. 1971 (article by S. N. Judin).

2) Enver Hoxha. Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 181.

The documents of the 6th Congress and the decisions of the CC of the PLA on increasing the number of workers in the Party raise some important problems which must be borne in mind.

Though in some regions the working class is relatively developed, the number of workers in the Party does not respond to the level of development of this class or with the average number of workers in the Party in the Republic. Hence the duty of taking greater care about admissions to the Party from the working class, from among the best and most devoted workers in every region, especially in the above-mentioned regions.

The implementation of the directive of the Party about the transformation of the country from an agrarian-industrial country to an industrial-agrarian country, and the priority development of some branches of extracting and processing heavy industry, without neglecting light industry, will create new better conditions for the numerical growth and the qualitative development of the working class. This creates the conditions for, and raises the need of, strengthening the Party with devoted elements from among the workers of these branches of industry, always taking into consideration the existing conditions and the future perspectives.

At the same time, it is necessary to deepen and to intensify the activity of the Party among the working class within branches even within factories, plants, and mines, construction sites etc., according to the nature and the particular features of each branch and enterprise. In conformity with the orientations of the Party, the largest part of members and

candidate members of the Party work directly in the sphere of material production. From a rapid survey of the distribution of the worker communists, it emerges that, for example, in 1973 over 65 per cent of them worked in the sectors of industry, construction, transport, as well as in the agricultural enterprises or machine and tractors stations. The communists are in the front ranks of the struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, in the principal sectors, in which the largest part of the working class and the broad masses of working people are to be found. Our Party has fought and will continue to fight for the improvement of the distribution of its forces among the various sectors, among the enterprises and inside them, in the principal and auxiliary sectors, among less difficult and more difficult tasks, in the administration and directly in production, etc. It has fought and will continue to fight against alien tendencies noticed in some communists who seek to occupy a cosy corner. Therefore, even from the ranks of workers, admissions to the Party are made, first of all, from among those who are engaged in the principal sectors of production and those who operate machines. This question must be borne in mind well also in regard to the principal place that the communists who work directly in production or who operate machines in the principal sectors should occupy as compared with those who work in auxiliary sectors.

The Party considers the worker composition and the distribution of the communists among the main fronts as essential factors for the continual enhancement of its revolutionary spirit, its leading role, but it has not been and cannot be content with these. «For

our Party», comrade Enver Hoxha points out in the report submitted to the 6th Congress of the PLA, «as all its history shows, the quality of its members, their political and moral characteristics, their ideological formation and revolutionary tempering, their determination to defend and carry out the line of the Party always and under any circumstances are of decisive importance»<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, parallel with the careful selection of the communists and their distribution according to needs and possibilities, the Party has always attached and will continue to attach special attention to their education and tempering in the best revolutionary qualities, loyalty to the cause of the revolution, socialism and communism, readiness to work and fight everywhere they are needed in the interest of the Party, the working class, the people and the Homeland. The class composition and the quality of the communists, the 6th Congress of the PLA stressed, are the fundamental conditions for the Party to always remain revolutionary.

A great success in extending and strengthening the Party is the increase of its ranks with devoted women. At the 6th Congress of the PLA, the women represented 22.05 per cent of the party membership as compared with 12.47 per cent at the time of the 5th Congress»<sup>2</sup>.

But if the participation of the women in the Party is compared with that of men, or even with the number of women in work relations, it emerges that they occupy a comparatively limited place in the

1) Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 184.

2) Ibidem, p. 184.

Party and this does not reflect the very important force and role of the women in the general socialist development of the country. This is due to known reasons, which have been analysed by the Party and about which it has issued orientations. In 1971 women communists of worker social status represented 5.69 per cent of the total number of women workers, while the male worker communists represented 12.11 per cent of the non-Party male workers.

Hence the Party set the task that «... in the future, too, we should forge ahead boldly and rapidly in admitting women to party membership»<sup>1</sup>. All material conditions to do this have been created. Women, in particular the majority of women workers, are everywhere in the first ranks of the struggle to put into life the tasks set by the Party. But it is necessary to show more care and to intensify the educational work for the raising of the ideo-political, cultural, educational and professional level of the masses of women, in struggle against all inhibiting alien manifestations.

The Party and comrade Enver Hoxha have given the orientation about increasing still more the number of young women in the Party. Likewise, the task has been set that workers and women workers consequently, should be given priority over all the other classes or strata of the population.

The age of the communists, like that of the workers, is of special importance, because it is related to the maturity, the freshness and vitality of the Party, with its creative, fighting and revolutionary

---

1) Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, pp. 183-184.

spirit, and its ceaseless rejuvenation. As was pointed out already, the average age of the working class in our country is 34 years, while the average age of the worker communists (including members and candidates) is 37 years. This is normal, objective and natural. But in increasing its ranks with workers, the Party has set the task of taking into account also the ratio communists-workers, according to age-groups.

From a study of this problem it results that in 1970 the age-group between 18 and 35 had one communist for every 13 workers and the age-group over 36 years had one communist for every 16 workers<sup>1</sup>. Taking into account that the important sectors of the economy like mining, the mineral extracting and processing industries, the metallurgical, chemical industries, as well as the newly built large enterprises will chiefly employ young workers, it results that better opportunities exist to further improve the ratio between communists and workers according to age-groups.

From various studies it results that there are many workers who have a sufficient length of service and with whom a fruitful work can be done in view of preparing them for, and bringing them into the ranks of, the Party. In the districts of Tirana, Korça, Elbasan, Vlora and Mirdita, where the said studies were carried out, the communists with a length of service up to 10 years were few as compared with the large number of workers who had a longer length of service. A more careful work must be done also among the workers who have a length of service

---

1) Second National Conference of Social Studies, 1972 edition.

above 6 years. This is necessary not only because a large number of workers fall in this category, but also because these workers constitute the reserve needed to fill the ranks of the workers with longer seniority at work. Careful and well organized work will create conditions to increase the ranks of communists from workers with over 10 years' seniority, who in general, are more tempered and better formed politically and ideologically. This will help to keep the Party always vigorous, young, dynamic and revolutionary.

