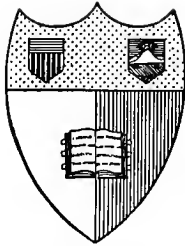


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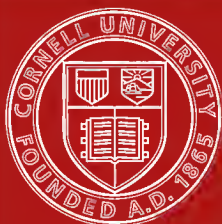
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Analysis of Strikes in China, from 1918 to 1926

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Analysis of Strikes in China, from 1918 to 1926¹

By TA CHEN (陳達)

SCOPE OF STUDY

This study includes the important strikes in China for the nine-year period from 1918 to 1926. As the working population in China is getting more class conscious, social unrest becomes more wide-spread and the labor situation more complicated. Consequently, strikes in industrial and commercial centers are also more frequent. But as yet no worth-while attempt has been made to study the strike problem scientifically. Reliable information is lacking especially along the lines indicated by the following questions: Geographically how are the strikes between 1918 and 1926 distributed? In what trades and occupations do the strikes most frequently occur? Approximately how many strikers are involved in the period under survey? What are the principal causes of the strikes and how are they finally settled? Is the strike a successful weapon for the capital-labor war? What bearing does the strike have upon the labor movement? With a view of offering partial answers to these queries, the present study is made.

METHOD OF GATHERING DATA

Over three years ago, when the writer commenced to collect facts about strikes in China, he soon became aware of the great dearth of data on the subject. The strike as a method for improving the workers' condition is still new in China, and social organizations have not taken much interest in studying the strike problem systematically. Although labor is rapidly becoming an important social question in China, few economists and sociologists give it due emphasis in their writings. In these circumstances the writer was forced to adopt a method of gathering information which had never before been used in China. Seventeen newspapers were selected in important industrial and commercial centers in the country (Peking, Tientsin, Fengtien, Shanghai, Hankow, Hangchow, and Canton), and from these news items and reports about strikes were taken. Owing to occasional interruption of communication and transportation in parts of China, the delivery of 5 of these papers has been somewhat irregular,

¹ The data for the eight-year (1918-1925) period first appeared in an article by the author in "*The Tsing Hua Journal*" (in Chinese) Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 803-863, June, 1926. It is translated into Japanese by the Peking Office of the South Manchuria Railway Company and published as special report No. 13 of the Mantetsu Geppo, Peking, May, 1927. A brief resumé in English is published in the October, 1926, issue of the "*Monthly Labor Review*," U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D. C. The material here presented is revised and expanded so as to bring the information up to the end of 1926.

but that of the other 12 has since August, 1923, been quite regular. The information for the period between 1918 and 1923, is almost entirely based upon one Shanghai daily—the “*Shun Pao*”—which is the oldest newspaper printed in the Chinese language, its publication having begun in 1872.

Supplementing the newspapers are also reports of government agencies and private organizations, trade journals, and publications of labor unions and social service institutions. A certain amount of material has also been gathered through personal investigations of the writer and through correspondence with responsible persons and organizations.

For the year 1926 the data are gathered in a somewhat different manner. In addition to the above sources the writer has access to the published and unpublished material of the Bureau of Economic Information. This Bureau has a branch in Shanghai and investigators in important industrial and commercial cities in China including Canton, Chengtu, Hankow, Nanking, Hangchow and Fengtien. Throughout the entire year of 1926, the Bureau has published investigations on strikes in parts of China.²

Inasmuch as a considerable amount of the strike material is derived from the newspapers, a word should be said about the reliability of the sources. Newspaper reports are not very reliable, but the fact must be borne in mind that as yet no adequate agency for collecting strike data exists in China, especially when this study was first started. Also, reliability is a relative term and some newspaper accounts are apparently dependable. It is not claimed that the growing labor movement in China is realistically portrayed in this study, but it is believed that some light may be shed upon the present social situation. It might be mentioned that material used by the writer for an article in the “*Monthly Labor Review*” on the shipping strike in Hongkong in 1922 was drawn from a number of sources other than newspapers. It was later found that the “*Shun Pao*” published 103 news items about the Hongkong shipping strike, and a comparison of these with the earlier article in the “*Review*” revealed only minor discrepancies. A brief account of this strike is given elsewhere in this article. Again, it may be pertinent to mention that in 1925 the writer was on the Commission of Social Research, of which Dr. Royal Meeker, formerly United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics, was a member. This commission visited important places in China and thereby enabled the writer to check the strike material derived from the newspapers.

² The issues of the *Chinese Economic Bulletin* for 1925 and 1926; Labor Problems in China in 1925, *Chinese Economic Monthly*, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 103-108, March, 1926; Strikes in Shanghai in 1926, *Chinese Economic Journal*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 227-233, March, 1927.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Evidently the strike phenomenon is very complicated and several phases of the problem are not dealt with in this study, such as (1) The origin of the strikes in China. Although this inquiry begins with the year 1918, that date is chosen mainly for the sake of convenience as it antedates the student movement only by one year, thus offering an opportunity of showing the labor situation before the student movement. There were earlier strikes both under the guild system and in modern industry. As an example of the latter, the Tsing-Yang Railway (a portion of the Lung-Hai line) strike in 1912 may be cited. The origin of the strikes in China, interesting as the question may be, is not here discussed.

(2) Legal aspects. The question of the legality of strikes presents great confusion. In leaseholds, settlements and concessions, foreign nations enjoying consular jurisdiction generally enforce laws of their own respective countries concerning labor disputes. The Kuomintang though having a liberal attitude towards labor has not yet formulated a clear-cut policy on labor. Since the nullification of Article 224 of the provisional Penal Code by the party in 1922, its stand on labor is somewhat changed by later declarations and regulations. The situation is further complicated by the Central Government which upholds the provisional Penal Code and Police Regulations, and in the absence of national labor laws empowers local authorities to enforce customary laws of divergent nature.

(3) Economic effects: If economic costs of strikes to industry and society could be fairly estimated, a great contribution would have been made to social-economics in China. But as yet no dependable information on the subject is forthcoming. With the exception of some fragmentary material on certain recent strikes embodied in this report, no systematic treatment is here attempted.³

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF STRIKES

The labor movement in China, as indicated by the frequency of strikes, is spreading along the sea coast, near railroads and waterways, and in the industrial and commercial districts. The growth of trade and industry in the cities naturally calls for the concentration of workers which hastens the cityward drift of population. Thus the density of the city population is increased

³ *Chinese Weekly Economic Bulletin* (in Chinese) No. 128, pp. 16-21, Sept. 5, 1925, Peking, Bureau of Economic Information; article on economic costs of strikes by Bert L. Kuhn, "*Peking Leader*," Sept. 24, 1925; Otaka: The Labor Problem in China (in Japanese), p. 710, Shanghai, 1925; article on cost of Hongkong boycott in London "*Times*" ("Financial Review") reproduced in People's "*Tribune*," Peking, March 25, 1926; article on "Canton: Hope of China" by L. S. Gannett in "*Nation*," New York, March 31, 1926; article on "Hongkong is declining" in "*Chen Pao Supplement*" (in Chinese) Peking, Feb. 2, 1926.

and the labor problem in the cities is in some aspects more serious than in rural communities. During the nine-year period under study, strikes were spread over 116 different places in the country and the cities having ten or more strikes are shown below, the figures for the May 30 affair being in the parentheses: Shanghai, 534 (or 638), Hankow 77 (or 81), Canton 54 (or 54), Wusieh 41 (or 41), Soochow 40 (or 40), Chenkiang 33 (or 34), Peking 22 (or 30), Fengtien 17 (or 18), Tientsin 13 (or 14), Swatow 13 (or 14), Hongkong 9 (or 10).

NUMBER OF STRIKES AND STRIKERS

This study covers 1,232 strikes in the nine year period from 1918 to 1926, including 135 strikes arising directly from the May 30 incident in Shanghai in 1925. Disregarding, for the present, this incident, it thus appears that between 1918 and 1926 there were 1,098 strikes, or an average of 122 strikes per year. It is evident that the number of strikes in China is increasing especially since 1924. Although the increase is a fact, caution should be taken not to stress the point too far, for, as pointed out above, the strike data for the period between 1918 and 1923 were largely taken from the "*Shun Pao*" in Shanghai and there was possibility of excluding significant strikes in other cities for that period.

Of the total number of strikes, in 50.91% the number of strikers was reported, excluding the May 30 affair, or 53.08% including it. For the whole period the total number of the strikers in reported cases was 1,431,804, the average number of persons per strike being 2,524.56. If the May 30 strikes are included the total number of strikers was 1,813,291, the average number of strikers involved per strike being 2,768.38. In a limited number of cases the same laborer may strike several times in a given period. Each time when he strikes he would be counted as a striker, so the total number of strikers as given above is somewhat larger than that of the laborers involved.

The duration of the strike was reported in 58.83% of the cases, excluding the May 30 affair, or 54.46% including it. The average duration of those reported on was 6.81 days excluding the May 30 affair and 9.18 days if the May 30 strikes were included. Table I shows the details regarding the number of strikes and strikers and duration of strikes, by years. The figures for the May 30, 1925, affair are given in the parentheses.

CLASSIFICATION OF INDUSTRIES

In this study, the different trades and industries are classified into 11 categories as shown in Table 2. By far the largest number of strikes occurs in the textile trades. During the nine years under survey, there were 368 strikes constituting 40.88% of the total, or 400 strikes constituting 44.44% of the total if the

TABLE 1.—NUMBER OF STRIKES AND STRIKERS AND DURATION OF STRIKE, BY YEARS, 1918 TO 1926

(Figures in parentheses include the May 30, 1925, affair in Shanghai)

Year	Total number of strikes	Strikes for which number of strikers was reported	Total number of strikers	Average number of strikers per dispute	Strikes for which duration was reported	Total number of days lost	Average duration of strike (days)
1918	25	12	6,455	538	15	124	8.27
1919	66	26	91,520	3,520	52	294	5.65
1920	46	19	46,140	2,428	22	157	7.14
1921	49	22	108,025	4,910	21	155	7.38
1922	91	30	139,050	4,635	54	452	8.37
1923	47	17	35,835	2,108	21	134	6.38
1924	56	18	61,860	3,437	26	241	9.27
1925	183 (318)	103 (198)	403,334 (784,821)	3,916 (3,964)	95 (120)	505 (2,266)	5.32 (18.88)
1926	535	313	539,585	1,723.91	340	2,335	6.87
Total	1,098 (1,232) ^a	560 (655)	1,431,804 (1,813,291)	2,524.65 2,768.38	646 (671)	4,397 (6,158)	6.81 (9.18)
Annual average	122.00 (136.88)	62.11 (76.66)	136,867.11 (179,254.55)	—	71.77 (74.55)	488.55 (684.22)	—

^a As the Canton-Hongkong strike was started in 1925 and called off in 1926 it was entered in both years. Therefore if the number of strikes per year is added together, the total number of strikes for 9 years would be 1,233; but actually the total is 1,232 only.