Another problem regarding admissions to the Party from the ranks of the working class, to which the Party has always attached special attention, is the raising of the educational level of the communist workers. The study of this problem shows that the educational level of the communists and workers is an obstacle that must be overcome. This is closely connected with the solution of the tasks the Party has set in the field of the education of the communists and the masses, especially of the working class. In this respect, it is necessary that the communists, and first of all, workers must be convinced about the need to raise their educational and cultural level as a part of their revolutionary education and the formation of their Marxist-Leninist world outlook. This calls for the further improvement and intensification of the activity of the party organizations among the working class so that it understands the importance of broadening its education and culture.

The solicitude of the Party for the raising the educational level of the communists must, as a matter of course, be closely linked with its care for the raising to the educational level of the working class,

since, as comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «... the Party cannot advance without the masses, just as it cannot be raised ideologically leaving the working class at a low level. Should this happen, many evils lie in store for us»<sup>1</sup>.

The questions discussed above constitute only a part of the great political, ideological, and organizational tasks which the Party has laid down and is now carrying out with the purpose of increasing its ranks with elements from the working class.

In all this work of our Party, *the fundamental thing has been and will continue to be the quality of its members, their political and moral features, their ideological moulding and revolutionary tempering, their determination to defend and follow the line of Party unhesitatingly, at any time and in all circumstances.* Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us: «Big numbers do not always show the strength of a party. But when numbers are accompanied with high quality, when more and more conscious elements, who are ready to carry out the tasks which the Party puts before them, enter its ranks, people who at all times put the general interest above everything, then it is transformed into a colossal force. Such people make the party invincible, keep it always revolutionary, vanguard and leading force of the entire society»<sup>2</sup>.

---

1) Enver Hoxha. Reports and Speeches, 1967-1968, p. 207.

2) Enver Hoxha. Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 184.

## VI

### THE REACTIONARY CHARACTER OF THE BOURGEOIS-REVISIONIST VIEWS ON THE SOCIAL POSITION AND THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

The numerical and qualitative growth and development of our working class in the years of the people's power, the ceaseless growth and consolidation of its leading role in the revolution and in the construction of socialism represent a creative and concrete implementation of the Marxist-Leninist teachings about the historic mission of the working class by our Party. The revolutionary directives of our Party about this question, the great achievements in the development of the working class and the enhancement of its leading role are, at the same time, an open exposure of all the bourgeois and revisionist «theories» and practices, which deny the role of the working class. Between the Marxist-Leninist ideology, on the one hand, and the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, on the other, an irreconcilable struggle is being waged over this question. The modern bourgeois-revisionist

views on the working class are a repetition in new form of the former reactionary theories which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin completely frustrated in their time.

It is known that the idea about the historic mission of the proletariat as the grave-digger of capitalism and the bearer of new socialist and communist order was described by V. I. Lenin as the «fundamental thing in Marx' doctrine», as a great revolutionary discovery. V. I. Lenin in his time had to carry on a great struggle in defence of the Marxist concept of the notion «worker» and the world historic mission of the proletariat from the distortions of the Russian and international reformists and opportunists. In this struggle, he constructed a complete doctrine about the position and hegemony of the proletariat as a class, which became the starting-point of a correct strategy and tactic of the communist movement, which led the latter to great historic victories.

The teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of our Party and comrade Enver Hoxha point out very clearly to the correct revolutionary stand that must be taken in the great polemic of our time between the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the bourgeois-revisionist ideology about the social position of the working class and its role in society today. These teachings orientate us in drawing a clear-cut line of division and in distinguishing the working class from the other classes and strata of society, in drawing scientific conclusions with proletarian content from the experience of Marxist-Leninist parties about the organization and development of the revolutionary process and the building of socialism, in

conducting studies and taking decision, which will serve the cause of the working class.

Of course, the social changes that have occurred and are occurring today, as well as the development of the technical-scientific revolution have exercised their influence also on the development of the working class, on the increase of its ranks with new groups and strata of workers, on modifying the character of labour as a result of its mechanization and automation, on raising the educational level and the technical-professional qualification of a part of the workers, etc.

But apart from these changes, life has confirmed and is confirming the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that *the working class has been and remains the principal productive force of society, and with its Marxist-Leninist Party at the head, it is the leading force in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletarian revolution and in the construction of socialist and communist society.*

The bourgeois and revisionist sociologists, philosophers, historians and economists, by interpreting the changes in the working class in a onesided idealistic subjective way, with ulterior counter-revolutionary aims, with all sorts of frauds seek to «prove» the contrary. In one way or another, they are trying to make the ranks of the working class as heterogeneous as possible, with the aim of denying the absolute truth that the working class is the most progressive and the most revolutionary class history of mankind has ever known.

In these circumstances, our Party's defence of the Marxist-Leninist teachings about the correct meaning of the notion «worker», about the social posi-

tion of the working class, about its hegemonic role in society, taken always in close relation with reality and with the revolutionary practice, must be considered as an important duty of the time.

### **Speculations on the influence of technical-scientific revolution on the position and role of the working class in society**

Speculating with the effect of the technical-scientific revolution on the social structure of the capitalist society, the bourgeois ideologists

claim that the working class is allegedly disappearing, that the capitalist society is being «deproletarianized», etc. To this end, with premeditation, they treat the worker only as labour power employed in manual labour and hard physical work for which no particular education or skill is required. Typical in this respect is the view of the French revisionists R. Garaudi, who says that «in the age of cybernetics... the functions of manual and mental work merge together. Consequently, we cannot speak of working class, but of a collective producer, in which the intellectuals play a determinating role in production, in the revolution, and in social progress». This is more or less what the American bourgeois philosopher Markuse says, when he claims to be Marxist, or other bourgeois-revisionist scribblers. Thus, they jump to the conclusion that, as a result of the technical-scientific revolution, capitalism has been radically changing its nature, that a new «technocratic» or «post-industrial» society is being created, in which the workers have allegedly vanished and the intelligentsia becomes the main

productive force, the cornerstone and the guiding factor in the development of society.

Our Party has refuted these views, which are intended to deny the historic mission of the working class as the decisive force in the development of the present day society and the grave-digger of capitalism. «Contrary to the sermons of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists,» comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, «capitalist society is not being deproletarianized, but, on the contrary, it is being proletarianized continuously, the weight and the role of the working class in production is becoming more and more decisive, it remains the main productive force of society. Life shows that the working class only needs move, knock off work even for a single day, for the entire bourgeoisie to be shaken and all its institutions put in a state of alarm»<sup>1</sup>. Our Party has stressed and continues to stress that the working class has been and remains the decisive and leading force in the revolution, in overthrowing the bourgeoisie by force and in the socialist transformation of society.

Life and the reality in the capitalist world is the best testimony that confirms the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teachings.

First, the bourgeois statistics themselves show that despite the increasing number of technicians, engineers and other specialists, the workers constitute the overwhelming majority of the active population. In the period between 1960 and 1972 the industrial proletariat in the capitalist world grew to 116 million strong. This process is developing at rapid

1) Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 217.

rates in the USA, Canada, and Japan. Today, the growth of the number of hired labourers is becoming common everyday phenomenon.

The process of polarization of the capitalist society is being intensified more and more everyday. Between the 50-ies and the early 70-ies, this process was associated with the ruin of the masses of labouring peasantry, petty-manufactures and part of the middle producers of the town and the country. In today's bourgeois society the increase of the proletariat is not due exclusively to the expropriation of the petty proprietors, but also to the reduction to a proletarian social-economic status of another part of people engaged directly in production, in the services and of the women. Thus, facts show that even under the technical-scientific revolution, far from vanishing, the proletariat, on the contrary, increases in numbers continually, and its social composition changes everyday with elements coming from increasingly larger strata of the town and the countryside. Life in the capitalist world confirms the conclusion of K. Marx that the proletariat grows with the development of capitalism and that capitalism cannot exist without its antipode, the proletariat. «Proletarian, in the economic sense of the word», says K. Marx, «means only a hired labourer, who produces and increases the «capital» and who is thrown out into the street as soon as he becomes useless for the requirements of augmenting the value of «Mister capital!»<sup>1</sup>.

1) K. Marx-F. Engels, Works, Russian edition, vol. 33, p. 628.

Second, by falsifying the Marxist concepts, the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists in the working class include the workers engaged in manual labour exclusively, while in the intelligentsia the various categories of skilled workers. But it is known that, according to the Marxist concepts, inclusion in the working class is not determined by the level of qualification, but by the relationship established between the working people and the means of production, by their place, and consequently, by their role in the social organization of labour, by the sources and amount of their income. From this point of view, the workers have no claim of ownership over the means of production. Though they are the main productive force of material wealth, and are directly involved in its production, the workers are deprived of the right to participate in the social organization of labour and production and are subjected to savage capitalist exploitation. In this connection, it is important to hold in view V. I. Lenin's definition of the notion of «class» in his article «The Great Initiative» in which he writes: «Classes are called those large groups of people, which differ among themselves by the place they occupy in an historically determined system of social production, by their relations with the means of production (relations which often are given the form and power of law), by their role in the social organization of labour and, consequently, by the way in which they obtain that part of social wealth which they possess, and by the size of the share they take. Classes are such groups of people, of which one group can appropriate the labour of the

other on the ground of the different positions they occupy in a given system of social economy»<sup>1</sup>.

Hence, the conclusion that in the conditions of the capitalist society all those who are divested of the means of production, who sell their labour to the capitalist, who participate directly in productive work, in the sphere of the circulation of goods, or in the services, and who create surplus value for the capitalist are called workers (proletarians). Seen from this angle, inclusion or not of working people in the working class does not depend on their qualification level or on the means with which they work and produce, be they simple or modern tools, up to mechanized or automatic machinery.

The specific gravity which mental work alone occupies in relationship with manual labour cannot serve as a determining criterion, either. It is known that, as a result of the technical-scientific revolution and the automation of the processes of production, the relationship between purely manual labour and mental work is changing in favour of the latter. But this by no means implies that the workers have ceased being workers or have been transformed into intellectuals. The intelligentsia of production is comprised only by those persons, technicians, engineers or other specialists, who carry out full or partial organizational and directing functions in the process of capitalist production; and their number is comparatively limited.

---

1) V. I. Lenin. Selected Works. Vol. II, p. 521.



**State monopoly capitalism and speculations on the position and role of the working class in society**

The other «argument» that allegedly state monopoly capitalism is a phenomenon which leads to the «deproletarianization» of the present-day capitalist society is completely groundless. According to the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, in a capitalist society nationalization leads to a stage in which society undergoes a process of «deproletarianization», since the working class allegedly becomes «copropriator» and «co-director» with the capitalists. With such sermons, they endeavour to convince people that allegedly now there are no more proletarians and capitalists, whereas production is destined for the «general welfare».

The spread of state monopoly capitalism, especially after the Second World War, is a phenomenon that has been occurring in all the capitalist countries, but more particularly in the industrialized capitalist countries. A series of important sectors of the economy have passed to the hands of the capitalist state in the USA, Britain, the German Federal Republic, France, Italy and some other countries. The capitalist state tries to play an active part in, and to have direct influence over, the solution of the various economic and financial problems in favour of the capitalist exploiting class, whose domination it represents and defends by violence and every other means. The bourgeois state, serving the interest of the capitalist, endeavours to tone down, however slightly, the basic contradictions between labour and capital, between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation.

Therefore, capitalist nationalization does not prove at all what the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists are trying to propagate, namely that, thanks to state monopoly capitalism, the present capitalist society has changed fundamentally, that it is acquiring almost socialist features which eventually should allow it to be transformed into socialism(!). One of the preachers and champions of these ideas is also Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the French revisionist party, in whose view, capitalist nationalization is a «decisive form» «By affecting the vital sectors of the economy», he says, «nationalization becomes the base, the starting point of an evolution that will lead to socialism»<sup>1</sup>.