TABLE 2.—CLASSIFICATION OF STRIKES ACCORDING TO INDUSTRY AND YEAR OF OCCURRENCE, 1918 TO 1926

(Figures in parentheses include the May 30, 1925, affair in Shanghai)

Year	Textile trades	Foods and food-stuffs	Household goods	Construction and Building	Tool making and manufacturing	Communication and transportation	Basic Industries	Educational enterprises	Personal hygiene and public-health	Ornaments and luxuries	Miscellaneous	Total
1918	8	1	5	2	3	3	—	—	2	1	—	25
1919	13	3	6	3	13	15	2	3	1	2	5	66
1920	16	3	2	3	10	2	1	1	1	3	4	46
1921	10	7	—	4	1	13	1	3	4	3	5	49
1922	26	6	1	3	7	22	5	3	8	4	6	91
1923	8	6	1	3	3	14	4	1	2	2	3	47
1924	13	8	1	3	6	13	—	2	3	3	4	56
1925	73 (105)	11 (25)	7 (12)	9 (15)	8 (27)	30 (42)	7 (9)	14 (20)	3 (10)	6 (11)	15 (42)	183 (318)
1926	201	34	10	19	64	77	5	41	18	23	43	535
Total	368 (400)	79 (93)	33 (38)	49 (55)	115 (134)	189 (201)	25 (27)	66 (72)	42 (49)	47 (52)	85 (112)	1,098 (1,232)
Annual Average	40.88 (44.44)	8.77 (10.33)	3.66 (4.22)	5.44 (6.11)	12.77 (14.88)	21.00 (22.33)	2.77 (3.00)	7.33 (8.00)	4.66 (5.45)	5.22 (5.77)	9.44 (12.33)	122.00 (136.88)

May 30 affair is included. Basic industries are the least affected by strikes. Thus during the last nine years there were only 25 strikes constituting 2.77% of the total, or 27 strikes, constituting 3.00% of the total if the May 30 strikes are included. The details are given in Table 2.

PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF STRIKES

In Table 3 the strikes covered by this study are analysed by principal causes as far as information is available. Many of the terms are self-explanatory. The others may be briefly explained as follows:

High Cost of Living.—Thus, 200 pounds of polished rice in Shanghai were sold for \$7.78⁴ in 1916; in 1923 the cost increased to \$12.45. For the same period and in the same city the price of one picul (133½ pounds) of potatoes increased from \$2.09 to \$3.40. Wages are usually paid in copper coins, which have in recent times shown great depreciation. In Peking a silver dollar could be changed for 195 coppers in August, 1923; one year later the number was increased to 229, thus gaining 34 coppers on the dollar in a single year. In August, 1927, the depreciation of the copper currency in Peking was much worse than in previous years and in that month a dollar could be changed for 393 coppers. Then, too, the workers' struggle for life is made severer by a keener competition. For instance, the ricksha pullers find it more difficult to earn a living on account of the gradual introduction of the automobile bus service and the street car in some cities.

Popular Movements.—This group of causes is peculiar to the Chinese workers, being without parallel in western countries. Patriotic demonstrations in recent years are often associated with demonstrations against foreign aggression and oppression, and against foreign interference with Chinese political, economic, and social questions. Of this type was the popular agitation for the return of Shantung to China as a result of the Versailles Treaty in 1919, and the May 30 affair in Shanghai in 1925. In 1926, a new turn was noted in the strikes at the Wu-han cities. Mainly under the direction of the Kuomintang, these strikes have shown better organization in group activities and closer co-operation between the party and the unions. As to the new-thought movements it is often asserted that a large number of the strikes in recent times have been instigated by outside influence, including communistic propaganda, but it is extremely difficult to gather facts to substantiate this allegation. Undoubtedly the Chinese proletariat has been and is still somewhat influenced by radical teachings and also by moderately socialistic teachings, but clear cases are rather rare. Unless there is undisputed evidence of communist influence being exerted upon the laborers in particular strikes, the policy has been to exclude such cases.

⁴ Chinese dollar at par=54.04 cents gold; exchange rate varies.

This accounts for the small number of cases under the topic "new thought movements."

Right to Organize Unions.—Among the rank and file of labor to-day there is a growing consciousness of the inadequacy of the guild system to meet the changing conditions of economic and social life in China. A movement to organize the workers along the lines of modern trade-unionism is therefore on foot. The industrial union is gradually becoming popular, as the workers see the practical benefit of organizing the workmen in the same industry to strengthen the power of collective bargaining and to facilitate strikes. The labor union is still uncommon, for the organization of laborers regardless of skill, industry, and trade is a relatively new idea to many workers in China. Besides, in case of seasonal, casual, or woman labor, organization is even more difficult. Demands for the right to organize unions divide into demands for (a) the right to organize a friendly club or a union; (b) its recognition by the management if and when organized; the right of their group to negotiate with the management on matters relating to their welfare.

Outside conflicts include conflicts with the police, the military, or political groups.

Table 3 classifies the strikes reported, by causes and by years.

METHODS OF MEDIATION

Some strikes are of a simple nature, so when the management explains the situation to the strikers they are willing to come to terms. In more complicated cases the strikers hold meetings to elect representatives and to present demands to the employers. Similarly, the employers may hold meetings to discuss methods of dealing with the strikers. Representatives may then be elected from the management and strikers to hold joint meetings for mediation and conciliation.

But if both the management and the strikers feel it best to ask their parties to form an arbitration body the following may be so invited: Local officials, chamber of commerce, student unions, officers of own guild or union, officers of disinterested guild or general union, and disinterested individuals. The statement below shows the number of strikes in which specified methods of mediation were made use of; the figures in parentheses include strikes arising from the May 30 incident.

Strike settled by :—

	Number of strikes
Persuasion and settlement by management	84 (85)
Mass meeting of strikers	120 (121)
Meeting of employers... ..	43 (43)
Joint meeting of representatives of employers and strikers	114 (121)

TABLE 3.—CLASSIFICATION OF STRIKES BY CAUSE AND BY YEARS OF OCCURRENCE, 1918 TO 1926.
(Figures in parentheses include the May 30, 1925, affair in Shanghai)

Cause	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	Total
Economic pressure:										
High cost of living.....	2	3	16	18	1	1	4	11 (11)	19	75 (75)
Wage increase.....	13	18	15	12	50	23	24	78 (79)	210	443 (444)
Increase in fees.....	—	1	—	1	6	2	4	4 (4)	9	27 (27)
Increase in taxes.....	—	1	—	2	1	2	2	2 (2)	4	15 (15)
Wage reduction.....	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	9 (9)	8	20 (20)
Treatment of labor:										
Working hours.....	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	3 (3)	13	20 (20)
Maltreatment.....	1	—	3	3	4	1	4	27 (27)	30	73 (73)
Change of working conditions	2	—	3	—	2	—	1	4 (4)	10	24 (24)
Policy of employer.....	1	1	—	—	1	—	2	11 (11)	14	30 (30)
Foreman.....	3	2	—	4	3	1	1	7 (7)	45	66 (66)
Tips, bonuses, etc.....	—	—	4	1	2	2	—	—	8	18 (18)
Against dismissal of laborer	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
without cause.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36	36 (36)
Miscellaneous.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	16 (16)
Popular movements:										
Patriotic demonstrations.....	—	35	—	—	1	1	—	2 (136)	16	55 (189)
New-thought movements.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	5 (5)	3	9 (9)
Right to organize unions.....	—	—	—	—	4	2	—	4 (4)	11	21 (21)
Outside conflicts.....	—	—	—	3	3	3	2	4 (4)	15	30 (30)
Sympathetic strikes.....	—	—	—	1	2	2	1	—	16	22 (22)
Miscellaneous.....	3	1	2	3	3	4	7	11 (11)	23	57 (57)
Cause unknown.....	—	—	1	—	5	3	2	1 (1)	29	41 (41)
Total.....	25	66	46	49	91	47	56	183 (318)	535	1,098 (1,232)

TABLE 4.—SETTLEMENT OF STRIKES CLASSIFIED BY CAUSES, FOR PERIOD 1918 TO 1926
(Figures in parentheses include the May 30, 1925, affair in Shanghai)

Cause of Strike	Results of Strikes								
	Number of Strikes	Successful		Partially Successful		Failure		Terms unknown	
		No.	per cent.	No.	per cent.	No.	per cent.	No.	per cent.
Economic pressure:									
High cost of living	75	48.00	6	8.00	4	5.33	29	38.67	
Wage increase	443	41.10	65	14.68	24	5.42	172	38.80	
	(444)	(41.23)	(65)	(14.64)	(24)	(5.40)	(172)	(38.73)	
Increase of fees.....	27	44.43	6	22.21	2	7.42	7	25.94	
Increase of taxes	15	20.00	2	13.34	2	13.34	8	53.32	
Wage reduction	20	55.00	2	10.00	3	15.00	4	20.00	
Total.....	580	42.07	81	13.97	35	6.04	220	37.92	
	(581)	(42.20)	(81)	(13.95)	(35)	(6.03)	(220)	(37.82)	
Treatment of labor:									
Working hours	20	20.00	2	10.00	5	25.00	9	45.00	
Mistreatment	73	50.70	4	5.46	5	6.84	27	37.00	
Change of working conditions	24	29.15	5	20.85	3	12.50	9	37.50	
Policy of employer	30	40.00	1	3.33	8	26.67	9	30.00	
Foreman	66	36.39	11	16.67	13	19.70	18	27.24	
Tips, bonuses, etc.	18	44.50	—	—	6	33.30	4	22.20	
Against dismissal of laborer with- out cause.....	36	41.71	5	13.89	8	22.20	8	22.20	
Miscellaneous	16	43.75	4	25.00	1	6.25	4	25.00	
Total.....	283	40.28	32	11.31	49	17.31	88	31.10	

TABLE 4.—SETTLEMENT OF STRIKES CLASSIFIED BY CAUSES, FOR PERIOD 1918 TO 1926.—(Continued)
 (Figures in parentheses include the May 30, 1925, affair in Shanghai)

Cause of Strike	Results of Strikes								
	Number of Strikes	Successful		Partially Successful		Failure		Terms unknown	
		No.	per cent.	No.	per cent.	No.	per cent.	No.	per cent.
Popular movements :									
Patriotic demonstrations.....	55 (189)	38 (38)	69.11 (60.94)	4 (39)	7.27 (6.25)	5 (6)	9.10 (14.06)	8 (106)	14.52 (18.75)
New thought movement.....	9	1	11.12	—	—	4	44.44	4	44.44
Total.....	64 (198)	39 (39)	20.10 (19.68)	4 (39)	20.62 (19.68)	9 (10)	3.17 (5.04)	12 (110)	56.11 (55.60)
Right to organize unions.....	21	12	57.15	1	4.77	4	19.04	4	19.04
Outside conflict unions.....	30	12	40.00	1	3.33	2	6.67	15	50.00
Sympathetic strikes.....	22	8	36.38	3	13.63	7	31.80	4	18.19
Miscellaneous.....	57	19	34.00	7	10.70	8	14.30	23	41.00
Cause unknown.....	41	—	—	—	—	—	—	41	100.00
Grand Total.....	1098 (1232)	448 (449)	40.80 (36.41)	129 (164)	11.75 (13.31)	114 (115)	10.38 (9.34)	407 (505)	37.07 (40.94)

Arbitration by :—

Local officials	130	(134)
Chambers of Commerce	30	(42)
Student union	4	(4)
Own guild or union	68	(68)
Disinterested guild or general union	41	(43)
Disinterested individuals	54	(65)

CONDUCT OF STRIKES

In only 273 cases of the number for which data were secured has any disorder occurred. The details are given in the statement below; figures in parentheses include the strikes arising from the May 30 episode :

	Number of strikes	
Injury to persons	26	(29)
Destruction of property	33	(33)
Personal injury and property damage	4	(4)
Police to maintain order and to make arrests	133	(136)
Military body to maintain order and to make arrests	35	(35)
Foreign police to maintain order and to make arrests	34	(36)

SETTLEMENT OF STRIKES

Table 4, showing details of settlement of strikes, by causes, also shows the character of settlement. Strikes are here regarded as successful when the strikers gained at least 60 per cent. of their demands, except that in the case of strikes for wage increases a gain of 25 per cent. of the wage demands is regarded as a successful strike. Partially successful strikes are those where some part of the strikers' demands were granted, but this part was less than the percentages just referred to.

Respecting the settlement of strikes, another analysis is given in Table 5, which is done by eliminating those strikes where terms of settlement are unknown. A comparison with Table 4 shows some interesting points : As seen in Table 4, the successful and partially successful strikes constitute 52.53% of the total, or 49.72% of the total if the May 30 strikes are included. But in Table 5 the percentage of these two categories is raised to 83.51% of the total or 84.21% of the total, including the May 30 affair. Table 5 follows :

TABLE 5.—RESULTS OF STRIKES DURING PERIOD 1918-1926 FOR WHICH TERMS OF SETTLEMENT ARE KNOWN

Item	Number of strikes	Successful		Partially successful		Failures	
		No.	per cent.	No.	per cent.	No.	per cent.
May 30, 1925, affair excluded	691	448	64.83	129	18.68	114	16.49
May 30, 1925, affair included	(728)	(449)	(61.68)	(164)	(22.53)	(115)	(15.79)

ANALYSIS OF SIGNIFICANT STRIKES

From the foregoing it is evident that the strike problem in China is quite complicated and that the brief notes accompanying the statistical tables may be insufficient to explain the economic and social background. Therefore, it seems desirable to illustrate the several strike causes listed by a brief analysis of certain of the more significant strikes.

STRIKES DUE TO ECONOMIC PRESSURE
 JAPANESE COTTON MILLS STRIKE, SHANGHAI

In 1919 Kiangsu Province and the lower Yangtse region suffered a shortage of rice production. The situation was made worse by the export of rice to Japan. In Shanghai and vicinity the price of staple foods increased rapidly, which worked hardship among the working classes. On June 20, 1920, some 4,000 Chinese employees of three Japanese cotton mills in the Yang-Shih-Poo district in Shanghai struck for an increase of \$1 per month. In a disturbance which arose during the strike building equipment and electric fixtures were destroyed. After prolonged negotiations, a final decision was reached in July, the company agreeing to sell to each mill hand 30 per cent. of a picul of rice each month at a fixed price of \$8 per picul until conditions returned to normal.

RICKSHA COOLIE STRIKE, HANKOW

The chief place of business of ricksha pullers is located in one part of Hankow City. When an automobile bus service was started to compete with them over 8,000 ricksha coolies declared a strike on September 15, 1924, in the course of which property of the automobile company was destroyed and considerable injury caused. A settlement was reached between the city police and the union which included the prohibition of the bus service and the restoration of carriages and rickshas.

CLOTH FACTORIES STRIKE, HANGCHOW

Attempting to relieve the effects of business depression following the World War, the employers of the cloth factories of Hangchow in February, 1925, proposed to cut wages from 90 cents to 70 cents per day. This the workers resisted. The police were called out and arrests were made, but the employees stood firm, and the employers finally agreed to reduce wages only to 80 cents a day and promised to raise them again as soon as local conditions improved.

SHIPPING STRIKE IN HONGKONG ⁵

Hongkong, a British Crown Colony, is an island of about 11 miles in length and 29 miles in circumference. It lies at the mouth of the Pearl River, and is situated 40 miles east of Macao

⁵ With some modifications this account first appeared in the May, 1922, issue of the "*Monthly Labor Review*," pp. 9-15.

by water and 90 miles south of Canton by water and 110 miles by the Canton-Kowloon Railway. Since 1844, when China ceded this island to Great Britain, Hongkong's shipping industry has been developing steadily, and today it is the leading shipping port of the Orient. In recent years commodity prices in this colony have advanced faster than in any of the other commercial cities in China. For instance, since the European war to the end of 1921 the cost of polished rice in Shanghai has increased 125 per cent. but for the same period in Hongkong it has increased 150 per cent. Being an industrial center, in order to meet the daily needs of its 528,090 inhabitants, the colony imports necessaries from other towns; these include fowls from Wuchow, Kwangsi; beef and pork from Canton; fruits and fish from Swatow, and textiles and clothing material from Shanghai. Freight charges and customs duties on these goods make the cost of living relatively higher in Hongkong, which has worked hardship on its laboring classes.

Repeated triumphs of labor in recent strikes gave Hongkong's seamen courage and confidence in their recent struggle for a fair compensation for their toil. During the year 1921 a successful strike occurred in almost every important industry in Canton. The printers' strike of December, 1921, left the whole city without newspapers for three days and compelled the publishers and newspaper companies to grant their employees a 40 per cent. increase over the prevailing wages. About 60,000 workers in some 100 trades in Hongkong are unionized, some following the rules of craft guilds while others have adopted those of labor unions. Fully 30,000 of them are natives of Canton, who have been in constant touch with labor conditions in their home community and who were prime movers in the 1922 strike.

Ever since the Hongkong strike of April, 1920, which involved 9,000 workers, local laborers had been dissatisfied with capitalists. This class feeling was greatly intensified when toward the end of 1921 foreign seamen in the colony, who already had a comparatively higher scale of wages, were granted a further increase of about 15 per cent., whereas most of the Chinese were still paid at pre-war rates. Because of this discrimination the Chinese seamen had a general grievance against the ship-owners. In a recent interview the president of the Chinese Seamen's Union summarized the situation accurately when he said: "The Chinese have taken a stand against deprivation of their rights, rough treatment, 14 hours' work a day, and an existence bordering on semi-starvation. The majority of these men have families averaging three or four persons, and they find it impossible to live on \$20 a month, and are therefore determined to obtain a minimum of \$29.50 a month."

Since the shipping companies had twice refused to consider the seamen's demands for a wage increase, the Chinese Seamen's Union presented its third petition on January 12, 1922 and demanded a reply within 24 hours. Failing again to receive a satisfactory

answer, 1,500 deck hands and stokers "downed tools" on the morning of January 13, 1922. A week later the number of strikers reached 6,500, and shortly after the Chinese New Year (Jan. 27), it grew to about 30,000, including pilots, tallymen, lightermen, carriers, stevedores, wharf coolies, cargo laborers, and coal coolies, in addition to the deck hands and stokers already mentioned. When on February 1, 1922, the British Governor of Hongkong proclaimed the Chinese Seamen's Union an unlawful society, a general sympathetic strike was declared, which increased the strikers to about 50,000, and included cooks, domestics, bakers, pastry men, office boys, delivery men, dairymen, tramway employees, ricksha and chair coolies, bank clerks, compositors, newspaper employees, printers, cable company employees, and employees of shipbuilding and repairing yards.

Up to the middle of February, 1922, 166 steamers carrying 280,404 tons of shipping were held up in the port of Hongkong:

TABLE 6.—NUMBER OF STEAMERS AND TONNAGE OF SHIPPING TIED-UP DURING STRIKE

Nationality	Number of ships	Tonnage
English	82	158,368
Chinese	36	30,166
Japanese	15	36,474
Dutch	11	27,417
American	8	14,529
Norwegian	7	6,798
French	4	3,053
Danish	1	1,456
Portuguese	1	1,145
Siamese	1	998
Total	166	280,404

a This figure does not represent the total loss of American merchants as several Chinese steamers fly the American flag.

This tie-up of cargo caused direct losses of about \$5,000,000 to shipping companies, distributed among the following lines:

Pacific lines:

1. China Mail Steamship Co.
2. Pacific Mail Steamship Co.
3. The Admiral Line
4. Tokyo Kisen Kaisha
5. The Dollar Line

Coastwise, river, and Nanyang lines:

1. Butterfield & Swire
2. Mackenzie & Mackinnon
3. China Merchants Steam Navigation Co.
4. Osaka Kisen Kaisha
5. Nishin Kisen Kaisha
6. The Blue Funnel Line
7. Macao-Canton Steamship Co.
8. Java-Nanyang Line
9. Australian Line.

At first the strikers were almost all Cantonese. Seamen and coolies from Shanghai and Ningpo, Chekiang, who had their own unions, did not join. Gradually, however, they refused to take jobs which were vacated by their Cantonese comrades. As the shipping companies were sustaining heavy losses by having their ships tied up in Hongkong, they recruited Filipino coolies from Manila and Ningpo coolies from Shanghai at from \$1 to \$1.20 a day. But this small number of recruits did not materially improve the shipping situation.

Most of the strikers were sent by their unions to Canton, partly because of the relatively cheaper living there and partly in order to prevent possible disorder or violence in Hongkong. During the strike each striker whether he belonged to the union or not received a subsidy from it varying from 45-cents to \$1 a day, as the union had raised about \$300,000 to sustain the strike. Voluntary contributions came from many parts of the country. Railway workers of the Peking-Hankow, Tientsin-Pukow, Peking-Mukden and Peking-Suiyuan lines contributed one day's pay. Seamen's unions in Tientsin and Shanghai held mass meetings to solicit contributions on behalf of the Hongkong strikers. The Returned Laborers' Union, together with Laborers' League of Shanghai, sent telegrams of sympathy and relief funds to Hongkong.