In his time, F. Engels refuted the opportunist and revisionist ideas, according to which, the transfer of certain sectors of production to the hands of the capitalist state should be regarded as a measure of a socialist character. In ridiculing these views, Engels writes, «If state monopoly of tobacco is socialism, then Napoleon and Metternich should be inevitably included among the founders of socialism»<sup>2</sup>. Further, he continues: «The present-state, whatever its form, is by its very nature a capitalist machine, the state of capitalists, the ideal collective capitalist. The more productive forces it appropriates, the more complete will be its transformation into a collective capitalist and the greater becomes the number of people it will exploit. The workers will remain hired labourers, proletarians»<sup>3</sup>.

1) Georges Marchais. *The Democratic Challenge*. Paris, 1973, pp. 52-54.

2) F. Engels. *Anti-Dühring*. Tirana, 1974, p. 317.

3) *Ibidem*, p. 318.

Life itself in the capitalist countries shows, the opposite of the bourgeois economists' affirmation. Regardless of the existence and the spread of the different forms of state capitalism, regardless of the sale of shares even to the poorer strata of the population, or of the so-called «consumers society», the working class in the capitalist countries remains just as it was in the past, deprived of ownership over the means of production, and the capitalist order remains as it was, an order of oppression and exploitation. Figures show that today in the USA only 3 per cent of the workers' families buy or are in possession of some shares, which represent a meagre 0,2 per cent of the total value of shares. But the income accruing from these shares and from the wages of these workers, who own such shares, are insufficient to guarantee the strictly minimum standard of living. In summing up the present phenomena of capitalism, at the 6th Congress of the PLA comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Despite the changes that have taken place in the contemporary capitalist world, the working class is stripped of any kind of ownership over the means of production, of its management organization and aim. The so-called «consumers» society is created not to meet the needs of the working people, but to intensify their exploitation and to multiply the profits of the capitalists»<sup>1</sup>.

The distortions about the nature of the capitalist order have reached a point where some of the bourgeois ideologists have ceased to call the capitalists by their real name, because they are allegedly

giving up the direct administration of the enterprises. According to them, the management has passed over to the hands of the technocratic administrators, who act on behalf and in the interests of society. On this, ground, they speak also about a «revolution of management». In fact, this is no case of revolution at all. Irrespective of the persons who administer the property, the capitalist remain owners and masters of the means of production. The profits find their way into their pockets. The managers are nothing but deputies, representatives of the capitalists, and carry out to the letter the orders and wishes of their masters. The administrators of the property are themselves capitalists, who make profits and obtain privileges from their position and appropriate a part of the surplus profit created by the workers. The separation of «functional» capital from «ownership» capital does not change the nature of the capitalist system, which is based on the exploitation of man by man.

In the capitalist countries, the process of concentration of capital in the hands of a small group of owners, mainly members of the financial oligarchy, is being deepened. In the US 500 monopoly companies produce almost 50 per cent of the total amount of goods, and manage the same amount of services. About one per cent of the American shareholder companies appropriate about 70 per cent of the profits created by the unpaid labour of the workers.

The strengthening of monopolies, the concentration and centralization of capital in the hands of few owners, the large-scale utilization of the budgetary funds and the state monopoly capital for the

1) Enver Hoxha. The 6th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1971, p. 216.

benefit of the biggest capitalists, refute the theory of «co-ownership» and «democratization of administration» of the capitalist economy, and, as a consequence, the sermons about the «deproletarianization» of the capitalist society. Today's capitalism, irrespective of the forms that bourgeois ownership acquires, remains just as it was in the past, a social order based on the division of labour from the means of production, an order with economic, political and ideological interests diametrically opposed between the bourgeoisie as the class in power, on the one hand, and the proletariat as an exploited and oppressed class, on the other.

#### **Technical-scientific intelligentsia and the working class**

Another variant of the bourgeois «theories» which pursues the same objectives and has assumed wide-spread popularity in the economic and sociologic literature of the capitalist world is the so-called «technocratic intellectualist theory». According to this «theory», the present technical-scientific revolution increases the specific weight and enhances the role of the technical-scientific intelligentsia so much that it becomes a «new class» which supposedly gives only a marginal role to both the working class and the bourgeoisie, and takes over all the running of the country. The preachers of that «theory» try hard to convince the people with such affirmations that capitalism today is undergoing important changes, that the place of old capitalism is being occupied by the «new industrialized society» or the «post-industrial society», or the «cybernetic-electronic society». In all the above definitions the

word «capitalism» is omitted deliberately. In this society, its theoreticians claim, it is allegedly impossible for the financial plutocracy to rule any more, but it will be ruled by intelligent scientists, skilled in intellectual technology. With this, an allegedly new type of relations of production is being created, which is characterised by intellectualization of all social relations. It is said that the overwhelming majority of the people will be employed in the services or in intellectual jobs. The working class will, as a consequence, cease to exist as a class. This bourgeois chorus is joined by some of the revisionist ideologists, who openly declare that the bearers of the present — day class consciousness are the members of the so-called «new working class», composed of engineers, technicians, highly skilled workers and office workers.<sup>1</sup>

Many bourgeois and social-democrat ideologists declare that «a new epoch» has begun in the history of mankind, in which the classes are disappearing. According to them, in the «modern technocratic society» there is no room for class struggle, since allegedly it was no more a question of exploiters and exploited, but only «consumers» of material wealth. Among others, such ideas are preached by the ideologists of West German imperialism. The notorious German Christian-democrat L. Erhard holds that under the technical-scientific revolution the West German society has allegedly overcome class contradictions, it is no longer comprised of classes and so-

1) Problems of Peace and Socialism, Russian edition, 1969. Issue 2, p. 49.

cial groups; it is fundamentally cooperativist, that is, based on the interests and the collaboration of all groups. Erhard calls it a «formed society».