On January 16, 1922, the strike had assumed such alarming proportions that the Hongkong Government deemed it necessary to declare martial law in the colony and to place armed military and naval guards at important points to preserve order and to demand passes of those going in and out of the territory. Fearing that scamps might disturb the peace and the strikers be blamed for it, the Seamen's Union organized 8 squads of 10 men each, under a captain, to patrol the streets.

Gradually the actions of the strikers went beyond the control of their leaders and cases of improper picketing and intimidation were alleged to have occurred. On February 1, 1922, the Hongkong Government declared the Seamen's Union an unlawful organization, with an explanatory note stating that "the Order in Council was made not because the members of the Seamen's Union had struck for higher wages, but because attempts had been made by the union to paralyze the life of the colony by creating strikes among other classes of workmen who themselves had no grievances against their employers. Were this permitted it would cause widespread distress by interfering with the food supplies of the community and with the carrying on of essential services."

Two days later, two other Chinese labor organizations were declared unlawful on similar grounds. However, evidence of coercive persuasion and intimidation to incite a sympathetic

strike seemed meager.⁶ Disapproval of the Hongkong Government's action was expressed by certain foreign newspapers in the Far East, and particularly by labor papers in Great Britain⁷

Shortly after the strike was declared, the seamen's demands were presented to the Governor of Hongkong for a settlement. The rates of increase demanded by the strikers were based upon the prevailing scale of wages, of which the following is an example :

TABLE 7.—WAGES OF CHINESE SEAMEN IN HONGKONG

Occupation	Monthly wage
Baker	\$22-\$25
Boatswain	25- 35
Carpenter	25- 30
Compradore	30- 35
Cook	20- 25
Deck steward	20- 25
Dollar examiner a	25
Fireman	40- 65
Kitchen helper	20- 30
Letter carrier	20- 22
Oiler	28- 31
Sailor	22- 25
Servant	20- 30
Waiter	10- 15

a Detector of counterfeit money.

The above table shows the monthly wages of a Chinese crew on an ocean-going steamer. It is reported that the highest monthly wage of a Chinese seamen is \$65 which is not quite

⁶ The decision in one of the strongest cases leading to the Governor's proclamation was as follows: "The decision of this court is that you have committed an offense. The charge is that you went on board without permission of the master. It appears to me that your object was to induce members of the crew to leave the ship forthwith, and I find that if they had followed your advice they would have broken their agreement. That is an offense under section 9 of the ordinance which states that it is an offense for any seaman to violate the agreement. The offense with which you are charged shows that you were going on board without permission. The maximum penalty for this offense is a fine of \$50. It also states that you can be imprisoned without option. If there had been any evidence that you spoke to the crew, I would have sent you to prison, but as there is no evidence on this point you are fined \$50."

⁷ Mr. Winston Churchill, the Colonial Secretary, was heckled when he announced the Hongkong Governor's proclamation to the British House of Commons. (The "*Manchester Guardian*," March 7, 1922.)

one-fourth that of an European employee of the same rank on other steamers.

On January 17, 1922, E. R. Hallifax, Secretary for Chinese affairs, issued a proclamation setting forth the shipowners' terms of settlement. The increases demanded and the terms offered are shown below :

TABLE 8.—INCREASES DEMANDED AND TERMS OFFERED

Type of steamer	Increases demanded	Shipowners terms	Difference
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
1. Coastwise steamers	35.0	15.0	20.0
2. Chinese river steamers	32.5	25.0	7.5
3. Other Chinese steamers	32.5	25.0	7.5
4. Canton, Macao & Hongkong Co. steamers (British)	25.0	15.0	10.0
5. Other British Steamers (taking scale of 4 as base)	25.0	15.0	10.0
6. Java Lines	17.5	12.0	5.5
7. Pacific Lines	17.5	7.5	10.0
8. European Lines	17.5	7.5	10.0
9. Australian Lines	20.0	10.0	10.0

Since there was too much discrepancy between the shipowners' terms and the strikers' original demands, the Chinese Seamen's Union on January 27, 1922, passed four resolutions modifying their demands :

1. For the time being the arrangements shall be as follow :
 - (a) An increase of 40 per cent. shall be given for wages under \$15 a month.
 - (b) An increase of 30 per cent. for wages under \$25.
 - (c) An increase of 20 per cent. for wages over \$25.

Resolution 4 (b) must be first recognized in respect of these arrangements. If, however, these arrangements are recognized by the shipowners, all seamen will return to work at once and leave resolution 4 to be considered by an arbitration board.

2. The arbitration board shall be established at Canton.

3. The arbitration board shall consist of the following :

- (a) Representative of the Canton Government.
- (b) Representative of the British consul general.
- (c) Representative of the European shipowners.
- (d) Representative of the Chinese shipowners.
- (e) Representative of the Chinese seamen.

The number of the members of this board shall be decided by the Chinese and British Governments after due consideration, and this board shall have the full power to settle this strike.

4. The seamen's Union will lay the following eight demands before the board for consideration :

- (a) The increase shall be 30 per cent. for all monthly wages over \$30, and 40 per cent. for those under \$30.
- (b) No seaman who returns to work after the strike shall be dismissed or degrade for any reason.
- (c) The increases shall be applied to all steamers at present anchored at Hongkong or *en route* to Hongkong from other ports.

- (d) All seamen shall be employed through the union, so that no commission is to be paid to the compradores.
- (e) No agreement in connection with the employment of the seamen shall have effect unless the Chinese Seamen's Union has been a witness to it.
- (f) No seaman or officer of the Seamen's Union shall be banished for any charge which has no proof.
- (g) The full increase shall be retroactive to January 1, 1922.
- (h) No discrimination shall be practiced against Chinese seamen after they have returned to work and they shall be in no way maltreated.

Mediators along the line suggested by the strikers were appointed and held frequent meetings in Hongkong and Canton. They reached an agreement on March 5, 1922, the terms of which were as follows :⁸

TABLE 9.—COMPARISON OF TERMS FINALLY REACHED WITH STRIKERS' ORIGINAL DEMANDS

Type of steamers	Terms of settlement	Strikers' original demands	Difference
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
1. Coastwise steamers	20.0	35.0	15.0
2. Chinese river steamers	30.0	32.5	2.5
3. Other Chinese steamers	30.0	32.5	2.5
4. Canton, Macao & Hongkong Co. steamers (British)	20.0	25.0	5.0
5. Other British steamers (taking scale of 4 as base)	20.0	25.0	5.0
6. Java Lines	15.0	17.5	2.5
7. Pacific Lines	15.0	17.5	2.5
8. European Lines	15.0	17.5	2.5
9. Australian Lines	15.0	20.0	5.0

On March 6, 1922, a gazette extraordinary was issued by the Hongkong Government rescinding the Order in Council of February 1, 1922, which declared the Chinese Seamen's Union an unlawful society. Immediately a life and drum band led thousands of Chinese seamen in a parade to celebrate their "victory" and to replace the signboard at their old headquarters. Firecrackers and a feast completed their memorable celebration.

During the strike, namely between January 13 and March 5, 1922, there was a complete paralysis of industrial life in Hongkong. The manager of a leading restaurant was compelled personally to attend to the provision of food for resident visitors there. Boy scouts operated the electric elevators and acted as messengers. High class Europeans performed their own personal services. Children carried lunches into the city to their elders. Privately owned cars were impressed for public use, and government employees of British birth volunteered for janitor service in government buildings.

⁸ But compare "*Peking and Tientsin Times*," February 4, 1926, p. 2.

Ships having no southern Chinese crews were able to come and go as usual, but the strike of the coal coolies and stevedores rendered it almost impossible to move freight, and cargoes generally were either left in idle ships or carried on to other ports. No river steamers were running and trade with the interior was out of the question.

The importation of food stuffs being stopped temporarily, prices in Hongkong rose suddenly. The following table compares the prices of 14 articles of food on January 10 and January 24, 1922, the former date being a few days prior to the strike. The price shows an appreciable increase in every case:

TABLE 10.—PRICES OF SPECIFIED ARTICLES OF FOOD ON JANUARY 10 AND JANUARY 24, 1922, AND PER CENT. OF INCREASE

Articles	Price per pound on —		Per cent. of increase
	January 10.	January 24	
Barbel	\$0.13	\$0.32	146.2
Beef, sirloin	.20	.30	50.0
Beefsteak	.19	.30	57.9
Capon	.32	.44	37.5
Chicken	.34	.42	23.5
Codfish	.24	.28	16.7
Crabs	.36	.40	11.1
Duck	.28	.32	14.3
Garrupaa	.45	.52	15.6
Lobsters	.32	.40	25.0
Mutton	.34	.40	17.6
Pork	.20	.26	30.0
Rice	.13	.22	69.2
Salmon	.40	.60	50.0

^a A kind of fish.

Describing business conditions during the strike, an eyewitness says: "The Chinese shops as well as European are mostly only partially open. The banks are functioning with armed volunteers within the vestibule. The business houses are staffed as usual but are partially depleted of their Chinese employees, and there is an absence of transactions. A few straggling rickshas and chairs are the only visible evidence of public vehicular traffic."

On the whole, the strike was carried on in an orderly manner. Only on March 4, 1922, was a case of violence noted. After the dissolution of the Seamen's Union, the strike situation became more serious and the Hongkong Government closed the passenger traffic of the Canton-Kowloon Railway in order to prevent more strikers from leaving the colony. On March 4, about 2,000 domestics decided to go on foot to Canton. On reaching the Kowloon frontier, they broke through the British

cordon without the required passes. As the strikers refused to come back, a warning shot was fired. This proving ineffective, several volleys were fired which killed three strikers and wounded eight. The Seamen's Union is demanding a satisfactory and just settlement of this case.

The removal of certain legal restrictions prejudicial to labor has also resulted from this strike. At a recent conference of the State Council of the Canton Government, the president of the court of revision proposed to abrogate article 224 and other sub-sections of Chapter XVI of the Provisional Penal Code, which provides penalties for persons on strike. He contended that the provision is in contravention of the principle of criminal law-making, a humane conception of crimes and criminal intentions, the criminal law generally adopted in other countries, and the tendency of the times. The aforesaid article is abrogated.

THE KAILAN MINING ADMINISTRATION STRIKE

Recently the employees of the Kailan Mining Administration who were dissatisfied with working conditions agitated for increase in wages and betterment in treatment. On October 10, 1922, the workers of the Shanhaikuan Machine Shops and the Tongshan Machine Shops declared a strike which was soon joined by other employees of the Administration. On October 16 the workers of the five mines as well as those at Shanhaikuan jointly petitioned the management and presented several demands including the following: (1) that wages be increased in the following proportions: 30% increase for those whose monthly wage was below \$15; 20% increase for those whose monthly wage was above \$15 and 10% increase for those above \$50; (2) that a bonus of one month be given to every worker at the end of each year; (3) that an additional bonus be given to those who have been with the company for 25 years or more; (4) that medical treatment and wage allowance during incapacity be given to those whose who are injured during employment; (5) that compensation of a sum amounting to wages for five years be given to those who die during employment. As these demands were refused by the management, the laborers called a mass meeting at which two more demands were added: (1) that the Administration recognize the Workers' Club which was being organized, and (2) that no laborer be dismissed without the approval of the said Club. Realizing that the strike situation was becoming serious, the Administration on October 20 issued a statement granting an increase of wages of 10% to those whose monthly pay was below \$30, disregarding whether they were directly employed by the management or by the contractor. But this did not satisfy the strikers, so beginning with October 23 laborers of the four mines struck and those of the Ma Chia Kow (馬家溝) mine joined them on October 26. The Kailan Mining Administration petitioned the Police Commissioner of Chihli province

for assistance, and 200 men were accordingly sent from Tientsin. On October 25, a large number of strikers gathered in front of the Administration's buildings in Tongshan and there were clashes between the strikers and the police, resulting in the killing and wounding of a few laborers. The strikers were prohibited from holding meetings and a few strike leaders were arrested. The Administration further petitioned for military help and a regiment of men was dispatched to Tongshan. After a personal visit to Tongshan, the Police Commissioner of Chihli Province declared that "he was ready to adopt just means to bring about readjustment between the management and men, but the strikers should soon resume work, and if they continued to strike, he would be compelled to declare Martial Law". His action, however, was considered high-handed and he was impeached by members of the Senate and House of Representatives in Peking.

During the strike pickets were placed at important points to maintain order and to obstruct strike-breakers. A committee was organized to negotiate with the Administration and to keep in touch with labor organizations in other ports. But the most difficult problem facing the strikers was finance. Eliminating those laborers who had gone home and those who had left the place of employment for various reasons, there still remained, during the most serious stage of the strike, about 20,000 persons. If the sum of ten cents be considered the minimum subsidy given to each striker as daily living expenses, it would require \$2,000 a day for all the strikers. This sum the Committee found it difficult to raise, especially because neither the strikers had savings nor the union strike funds. It was good fortune to the strikers this time that the strike had aroused a great deal of sympathy in Tongshan and other cities, so voluntary contributions came in rather generously, such as \$20,000 from Shanghai and Hongkong; \$10,000 from Canton; \$9,000 from Singapore; and \$16,000 from Peking, Tientsin and Tongshan. In addition, the Tongshan Chamber of Commerce gave \$50 every day and extended to the strikers a standing invitation to attend the motion picture show every night free of charge.

Respecting the real motive of the strike, there was considerable speculation. Some alleged that there had been some political complications especially after the failure of the Peking-Hankow Railway strike in August 1922. The old "Communication Clique" was suspected of having had something to do with the Peking-Mukden Railway strike involving the Kailan Mining Administration. Others saw evidence of the influence of radical propaganda, as among the miners were freely distributed communistic literature bearing the emblem of the crossed figure of the hammer and the sickle, signifying a joint movement of the laborers and farmers. To strengthen this suspicion was the declaration, during the miners' strike, of a sympathetic strike by the students of the University of Communications at Tongshan,

some students taking a leading part in helping the strikers to organize and direct the strike as well as to plan a financial campaign. Still others expressed a more conservative but perhaps sounder view. While not entirely discrediting the former two views, this group emphasized the general spread of liberal ideas in recent years as the moving spirit of the strike. The labor movement in other cities, the shipping strike in Hongkong in 1922, and the various publications of the Kuomintang were stated as having directly or indirectly influenced the workers of the Kailan Mining Administration. Besides, the strike leaders were mostly southerners who must have been in constant touch with the liberal movement in the south. The slogans of the Tongshan workers such as "down with capitalism," "economic emancipation," "death of Monarchy" were similar in tone to those used among the laborers in other cities.

The final settlement of the strike was brought about mainly through the efforts of the Commander of the Fifth Division, and the Magistrate of Lawn County, Chihli Province, and the terms of settlement included (1) a 10% increase of wages to those whose monthly pay was less than \$10; (2) a bonus of a half month's pay to every worker to be given at the end of the year; and (3) free medical treatment and wage allowance during incapacity to those who were injured during the strike. Beginnig with Nov. 16 the laborers gradually resumed work.

STRIKES DUE TO ALLEGED MALTREATMENT JAPANESE COTTON MILLS STRIKE IN TSINGTAO

In recent years the Chinese workers in several Japanese mills in Tsingtao have been discontented, and this feeling increased when the management interfered with their unions and resorted to compulsory examination of the workers and of their lodging houses. Early in April, 1925, the workers held a mass meeting and formulated the following demands: (1) A maximum of 10 hours for day work and of 8 for night work; (2) free rent; (3) an annual bonus; (4) one month's leave each year; (5) wage increase of 10 cents (Japanese) per worker per day. The management refused the above demands and the employees called another meeting, demanding: (1) The recognition of the union; (2) an increase of 30 per cent. in wages for contract labor; (3) the doubling of the rice allowance and the abolition of the deposit required by the company as security; (4) free medical treatment for injuries, with full pay during incapacity; (5) a lunch period of one hour; (6) the abolition of flogging; (7) one month's leave before and after childbirth for female employees; (8) the eight-hour day for child workers; (9) disciplinary measures to be approved by the union and fines imposed upon the laborers to be used for their education; (10) no worker to be dismissed for insufficient cause. As the company refused to consider these demands, the workers, on April 19, declared a strike. Four days

later the owners expressed their willingness to agree to sell flour to the employees at reduced rates, to give them 15 minutes a day in addition to 30 minutes for the noonday meal, and to allow a wage increase of 10 cents (Japanese) a day.

Under these conditions the workers seemed to be willing to resume work. But suddenly the Chinese employees of two other Japanese mills joined the strike, increasing the number to about 10,000, and the situation became more serious. The Japanese owners decided to close down the mills and offered to give a travel fee to those laborers who wanted to return home, and a considerable number of them availed themselves of this privilege. Public opinion in Tsingtao was evidently in favor of the strikers. After April 26 the strike gradually got beyond the control of the labor leaders and the provincial authorities of Shantung deemed it necessary to arrest intimidating pickets and to suppress the activities of the strike committee. Negotiations were carried on between the Chinese Chamber of Commerce at Tsingtao and the Japanese Consulate, to which were also admitted representatives of the mill owners and the strikers. The terms of settlement arrived at on May 9, 1925, include (1) better treatment, (2) increase of 10 cents (Japanese) per day per worker, (3) medical care for the injured, with full pay during incapacity, (4) a 30-minute lunch period with a 10-minute interval of rest at 3 a.m. and 3 p.m. daily, (5) the abolition of flogging, and (6) just disciplinary measures for the workers.

STRIKE IN PLANT OF SINO-JAPANESE COTTON MANUFACTURING CO., SHANGHAI

Hoping to increase the output of cotton yarn, the Japanese manager of the Sino-Japanese Cotton Manufacturing Co. proposed to introduce the hank system for counting the skeins of cotton yarn, which meant a change of wage payment from the time basis to the piece basis. The woman employees of the plant opposed the change and on February 8, 1925, more than 600 workers struck. The strikers went to the Japanese Consulate and presented demands for the dismissal of Japanese foremen because of the flogging frequently inflicted upon the workers, the maintenance of the time system of wage payment, and that the bobbin girls should continue in their employment. The strike ended on February 15. The Chinese police authorities acted as mediators and ruled that the time system should prevail, but that if the workers' output exceeded the daily requirement he should receive additional pay according to the number of hanks produced.

COMMERCIAL PRESS STRIKE, SHANGHAI

On August 14, 1925, it was rumored that the Commercial Press Co. contemplated dismissing a considerable number of employees. The truth of this rumor seemed evident when 16-

workers were dismissed, followed immediately by the dismissal of 3 more. This created panic among the rank and file of labor. Workers' delegates interviewed the management but received no satisfactory explanation regarding the dismissals, whereupon more than 3,000 men walked out on August 22, demanding the reinstatement of the dismissed workers, a declaration by the company that future dismissals should be for cause only, the enforcement of a former labor agreement, that there should be no increase of hours of work for night workers, and a wage increase of 20 cents per worker per day. The company called a meeting of the directors, who expressed a willingness to adopt peaceful means for settling the strike. The members of the emergency committee of the Shanghai Defense Army consented to be arbitrators. These called in representatives of capital and labor and an agreement was reached on August 27, 1925, by which the company gave \$15,000 to be distributed among the dismissed, the workers received wages for three days during the strike, and the workers' resolutions above outlined were to be given consideration.

POPULAR MOVEMENTS AND PATRIOTIC DEMONSTRATIONS,
THE MAY 30, 1925, AFFAIR IN SHANGHAI⁹

The May 30, 1925, incident in Shanghai and its later developments will go down to posterity as one of the interracial tragedies of modern times. Its causes have remote and immediate origins. The International Settlement of Shanghai is governed by a Municipal Council whose members are of British, American, and Japanese nationalities, with the British predominating. Of the population of about 1,000,000 some 22,000 are foreigners, the rest being Chinese. The Chinese have no representation on the council, although perhaps over 70 per cent. of the taxes are collected from them. Racial antipathy and discrimination have been common; but the immediate cause of the May 30 episode was socio-economic. Labor conditions in the city have been unsatisfactory. An ordinary factory laborer works about 12 hours a day and receives not more than 50 cents. The earnings are not sufficient to meet the increasing cost of living. Consequently, on May 4, 1925, the Chinese workmen of the Naigai Cotton Mills, of Japanese ownership, struck for an increase of wages. On May 15 a sympathetic strike was declared by the Chinese employees in five other mills and the management of a

⁹ China Year Book for 1926 pp. 895-1016; "Shanghai Affair and After"; by G., *Foreign Affairs*, Oct. 1925, pp. 20-34, New York City; a series of articles on strikes and labor conditions by G. E. Sokol sky in *Peking Leader*, August 2, 1926, *North China Daily News* August 17, 19, 20, 23, 1926: "A General Account of the Canton-Hongkong Strike (省港罷工概觀) by C. H. Teng (鄧中夏), General Labor Union of China, Canton, 1926: The Chinese-British Negotiations on the Canton-Hongkong Strike (省港罷工中之中英談判) by the same author, Canton, 1926: "The Labor Movement in China" by Ta Chen, *International Labor Review*, Vol. XV, No. 3, pp. 339-363, March 1927, Geneva.

seventh mill shut down the plant to avoid trouble. Dispute arose and the management opened fire, wounding more than 10 workers, 1 being fatally injured and dying soon afterwards. Indignation was at once aroused among labor organizations, student associations, and educational and commercial bodies. Popular demonstrations were held, especially on May 30, when students, artisans, laborers, and others paraded the streets in protest. A few of them were arrested by foreign police, and the demand for their release brought a large number of paraders to the municipal police station, where the police fired upon the unarmed crowd, killing 6 and wounding more than 20. The tragedy of May 30 thus began.