It is not difficult to see the absurdity of these concepts of the bourgeois and revisionist sociologists about the dying away of classes and the class struggle, about the substitution of the role of the working class by the technical-scientific intelligentsia, which they consider as the principal of productive force and the only promoter of social progress, the first driving force in the development of modern society(!).

In point of fact, despite the changes which it has undergone in number, composition, qualification and in its role, the intelligentsia remains always an intermediary stratum, a very heterogeneous mass on account of its role in the capitalist economic-social life. Lacking economic independence as a class, it cannot possibly be a politically independent force, can never realize in practice the role and the historic mission of the proletariat. Only that part of the intelligentsia which joins the working class and accepts its leadership can play a progressive role by dedicating itself to the cause of the proletariat.

The spread of the views mentioned above damages the workers' revolutionary movement. The views that the intelligentsia and the students are independent and principal forces in the revolution, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 6th Congress of the Party, create confusion among some untested militants and in various strata of the people, particularly among the students and the young intellectuals. Therefore, the Marxist-Leninist

parties justly expose these views and reveal their anti-scientific and counter-revolutionary character<sup>1</sup>.

Despite the consequences of the technical-scientific revolution in social relations, in the status of classes and social strata, in the political superstructure, they have never led and shall never lead to the transformation of the capitalist society into a qualitatively different type of society. There are changes that take place in the context of the bourgeois order, but which do not affect the foundations and the economic and political domination of the bourgeoisie.

It is true that the technical-scientific revolution brings in its wake a growth of the specific weight and the raising of the level of the intelligentsia. This is connected with the fact that science today has become a force directly involved in production, so much so that not only industrial production, but all the other sectors of the economy and culture cannot advance without relying on science. The struggle for maximum profits and competition, force the capitalists and the capitalist states to make investments for the development of science and technique. The number of people who, before beginning work in production, must graduate a certain school determined by the needs of capitalists, is increasing.

But this does not testify to the «deproletarianization» of today's capitalist society allegedly in favour of a «new class», of the intelligentsia. As always, the basis of capitalist production rests on wage earners, who, in their majority, are but partly or completely unskilled.

---

1) Enver Hoxha. Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1971, p. 218.

Thus, the capitalist reality shows clearly that the technical-scientific revolution and the new phenomena that have occurred and are occurring in the capitalist economy have not affected at all the nature of the capitalist order, which in essence remains as it was when Marx and Lenin analysed it. The economic basis of capitalism, the capitalist ownership over the means of production, has remained inviolable. The exploitation of man by man also persists, and the intensity and degree of exploitation grows. Profit is the motive force of capitalist production. The ever growing concentration of production and the strengthening of the monopolies, the enrichment of the bourgeoisie and the deterioration of the conditions of the proletariat, competition and anarchy in production, economic crises and chronic unemployment have always been and remain typical phenomena and fellow-travellers of capitalism. That is accounted for by the essentially unchanged nature of the political foundations of the present-day capitalist order. The state power is still as it used to be, a severe bourgeois dictatorship, serving the big monopoly bourgeoisie, against the working class and its revolutionary movement. In order to exploit the working class and the other masses of working people, the bourgeoisie does not give up its economic and political power willingly. Our revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us that *the basic criteria to judge and determine the nature of an economic and social order are the economic and political foundations of that order and not its technique and technology.*

Proceeding from a scientific analysis of the present capitalist reality, comrade Enver Hoxha has

stressed: «The ideologists of the monopoly bourgeoisie are striving to make the working people believe that the technical and scientific revolution which is being carried out in the world today is allegedly removing the ills of capitalism, that it is reforming it, liquidating the classes and the class antagonism, and replacing the capitalist owners with the technocratic administrators: On this basis they declare that the old capitalist system of exploitation, the class struggle and the need for proletarian revolution have been overcome. In reality, behind the so-called «industrial society» or «technocratic society» there lies hidden the brutal oppression of the working people by the capitalist monopolies and the state monopoly capitalism»<sup>1</sup>. That is why there is no more question of «deproletarianization» of modern capitalist society, because the polarization and proletarianization of this society is being deepened more and more.

**The working class has been and remains the most revolutionary class of society**

Many bourgeois and revisionist sociologists, finding it difficult to deny the existence of the working class, have invented a deceitful variant according to which the working class is allegedly being bourgeoisied, that it is being integrated into the capitalist system and that, consequently, it no longer presents a revolutionary class.

In the view of these bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, the problems of modern capitalism can best be solved by the bourgeois state and other in-

1) Enver Hoxha, Speeches, 1969-1970, p. 72-73.

stitutions of the bourgeoisie. The French sociologist A. Aron says that increased work productivity, the rational utilization of machinery and the improvement of the organization of production will «automatically» wipe out the class distinctions in the «Western industrialized society». The American bourgeois ideologist H. Marcuse attempts to «prove» that the proletariat is being «bourgeoisied», that it has lost its class and revolutionary features and «has definitely been integrated into the system and maintains a negative attitude towards the need for radical transformations».

It is a known fact that in some industrialized capitalist countries the monopoly bourgeoisie, by means of high wages and rewards and particularly by intense ideological indoctrination, succeeds in corrupting a section of the workers, creates the so-called «workers' aristocracy», which becomes the advocate of the bourgeois interests in the ranks of the proletariat and its revolutionary movement. But the «workers' aristocracy» represents only a bare minority of the working class. And it is precisely this workers' aristocracy, and not the working class which has been bourgeoisied and is being integrated into the capitalist system. As for the working class, thanks to its struggle for better working and living conditions, in various capitalist countries they are given some crumbs only to be more savagely exploited afterwards.

Let us refer to some facts which reveal the reality in the capitalist countries. In the industrialized capitalist countries including the USA (without mentioning here the other capitalist states), many sections of workers live in poverty, in the true sense

of the word. They have difficulties in housing, they lack sufficient food and clothing, they do not get any medical help, and have no possibility to receive adequate education, etc. The American government itself has admitted that 45 million Americans, i.e., about 1/4 of the population, are poor. Of these, 30 million «are ridden by stark poverty». And this does not refer only to negroes or other coloured people, since about 2/3 of these 30 million are whites<sup>1</sup>. About 8 million men, women and children are so poor that they subsist only on charity provided by the «philanthropic funds». Thus, even in the USA poverty is a mass phenomenon. This phenomenon is more acute if considered in the framework of the entire world capitalist system. More than 1/3 of the population of the capitalist world, which lives mainly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, not only uses very primitive work tools and is being exploited in different ways by the imperialist powers, but also it suffers from hunger, epidemic diseases, illiteracy, etc.

Nevertheless, here, it is necessary to throw light on another point of principled importance. The proletariat is the most revolutionary class not only because it is beset by poverty and misery. In capitalism that fate is shared by millions of petty farmers and the other poor masses of the city. These social groups and strata, however, are not and cannot be a more progressive force than the proletariat. The revolutionary, and therefore, more progressive character of the proletariat is conditioned by many other no less important causes and circumstances.

The proletariat is divested of ownership over

---

<sup>1</sup> Data from «Economic notes», June 1968.

the means of production and is economically forced to work for its wages on the property of the capitalist. K. Marx has said that «the worker belongs to the capitalist, just like the inanimate work tools». For this reason, the proletariat, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, has nothing to lose in the revolution except its chains.

The proletariat is also associated with the most advanced form of production, with large-scale industrial production which provides great opportunities for the workers to unite and get better organized. It is the carrier of the new relations which are established in production after the socialist revolution is carried out.

The proletariat has its own scientific theory, Marxism-Leninism, which opens new paths and perspectives before it; it has its own political staff, its revolutionary party, which leads it in the class struggle against the oppressors and exploiters. From the very moment of its birth the proletariat, wages the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, and through this struggle, it is rallied and organized as a class in itself, becomes conscious of its fundamental interests, that is as K. Marx and F. Engels put it, the proletariat is transformed from «a class in itself» to «a class for itself».

All these factors and many others, make the proletariat the most revolutionary leading force in the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist order and for the victory of communism. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us: «The conditions that make the working class the decisive force in the contemporary social development, the leading force in the struggle for

the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist world, have not change in the least»<sup>1</sup>:

Life is the best testimony of the correctness of these Marxist-Leninist teachings, the most convincing argument against all the «theories» of the bourgeois and reformist ideologists, who are trying to convince people that the revolutionary spirit of the working class in the capitalist world is declining, that it is being extinguished, etc.

The strikers' movement in the capitalist world, the demonstrations of the working class, the number of participants in them, are ever increasing and have become more intense. In the strikes and demonstrations, together with the working class, other strata of the population are taking part. Only in 1973, 40 million people went on strike. The strikes and demonstrations in the capitalist countries are assuming a pronounced political character, since through them the masses of working people, and especially the working class, besides putting forward their economic, social, and cultural demands, realise over more clearly that behind the bourgeoisie and its interests stands the capitalist state. In the foundations of this struggle lies, first of all, the contrast between labour and capital, a contrast that is being deepened more and more. Comrade Enver Hoxha has emphasised: «Even in the countries which are presented by the bourgeois propaganda as «zones of eternal class peace», severe battles are going on between the working people and capital. Even here, the social-democratic myth about «social evolution» and about the possibility of crea-

---

1) Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1971, p. 216.

ting the general welfare under the capitalist system was broken to pieces»<sup>1</sup>.

The bourgeois «theories» about the diminishing role and revolutionary spirit of the working class are and continue to be joined by the modern revisionists of every colour. The revisionists need such «theories» and views to justify, among other things, the opportunist programs they have prepared for their parties in connection with the so-called «peaceful road of transition to socialism», «parliamentary socialism», «democratic socialism».

The Soviet modern revisionists and their followers, by embracing and putting beyond doubt the theory on the productive forces, which has been denounced by Marxism-Leninism long before, deny the role of the conscious factor, the leading role of the working class and its revolutionary party in their struggle against the bourgeoisie. They preach that the changes that have taken place and are taking place in the world in consequence of the technical-scientific revolution have already changed or are changing the nature of capitalism, by strengthening the «socialist elements», in it. They are also spreading such anti-Marxist sermons that allegedly the socialist transformation of society can take place peacefully, through reforms, without need for the proletarian revolution.

Another technocratic and intellectualist view in the revisionist countries is one according to which in some of the industrialized capitalist countries «a new bloc» of the people of manual or mental labour,

in which the working class and the intelligentsia are placed on the same footing, has been allegedly created. As for the backward countries, they attribute the role of the force capable to bring about the revolutionary transformation of society either to the national bourgeoisie or to the various non-proletarian strata like the petty-bourgeoisie, the intellectuals and the non-Marxist parties.

These downright anti-Marxist from, are very harmful to the world revolutionary movement, because they create pacifist delusions and ideological confusion in the minds of the working class and the other working masses, particularly, when we bear in mind that the revisionist parties are still exercising a not negligible influence upon a considerable part of the working class of the capitalist world. Therefore, the exposure and denouncement of the anti-Marxist views and theses of these parties is one of the principal duties of the Marxist-Leninist forces in the service of the cause of the working class and the socialist revolution.

1) Enver Hoxha. Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, Tirana 1971, p. 211.



**THE WORKING CLASS IN THE REVISIONIST  
COUNTRIES AND THE REACTIONARY  
CHARACTER OF THE ANTI-MARXIST  
VIEWS ON ITS POSITION AND  
ROLE IN SOCIETY**

The Soviet revisionists and the other revisionist cliques in power are trying by all sorts of demagogical manners to deny the proletarianization of the working class in the revisionist countries. The revisionist cliques are raising a noisy propaganda about allegedly the means of production in the revisionist countries being social property, administered by the state on behalf of the workers, as the Soviet revisionists claim, or administered directly by the workers, as the Yugoslav revisionists do. In both cases the working class is deprived of ownership over the means of production, which apart from the name have nothing socialist in them. In fact, in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, the means of production are in the hands of the new bourgeoisie, while the working class, being completely divested of the means of production, has been transformed into a purchasable market commodity.