From this time to the end of 1925 a series of sympathetic strikes protesting the shooting of May 30 took place in various parts of China. There were altogether 135 strikes distributed among the following cities: Shanghai, 104; Peking, 8; Hankow and Tsinan, 4 each; Tsingtao, Kaifeng, Chiocho, and Nanking, 2 each; Fengtien, Tientsin, Chenkiang, Suikowsan, Kongmoon, and Swatow, 1 each; Canton-Hongkong, 1. Classified by industries these strikes fell into 11 categories: (a) Textile trades, 32; (b) food industries, 14; (c) household goods industries, 6; (d) construction and building, 6; (e) tool making and manufacturing, 18; (f) communication and transportation, 12; (g) basic industries, 2; (h) educational enterprises, 6; (i) personal hygiene and public health, 7; (j) ornaments and luxuries, 5; and (k) miscellaneous industries, 27. Of the 135 strikes, 94 for which the number of the strikers was reported, involved 381,387 men, or 4,057 per strike. In 25 cases the duration of the strike was reported, totalling 1,664 days, or 66.6 per strike.

In addition to the basic cause—that of protest against “the massacre of May 30”—these sympathetic strikes involved supplementary treatment of the workers. As the May 30 affair proper is still pending, results from the patriotic standpoint can not yet be considered. As regards the supplementary causes, 1 strike resulted in complete success, 35 in partial success, 1 in failure, and in 98 cases the outcome was not reported. In 17 cases the right to organize labor unions was recognized, in 16 cases the workers received a subsidy for time lost during the strike in addition to an improvement of working conditions, and in 18 cases they received a wage increase.

Regarding the methods of mediation, the data are incomplete. One case was settled by the management directly, 1 by a mass meeting of the strikers, 7 cases by joint meetings of representatives of capital and labor, and 29 by arbitration—11 by disinterested individual arbitrators, 12 by chambers of commerce, 4 by local officials, and 2 by the Federation of Labor.

As regards the conduct of the strikers, the following facts were noted: In 3 cases the Chinese police were called out, in 2

cases the foreign police were called out, and in 3 cases there was injury to persons.

It is hardly feasible to outline even the most significant strikes resulting from the May 30 affair. Space will permit to describe briefly only two of the series: (a) The Peking Sewing Co. strike and (b) the Canton-Hongkong strike.

The Peking Sewing Co. strike was unique, since the workers did not declare the strike, but the management took the initiative in advising its female employees to strike on the ground that the "massacre of May 30" in Shanghai was humiliating to the Chinese Nation and that all the Chinese should express their patriotism and protest foreign atrocities. On June 9, 1925, the workers stopped work and the plant was closed down, whereupon the company proceeded to destroy its sewing machines of British and Japanese make and organized the workers to parade the streets of Peking. During the strike the laborers received full pay and the company communicated with several patriotic bodies in the country to co-operate in their efforts for arousing the "national conscience" against the May 30 affair.

The Canton-Hongkong strike is the most complicated and involved of the conflicts. This strike included workers of all the principal trades, occupations, and industries in Canton, Shameen, and Hongkong. At its most serious stage the total number affected was estimated to be in the neighborhood of 250,000 men. The strike lasted about 16 months. The initial action was taken on June 18, 1925, by the Chinese seamen on the Hongkong-Macao-Canton steamers, a British line. Three days later Chinese workmen in Hongkong and Shameen under foreign employment joined them. On June 23 students, merchants, laborers, and a small number of military cadets organized a parade in Canton numbering about 10,000 men. As soon as the majority passed Shakee Road bordering Shameen (a foreign settlement) shooting was started and foreign soldiers in Shameen opened fire upon the crowd, killing 1 Frenchman and 52 Chinese and wounding one Englishman and 117 Chinese. The Chinese in Canton became aroused and through the Canton Government demanded a satisfactory settlement.

Since September, 1925, the various authorities have become more conciliatory. Chinese laborers in foreign employ, excepting that of British and Japanese, have been able to resume work under certain conditions. The strikers have proposed terms of settlement which have been revised several times. Regarding Hongkong, they propose: (1) That the Chinese in the colony shall enjoy freedom of organization, speech, publication, workers education, and that the dissolved unions shall be restored; (2) that the Chinese shall enjoy the same legal treatment as received by other nationals in the colony and that deportation and flogging be abolished; (3) that the election law shall be revised to

include the Chinese as electors; (4) that labor legislation shall be enacted providing for an eight-hour day, a minimum wage, collective agreement with the employers, abolition of contract labor, improvement of living conditions of woman and child workers, and compulsory insurance; (5) that all strikers be allowed to return to work without discrimination; (6) that all strikers receive pay for the time lost during the strike; (7) that a committee shall be formed by representatives of employers and workers to investigate losses and to recommend them to the Hongkong Government for compensation.

Regarding Shameen, the strikers' demands include: (1) That the Chinese in the settlement shall have freedom of organization, speech, and publication, the right to strike and the right of residence; (2) that all the strikers be allowed to return to work without retaliatory measures; (3) that the eight-hour day and improvement of working conditions for women and children be inaugurated; (4) that all the policemen in Shameen shall be Chinese; (5) that a committee be formed by representatives of employers and workers to investigate the losses and recommend them to the municipal authorities for compensation; and (6) that the regulations and rules of British and French Consulates restricting the freedom of the Chinese be abolished. These demands were later revised by the Strike Committee.

While negotiations were being carried on, the strike situation was made more complicated by political changes in the country and internal dissensions of the Kuomintang. After the arrival of Borodin in Canton, communist propaganda became more wide-spread, which resulted in the split of the Kuomintang into the right and left wings. Between them clashes of opinion and policies were frequent. This division into camps came to a head especially after the assassination of Mr. C. K. Liao, head of the Labor Department, on August 20, 1925. Members of the right wing found themselves unpopular in Canton and gradually went to Shanghai and Peking. Those who went to Peking called on Nov. 23, 1925, the fourth conference of the Central Executive Committee, commonly known as the "Western Hills Conference" (西山會議) to reaffirm their support of the principles which the late party chief stood for, and to oust the communists from the party. This was obviously unsatisfactory to the members of the left wing who in January, 1927, convened the second conference of the party representatives at Canton to repudiate the actions of the Peking Conference above referred to.

Facing this situation conciliatory efforts of the Canton-Hongkong strike subsided, following the announcement to discontinue negotiations made by the Hongkong Government on January 25, 1926. For several months there was no notable development respecting labor matters. On May 1, 1926, the third National Labor Conference was convened in Canton, and simultaneously, the sixth Educational Conference of Kwangtung province and the

second Agricultural Conference of Kwangtung province also took place. At a reception given by four commercial bodies to the representatives of the three conferences, seven resolutions were passed including an appeal for the settlement of the Canton-Hongkong strike. A committee was then appointed including representatives of the governments of Canton and Hongkong. From July 15 to July 23 there were five meetings during which time both sides submitted views on such questions as the responsibility of the Shameen-Shakee affair on June 23, 1925, and the economic blockade against Canton by the Hongkong Government. As the delegates could not agree upon the terms of settlement, the Canton representatives proposed an international commission of inquiry to be composed of a British and a Chinese member and a chairman to be agreed upon whose country is not directly involved in the dispute. This commission should be charged with the duty of determining the responsibility of the Shameen-Shakee shooting and of making recommendations for the settlement of the strike. In addition the representatives of Canton demanded (1) that the Hongkong Government guarantee the non-occurrence of the Shakee affair in the future, (2) that it indemnifies the families of the killed and wounded, and (3) that it compensates the unemployed. The British delegates rejected these demands and asserted that regarding the proposed commission of inquiry, the matter should be referred to their government. Meantime, the British presented a counter proposal embodying an industrial loan to develop the port of Whampoa conditional upon the construction of the loopline connecting the Canton-Hankow and Canton Kowloon railways and provisions of control similar to those in the Canton-Kowloon railway agreement. The Chinese answered that the proposal would be referred to their government for discussion. Thereupon the negotiations discontinued without reaching any conclusion.

Just then, the northern expedition of the Kuomintang scored several victories including the occupation of Yochow and Wu-han cities. Naturally the Kuomintang would have to pay more attention to its military activities in the Yangtse Valley, whereupon on Oct. 10, it unconditionally called off the Canton-Hongkong strike and the anti-British boycott in South China. In doing so the Strike Committee declared: "As our revolutionary army is rapidly spreading its influence in the Yangtse Valley, we have to extend the line of anti-imperialism forces by organizing farmers, laborers, merchants and literati of the entire country. Let them join us in the common struggle against imperialism and let us cancel the Canton-Hongkong strike."

Thus the Canton-Hongkong strike ended. From the viewpoint of the labor movement, this dispute presents several points of interest. In the first place, the organization of the strikers deserves attention. As the strikers returned from Hongkong, Shameen, and Macao to Canton, they were registered

at one of the eight sections of Canton into which the city was then divided. After being properly registered the strikers were provided with food and lodging. From every 50 strikers one representative was elected to serve on the committee of workers' representatives whose membership was about 800. This was the highest legislative body of the strikers. From this committee another committee of 13 was elected to constitute the Strike Committee which was the highest executive body. Under the Strike Committee were eight sub-committees, two of which having especially important duties, *i.e.*, one on finance and the other on picketing. Their activities are outlined below :

The sub-committee on finance was charged with the duty of raising funds to maintain the strike and keeping the strikers fed and clothed. As most of the strikers had little savings and the majority of the unions had no strike funds, the financial responsibilities of the sub-committee were peculiarly heavy. Fortunately for them, the country as a whole was sympathetic toward the strike and contributions came in from all quarters. So far as information is now available, the contributions from outports amounted to about \$200,000; from the Chinese overseas about \$1,300,000; from the Canton Government (which acted as an agency for raising funds) about \$2,800,000; from local gentry and merchants about \$20,000; from the proceeds of selling the boycotted goods about \$400,000; from fines about \$200,000; from miscellaneous sources about \$200,000. The above items amounted to a little over \$5,000,000 which helped to support the huge army of strikers over a long period of time.