With the bourgeois degeneration of the party and the state, the counter-revolutionary process assu-

med wide-spread proportions in the political and ideological superstructure and the economic basis of these countries. Following sensational proclamation a series of anti-socialist economic reforms, which paved the way for the re-establishment of capitalism in the entire economic and social life, were put into effect in the revisionist countries. The organization and administration of production in the economy of the revisionist countries, like that of the capitalist countries, is chiefly intended to squeeze maximum profits.

In these conditions, though ownership over the means of production is «socialist» in name, it is devoid of any true socialist contents and has become a capitalist ownership of a particular type. The present Soviet state, as a capitalist state, is administering the means of production on behalf and in the interest of the revisionist bourgeoisie, continuing to oppress and exploit the working class and the other masses of the working people. The Soviet bourgeoisie, by seizing the reins of the statepower and the key positions of the economy, uses them to obtain privileges and capitalist profits for itself. In this way, the social polarization is sharpened more and the gap which separates the working class and the masses of the working people from the bourgeoisie is growing wider. Remuneration according to work is practically replaced by the system of capitalist wages which allows the revisionist bourgeoisie to appropriate the toil and sweat of the masses of the working people, to secure an income ten times higher than the workers.

In these circumstances, those who actually rule and make the law in the revisionist countries are

the new bourgeoisie, the bureaucrats and technocrats, with the revisionist-capitalist party and state at the head.

In the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries, the Marxist-Leninist teachings about the role and mission of the working class in the revolutionary transformation of society have been abandoned. The theses of the modern revisionists about «the party of the entire people» and «the state of the entire people» are clear expressions of these changes. Therefore, though the revisionist propaganda speaks of the leading role of the working class in the countries where the revisionist cliques are in power, in reality, in fact, it does not play such a role. It is known that the working class can play this role only when it is guided by the Marxist-Leninist party, when it holds the state power and controls the life of the country through its party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But, as comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, in the cases when the party and state are not in the hands of the working class but are turned into tools of the revisionists to defend and consolidate their political, economic and military domination, there can be no real leadership of the working class. «The socialist and communist disguises in which they garb their state and their party are merely to deceive the people, because the character of the state or the party is not defined by the labels they bear nor by their social content alone, but first and foremost by the policy pursued, whom does it serve and for whose benefit it is»<sup>1</sup>.

1) Enver Hoxha, Report to the 5th Congress of the PLA, p. 235.

In order to support the process of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, intellectualist and technocratic concepts have assumed broad extension. They are meant to justify the liquidation of the leading role of the working class and its substitution with the role of the new bourgeois ruling class composed of the bureaucratized and bourgeoisied strata of top functionaries and intelligentsia.

The revisionist «theories» on this problem can be divided into two main groups. The first group defends and propagates the thesis that in the socialist order the distinctions between workers and peasants, on the one hand, and the intelligentsia, on the other, are not class distinctions but simple occupational differences between different social strata of «producer-workers» who, as a result of the division of the various branches of production, are engaged in different kinds of work. They claim also that the producing intelligentsia has all the features of the working class. Therefrom they jump to the conclusion: «In workers — taking into account all their social-economic and social-political peculiarities — are included the workers of manual work and the people of mental work in the branches of material production and circulation of goods, who work in enterprises and institutions that are property of the whole people»<sup>1</sup>. If this definition holds good, then the ranks of the working class extend extremely, become very heterogeneous, including all people of mental work in the respective spheres of social production. Thus, for example, in the ranks of industrial workers are

1) «Voprosi filosofi», 3rd issue, 1967, p. 31.

included technical-engineering staff, scientific-research and administrative personnel of the industrial enterprises, and others. This is also how they calculate the number of workers of the agricultural enterprises, in which they include agricultural workers, agronomists, the veterinary doctors, the zootechnicians, and all the other working people engaged in agricultural enterprises.

In this way, the new bourgeoisie, which has usurped the power in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, in other words, the bureaucrats, the «apparatchiki», the technocrats, and the other «specialists», who occupy the dominant positions and have filled up the executive apparatuses in all fields, now claim that they are workers or peasants, indeed even the most advanced, the best prepared section of the working class and the peasantry. They govern and hold sway over the people by speculating with the name of the working class, which in these countries has become a simple subdued and exploited productive force.

In fact, these «theories» of the revisionist sociologists are not new. They are borrowed from the bourgeois ideologists together with their theory of «social stratification»<sup>1</sup>.

1) According to this theory, society is divided into strata. These divisions are based on the differences of the educational, cultural, and technical-professional level, sex, place of habitation, etc. The aim of the theory of social stratification is to refute the Marxist-Leninist criteria of division of the people into classes, to distort the truth about the class structure of the present capitalist society, to deny the law of the class struggle.

To give credibility to their views, the representatives of that theory commonly refer to the known theses of K. Marx, who, in order to discover the mechanism by which the capitalists create the surplus value, writes that for that purpose they try to exploit both the manual and mental workers in the sphere of production and circulation. The wage earners are forced into selling their labour to the capitalists.

This thesis of K. Marx, they claim, applies also the definition of the notion of «worker» even in the socialist society. In fact, K. Marx did not intend this thesis to define the significance of the notion of «worker» in the capitalist society, but to discover the mechanism of the creation of surplus value and capital. From the class angle, K. Marx regards the intelligentsia as a separate social stratum, which, under all orders, serves the class in power, and not as a group within the ranks of the working class.

The second group of revisionist ideologists defends and propagates the thesis that in as much as in the socialist order there are no such social classes that one should appropriate the labour of the other, consequently it is impossible to speak of the existence of classes and class struggle.

First of all, it is necessary here to stress that in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries (though much is spoken and written about the obliteration of classes and exploitation of man by man), in fact, capitalism has been re-established and is being consolidated and socialism is out of question. The exploitation of the working class, the peasantry, and the other masses of the working people by the revisionist bourgeoisie is growing day by day in most different ways and forms. As well as this, the differ-

rentiation and polarization of the classes is also being deepened.

On the one hand, the working class is continually growing with people from the cities and the country. In the Soviet Union in 1939, the working class represented 1/3 or 33.5 per cent of the working population. In 1959 it reached close to a half, or 49.5 per cent, while the figures for 1971 show that the working class represented about 55 per cent of the people in work relations. At the same time, the new bourgeoisie is also growing in strength and numbers, its ranks being comprised of bureaucratic elements of the party and the state, technocrats, and the caste of the armymen, the aristocracy of the working class, and others. The antagonistic contradictions, between this new exploiting class, which is increasingly acquiring the features of the bourgeoisie, and the mass of workers and peasants, are growing ever more acute. In these conditions, the «theories» of the revisionist sociologists about the obliteration of exploitation of man by man and the liquidation of classes in the countries where they are in power, cannot withstand the trial of practice.

They are equally anti-scientific in theory, too. In order to support their hostile views, the revisionists refer to the known thesis of Lenin that «socialism is the liquidation of classes». According to the revisionists, as soon as exploitation of man by man is eliminated and the economic basis of socialism is built, the classes and the class struggle automatically cease to exist. It is not difficult to understand that the revisionists distort the Leninist theses and utilize them with ulterior tendencious aims.

When Lenin says, «socialism is the liquidation of classes», he means the exploiting classes but not classes in general. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that to build the classless communist society, it is not sufficient to eliminate only exploitation of man by man, but all the members of the society must be placed on an equal footing regarding the means of production and the appropriation of material and cultural values, the essential difference between workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia, as regards the social organization of labour, the amount of income and the way it is procured, the mode of living, their outlook, their psychology, etc., must be overcome.

All these revisionist distortions are intended to justify the reliance of the revisionists on the bureaucratic and technocratic elements and on the aristocracy of the working class, as well as on the military caste, which constitute the social and class foundation of the revisionist parties and their bourgeois dictatorships, in order to enable them to exploit and oppress the working class. In his stern criticism and exposure of these anti-Marxist views, comrade Enver Hoxha says: «... the basis of production for the society are the working class, the cooperativists. We must never forget this, otherwise, we involuntarily create the erroneous idea that these are created by the intelligentsia alone, a «new class», as is the case of the Soviet Union and of all the other countries where the revisionists make the law»<sup>1</sup>.

All these reveal clearly the great importance of the uncompromising struggle that our Party and

1) Enver Hoxha. Speeches 1969-70, p. 313.

comrade Enver Hoxha are waging over these problems against modern revisionism in defence and for the affirmation of the Marxist-Leninist teachings, in general, and of the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the leading role of the working class guided by its party, for the successful carrying out of the revolution and the construction of socialism, in particular.

## CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION .....	5

### — I —

NUMERICAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR WORKING CLASS .....	19
1. A short survey and some basic characteristics of the numerical growth of the working class before Liberation .....	19
2. The great economic and social transformations carried out after the liberation of the country and the impetuous growth of the working class .....	27
— Numerical growth of working class during 1944-1950 period .....	27

— The impetuous growth of the working class in the five-year periods 1951-1975 .....	35
---	----

— II —

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF WORKING CLASS INCREASE .....	64
1. Some questions on the sources supplying the ranks of the working class .....	64
— The rapid population growth — a source of labour for the ranks of the working class. ....	64
— Full activation of able-bodied population. ....	73
— Planned redistribution of the sources of labour among the branches of the economy. ....	79
2. Some questions of the future growth and filling of the ranks of the working class .....	84

— III —

THE PLACE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF OUR SOCIETY, ITS DISTRI- BUTION AMONG THE DISTRICTS AND AMONG THE SPHERES AND BRANCHES OF OUR ECONOMY .....	97
1. The place of the working class in our class structure .....	97

2. The distribution of the working class among the districts of the country .....	103
3. The structure of the working class according to the main spheres of the economy .....	111
— Composition of workers and working peo- ple according to spheres of production — a problem of political and ideological cha- racter .....	111
— Structure of working class in two spheres of social activity .....	116
4. The structure of the working class according to branches of the economy .....	123
5. The structure of the working class within eco- nomic enterprises .....	128

— IV —

EDUCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL-PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS .....	135
1. Educational development of the working class. ....	135
2. On the technical-professional level of the work- ing class and the tasks emerging for the future. ....	138
— Some duties for the educational and profes- sional uplift of the working class .....	148

## — V —

COMPOSITION OF THE WORKING CLASS AS REGARDS AGE, SENIORITY OF SERVICE, SOCIAL ORIGIN AND PARTY MEMBERSHIP .....	156
— Composition of the working class as regards age and length of service .....	156
— Social composition of the working class .....	162
— Growth of worker composition of the Party .....	167

## — VI —

THE REACTIONARY CHARACTER OF THE BOURGEOIS-REVISIONIST VIEWS ON THE SOCIAL POSITION AND THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS .....	182
— Speculations on the influence of technical-scientific revolution on the position and role of the working class in society .....	185
— State monopoly capitalism and speculations on the position and role of the working class in society .....	190
— Technical-scientific intelligentsia and the	

working class .....	194
---------------------	-----

— The working class has been and remains the most revolutionary class of society .....	199
--	-----

The working class in the revisionist countries and the reactionary character of the anti-Marxist views on its position and role in society .....	206
--	-----





All state power in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania derives from and belongs to the working people.

The working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the other working people exercise their state power through the representative organs as well as directly.

The representative organs are the People's Assembly and the people's councils.

No one else apart from the organs expressly defined in this Constitution can exercise the sovereignty of the people and any of its attributes in the name of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania (*Article 5 of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania*).