The total number of pickets was estimated to be a little above 2,000 persons who had four important functions to perform, *i.e.*, "to preserve order, detect blacklegging, maintain food embargo and search for boycotted goods." The pickets were organized as follows: 12 formed a squad, 3 squads formed a company, 3 companies formed a platoon, and 5 platoons formed a regiment. Directly under the control of the sub-committee were 5 regiments. After receiving military training which was mostly given by members of the Whampoa Academy, these pickets were properly equipped, sometimes with rifles, and sent out to various places for duty. At the beginning of the strike their field of action was rather limited, but it was later extended both on land and sea, after the influence of the party was expanded to include Swatow in the east, Pakhoi in the west and districts around Hoihow in Hainan in the south.

Directly related to the work of the two committees above mentioned was the general economic policy of the Strike Committee. Fearing that the life of Canton might be endangered by an effective embargo by Hongkong, the Canton authorities gave special permission to ships to enter Whampoa port if they were not of British nationality, did not carry British goods, and did not call at Hongkong. Such ships could enter

Whampoa and trade with Canton. This in a way kept open the trade routes between Canton and Shanghai, and between Canton and the ports around the Gulf of Tongking.

Respecting the results of the Canton-Hongkong strike, distinction should be drawn between direct and indirect results. Of the former little can be stated, as the strike was called off unconditionally by the Strike Committee. As regards the indirect results mention should first be made of the economic losses. The Canton-Hongkong strike was an unprecedented dispute respecting both duration and magnitude and its economic losses were stupendous. However, reliable estimates covering the total losses are not yet forthcoming. The following estimates which indicate phases of these losses may be of interest. According to the Chinese Maritime Customs, in 1924 foreign goods shipped from Hongkong to other ports in China amounted to 243,919,315 Haikwan taels, in 1925 it dropped to 176,311,082 Haikwan taels. On the other hand, native goods which were shipped from Hongkong to other ports in China suffered even greater losses. Thus, in 1924 these goods were valued at 173,162,926 Haikwan taels, but in 1925 it decreased to 114,714,974 Haikwan taels.

The shipping situation was more appalling. In 1924, the total shipping entering and clearing at Hongkong amounted to 764,492 vessels of 56,731,077 tons, but in 1925 decreased to 379,177 vessels of 41,469,584 tons, or a net decrease of 384,315 vessels and 15,261,493 tons. Of the above, 57,765 vessels of 38,770,499 tons were engaged in foreign trade in 1924, these were reduced to 41,336 vessels of 32,179,053 tons in 1925, showing a decrease of 15,429 vessels of 6,591,446 tons. Foreign ocean-going vessels decreased by 1,911 ships and by 2,243,124 tons, or 22.3% in number and 13.1% in tonnage. For the same period British ocean-going shipping shows a decrease of 1,381 ships and 1,977,932 tons or 26.1% in number and 16.1% in tonnage. Foreign river steamers show a decrease of 1,052 ships with a decrease in tonnage of 387,469 tons or 45.4% in number and 46.1% in tonnage. British river steamers decreased by 3,062 ships with a decrease in tonnage of 1,069,546 tons or 43.0% in number and 16.3% in tonnage. In steamships not exceeding 60 tons employed in foreign trade is a decrease of 2,445 ships with a decrease in tonnage of 66,336 tons or 31.2% in number and 28.7% in tonnage. Junks in foreign trade show a decrease of 6,578 vessels and a decrease of 847,039 tons, or 23.9% in number and 25.6% in tonnage. In local trade (*i.e.* between the ports in Hongkong) there is a decrease in steam launches of 367,826 and a decrease in tonnage of 8,571,867 tons or 54.2% in number and 51.5% in tonnage. Junks in local trade show a decrease of 1,060 vessels and a decrease of 98,180 tons, or 3.8% in number and 7.4% in tonnage. The details are shown in the Table 11.¹⁰

¹⁰ Hongkong Government: Administrative reports for 1925, p. 8., Hongkong.

TABLE 11:—SHIPPING IN HONGKONG (1924-1925)

Class of Vessels	1924		1925		Decrease	
	No.	Tonnage	No.	Tonnage	No.	Tonnage
Foreign Ocean-going	7,674	16,030,078	5,763	13,786,954	1,911	2,243,124
British Ocean-going	5,297	11,844,752	3,916	9,866,820	1,381	1,977,932
Foreign River Steamers	2,318	840,347	1,266	452,878	1,052	387,469
British River Steamers	7,120	6,524,661	4,058	5,455,115	3,062	1,069,546
Steamships under 60 tons (Foreign Trade)	7,831	231,833	5,386	165,497	2,445	66,336
Junks, Foreign Trade	27,525	3,298,828	20,947	2,451,789	6,578	847,039
Total, Foreign Trade	57,765	38,770,499	41,336	32,179,053	15,429	6,591,446
Steam Launches plying in Water of the Colony	678,750	16,622,806	310,924	8,050,939	367,826	8,571,867
Junks, Local Trade	27,977 ^a	1,337,772 ^a	26,917 ^b	1,239,592 ^b	1,060	98,180
Grand Total	764,492	56,731,077	379,177	41,469,584	384,315	15,261,493
				Net Decrease	384,315	15,261,493

a Including 15,212 Conservancy and Dust Boats of 654,199 tons.

b " " " " of 693,660 "

Other losses were more difficult to ascertain, such as the falling value of land and shares, the loss in credit and good will, the bankruptcy of commercial houses, and the losses of working days and wages. It was estimated that during the most serious period of the strike the total losses per day might be around \$2,000,000, Chinese currency. Because Hongkong was facing a very grave financial situation towards the end of 1925, London voted a loan of £3,000,000 sterling to stabilize conditions in the Colony.

Another indirect result of the strike is worth noting, namely, the consolidation of labor unions in Hongkong. Before the strike the laborers in Canton were believed to be better organized than their comrades in Hongkong. Comparatively fewer unions existed in the latter port. The existing unions were only loosely organized, and were, at the beginning of the strike, divided into three groups: (1) The General Union of Chinese Laborers (華工總會) had about 30 unions under its jurisdiction. With the exception of the street car employees, the great majority were handicraftsmen. (2) The Federation of Labor Unions (工團總會) had about 70 affiliated unions which were also dominated by handicraft workers. The Seamen's Union was the only important organization of the modern labor union type. (3) A group of independent unions including the unions of coal laborers, servants, machinists and wharf coolies. Seeing the advantages of stronger organizations in collective bargaining at the time of the strike, these unions were gradually consolidated. Thus the metal workers were organized into a federation, and similar organizations were formed among the transport workers and the employees of foreigners in Hongkong. On April 15, 1926, all these unions were further organized into the Federation of Labor Unions of Hongkong, which at that time included the important trades of the Colony.

Thirdly, a word should be said of workers' education. At the beginning of the strike, the Strike Committee opened a school to train men for carrying on propaganda. Later this phase of the work was extended to include education for the laborers. Schools were opened to take in labor leaders, children of laborers, and female workers so that they might have the opportunity of getting an elementary education. Some labor schools also provided facilities for entertainment and recreation.

STRIKES IN THE WU-HAN CENTER

This series of strikes reflect some important features of the labor movement in 1926. Beginning with September 6, when the Kuomintang army occupied Hankow, to the end of the year, there were 36 significant strikes in Hankow, Wuchang, and Hanyang about which information is now available. A brief account of these strikes is given below:

Status of labor unions prior to the arrival of the Kuomintang in Hankow.—Since the failure of the Peking-Hankow railway strike in February, 1923, labor activities in the Wu-han region (Wuchang, Hankow and Hanyang) were on the whole dormant. With the exception of a few conservative unions, such as the Federation of Labor Unions of Hupeh, which were allowed to exist, the other labor organizations were generally suppressed. However, as soon as the Kuomintang established itself in Hankow, a liberal policy towards labor was announced. Some unions were allowed to revive, such as the union of the first cotton mill of Hupeh, the wharf coolies union of the China Steamship Navigation Company, the ricksha coolies union, and the union of the Hanyehping Iron Works. New unions sprang into existence, such as the union of the match factories, the metal workers' union, the postal union, and the servants' union. The rapid growth of labor unions necessarily included some organizations which were short-lived and others which were loosely organized at the start, and therefore soon disintegrated. But the movement of unionization had some vigor, and towards the end of the year about 200 unions were properly registered with the Kuomintang authorities claiming a membership of about 200,000 men.

Relations between the Kuomintang and the Unions.—After the reorganization of the Kuomintang in 1924 whereby communists were admitted to the party as members, the party platform was revised. Concerning internal affairs, it has an article on urban labor and another on rural labor. In Article 10 the Kuomintang pledges to reform village organizations and improve peasants' living conditions. In Article 11 the party resolves to enact labor laws for the improvement of the worker's life, to protect labor organizations, and to assist in their general development.

That the party intended to carry out the spirit of the above-stated provisions in the Wu-han center was obvious from the early activities of the party leaders in Hankow. At a welcome meeting in Hankow given by the Association of the Laborers' Delegates on September 14, a large number of influential men and labor supporters were present. These included representatives of the city division, department of labor, department of war, and about 400 representatives from over 100 unions. Among other matters they discussed the possibilities of carrying on an effective labor movement in Wu-han and decided to take three preliminary steps, *i.e.*, (1) the resumption of work of the factories which were temporarily closed during the siege, (2) the punishment of those who were disloyal to labor, and (3) the reorganization of the Association of Laborers' Delegates into the General Labor Union of Wu-han. When work was proceeding along the lines above indicated a second general meeting was called by the union on September 20 at which a government spokesman reaffirmed the stand of the Kuomintang by stating that the

government "will give help toward the general growth of people's organizations" and urged the workers "to speed up the work of organization." Meantime, the delegates from labor unions emphasized the need of (1) an anti-British movement, (2) the inauguration of a people's conference, and (3) closer co-operation between the Kuomintang and the unions in the common struggle for economic and social emancipation of the proletariat.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE WU-HAN STRIKES

From the occupation of the Wu-han cities by the Kuomintang to the end of 1926 there was a considerable number of strikes of which 36 are selected for a short discussion as follows: According to the classification of industries as above given, these strikes fell into the following categories: four cases in textile trades, six cases in foodstuffs, two cases in household goods trades, one case in engine manufacturing and tool making trades, six cases in transportation and communication, two cases in educational enterprises, three cases in personal and public hygiene, two cases in luxuries, and ten cases in miscellaneous occupations.

Respecting the principal causes of the strikes the following are noted: twelve cases on demands for wage increase, three cases on protests against the dismissal of workers without cause, two cases on treatment, two cases on the anti-foreign movement and one strike each in the following cases: demand for back pay, against flogging by a Japanese foreman, protest the non-enforcement of a former labor agreement by the management. For the remaining thirteen strikes the causes were unknown. As regards the methods of mediation the analysis is shown below: Five cases were settled by the General Labor Union and Political Department of the Kuomintang, three cases by representatives of capital and labor, two cases by the Political Department and Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, and one case each by the following: General Labor Union and Department of Finance, City Division and General Labor Union, management and City Division, General Labor Union and Arbitration Board, management alone, Arbitration Board alone. In addition there were twenty strikes where the methods of mediation were unknown. The settlement of the strikes may be summarized as follows: Nine cases were from the laborers' point of view, entirely successful; four cases partially successful, and twenty-one cases for which terms of settlement were unknown.

On the whole the Wu-han strikes are rather complicated and the Printers' strike of Hankow is here taken as an illustration. This strike was declared on November 22 and settled on November 28, 1926. It involved the leading Chinese newspapers and a few foreign newspapers, but did not include the official organs of the Kuomintang. At the beginning of the strike, the principal demand of the printers was for an increase in wages.

But it was later revised to include terms on working conditions and social treatment. Their demands were presented to the employers by the Printers' Union of Wu-han and consisted of a long list of items including five demands on wages, seven on working hours, four on treatment, two on the labor union and two on unemployment. These demands were modified as negotiations proceeded, and when the settlement came it was found necessary to draw up one set of terms for the Chinese newspapers and another set for the foreign newspapers. Concerning the Chinese newspapers the main terms of settlement may be summarized as follows:

(1) *Wages*: *a*—The minimum monthly wage is \$15 per worker; *b*—Those who are earning a monthly wage of \$10 and over are increased by \$7 a month; *c*—Apprentices receive \$1 a month at the start and shall at the end of every six months receive an increase of \$1; *d*—Those who have been with the company for half a year or more are entitled to double pay for December, solar calendar; *e*—Wages are to be paid every month, but in case a worker is in urgent need of money (such as wedding) he may draw part of his wages in advance.

(2) *Working hours*: *a*—Nine hours shall constitute the working day for the day laborer and five hours for the night laborer, those who work in the composition room must finish picking from 5,000 to 6,000 characters a day; *b*—Holidays include Sunday, festival days, New Year's day (solar calendar), Chinese New Year (lunar calendar, 12 days). Those who work on Sundays shall receive double pay.

(3) *Treatment*: *a*—Day worker receives \$6 a month as food allowance, night laborer receives 10 cents a day; *b*—Each worker receives \$2 a month as lodging fee. If the employer provides dormitory, reasonable care should be paid to ventilation, sanitation, and accommodation; *c*—In case of sickness or accident arising out of employment, the employer shall pay a sum of money not exceeding two months' wages of the laborer. In case of death, the employer pays a sum not exceeding four months' wages of the laborer; *d*—Apprentices shall obey the orders of the employer, but the employer shall not mistreat them.

(4) *Unemployment*: In a year and half after this agreement comes into force there shall be no admittance of new apprentices (new establishments excepted). For every two apprentices there shall be at least one laborer.

(5) *Labor Union*: The employer shall recognize the labor union as the workers' organization and the laborers shall recognize the "trade association" (同業公會) as the employers' organization.

In respect to the foreign newspapers, some terms of settle-

ment are similar to those outlined above, but the different terms are summarized as follows :

(1) *Wages*: *a*—The minimum monthly wage is \$16 per worker; *b*—Those who are earning between \$10 and \$16 a month are increased by \$8 a month, those earning between \$17 and \$20 are increased by \$7 a month, those earning above \$26 are increased by \$6 a month; *c*—Apprentices receive \$2 a month at the start and shall at the end of every six months receive an increase of \$1. In addition, each apprentice receives \$7 a month as food and lodging allowance.

(2) *Labor union*: *a*—When the employer engages new men, preference should be given to members of the union; *b*—Before dismissing laborers the cause of dismissal must be reported to the union by the employer. He shall not dismiss workers because they are officers of the union, and laborers shall not let union activities interfere with their work.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE WU-HAN STRIKES

Among the strikes in the Wu-han region several points deserve special mention. Some activities seem to show hopeful signs of the labor movement, others indicate mob-rule and the passion for destruction. On the whole the Wu-han strikes were better organized than those in previous years. From a purely labor point of view, this was both good and bad. So far as the strike is used as an effective weapon in the capital-labor struggle it is advantageous to the workers. But strong organization of strikes may lead the strikers to use coercion and force unlawfully so as to cause damage to industry and bring terror upon society. Both phases are seen in the Wu-han affair. As an example of strict discipline during the strike, the strike regulations of the Wu-han Printers' Union may be summarized. By these regulations the members of the union are to obey the orders of the Allied Committee (聯合辦事處) and the Committee on Controversies (經濟鬥爭委員會), which are specially created to take care of the strikers. During the strike no one is allowed to settle with the employer, unless a decision to do so is reached by the committee of the workers' representatives, and the terms of settlement are recognized by the Committee on Controversies. Those workers who are reinstated through the efforts of the Committee on Controversies must deduct certain per cent. of their wages as contribution to the Committee for the maintenance of the strikers. The workers who are thrown out of employment due to the strike, etc., must be given special attention regarding opportunities for employment. Those who fail to observe the above conditions may be expelled from the union for a certain period of time and during that time they are not allowed to work in the Wu-han region.

But gradually the strikes went beyond the control of the labor leaders and cases of violence and intolerance increased.

These worked hardship upon industry and the business community. Consequently on Dec. 3, 1926, the General Chamber of Commerce expressed sentiment of disapproval and suggested remedial measures in three resolutions by stating (1) that they approve of the demands which are brought out by the workers consequent upon the rising cost of living but disfavor their unreasonable demands; (2) that the pickets have been notorious and should be prohibited forthwith, and (3) that if the Political Affairs Commission fail to work out immediate solutions the General Chamber of Commerce will declare a general strike as a measure of self-defense.

Meantime, responsible organizations were making efforts to improve the strained relations between labor and industry. They petitioned the Kuomintang Government to form an Arbitration Board. Consequently a series of meetings were arranged to discuss the procedure of organizing such a board, and these meetings were attended by representatives from the Political Affairs Commission, General Labor Union, General Chamber of Commerce, and the City Government. A temporary Committee was constituted which, after a preliminary survey of the industrial situation, formulated four guiding principles as follows: (1) to recognize reasonable increases of wages; (2) to advise different trades to follow traditions in fixing the working hours; (3) to improve materially social treatment of the workers, and (4) to leave the power of employing and dismissing laborers entirely in the hands of the employer. These proving satisfactory, the Arbitration Board came into existence on December 6 with powers to arbitrate all pending disputes in Hupeh province. When cases were submitted by the disputants and a decision was handed down by the Board, such decision was binding on both the employer and employees. The personnel of the Board was selected from among the Kuomintang Government, General Labor Union, and Chamber of Commerce.

However, the labor situation continued to be tense and the Kuomintang Government ordered the Political Affairs Commission to draft Provisional Factory Regulations which embody 21 articles including the following: (1) These regulations shall be applicable to industrial establishments in Hupeh province employing 20 or more persons, being engaged in dangerous and hazardous trades which are likely to injure the workers' health. (2) The employees shall recognize collective agreement of the workers. (3) The employer shall not employ children below 12 years of age. (4) Children under 15 years of age and female workers shall not be engaged in work between 9 p.m. and 5 a.m. This provision shall come into force four months after the promulgation of these regulations. (5) Children and female workers are prohibited from working at dangerous occupations (which are enumerated) and at places which are likely to injure their health (which are enumerated). (6) The minimum monthly wage shall

be \$13 per worker (apprentices excepted). When commodity prices rise, wages may be increased if a mutual agreement is reached between capital and labor. (7) 10 hours shall constitute the working day, but the hours may be extended under special circumstances and by the order of local authorities. Sunday is holiday. (8) There shall be equal pay for equal work. (9) For female workers there shall be six weeks' vacation before and after confinement with pay. (10) When a workman is injured during employment, he shall be given free medical care. When he is permanently injured, he shall receive wages for life. If the factory is afterwards closed, the Government shall be responsible for the unpaid portion. When a worker dies during employment his family shall be given a burial fee and a sum of money amounting to the wage of the deceased for a period from five to ten years. When a worker is sick, he shall, after a medical examination, be given medical fee and half of his usual wage (venereal disease excepted). When he dies of sickness, a certain sum of money shall be given to his family and the amount shall be decided by the employer and union. (11) When the employer engages or dismisses a worker, he must get the approval of the union. (12) If the employer violates any of the above provisions he shall be fined from \$500 to \$1,000. (13) Neither the laborer nor the union shall interfere with matters of management and employment, but in case of obvious disadvantage to the workers, they may present protests. (14) Unsettled disputes shall be reported to the Arbitration Board. During one week after submitting the case, neither the employer nor the workers shall have the freedom of action. (15) The decision of the Arbitration Board shall be binding on both the employer and the laborers.

THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE LABOR UNIONS

PEKING-HANKOW RAILWAY STRIKE.

In October, 1921, railway workers at Changhsintien, Chihli Province, organized a labor school, and toward the end of that year they also organized a workers' club. In April, 1922, workers' representatives from fourteen stations of the railway came together to formulate a plan for organizing a labor union of the entire line. To test the strength of their growing organization, a strike was declared in August of the same year and a complete victory was scored in their favor. On January 5, 1923, workers' delegates again met at Chengchow, Honan province, to draft the constitution of the railway union, and agreed on February 1 as the date for the official opening of the union and for the adoption of its constitution and by-laws; 130 representatives from 35 local unions were to attend the meeting in Chengchow, in addition to 65 representatives of the unions of other railways, and 60 representatives from newspapers and schools in other cities. But on February 1 martial law was suddenly declared in Chengchow. The union's headquarters were guarded by the armed police, and the hotels

and restaurants in the city were forbidden to accommodate the union's delegates. In protest the union men in the city walked out on February 4 and were soon joined by the railway workers on other sections of the same railway. Since this interfered with the operation of the railway, the police and military authorities forced the workers to resume work, on February 7, killing 3 and wounding 40 in so doing. Indignation was aroused among the rank and file of labor, and three other railways and about a half dozen railway machine shops and ironworks declared a sympathetic strike. Telegrams of sympathy were received from about 100 unions throughout the nation. In Shanghai and Peking preparations for large-scale sympathetic strikes were in progress for a considerable time, but these efforts, like other sympathetic strikes, were suppressed or interfered with by local authorities. The National Parliament in Peking moved to impeach the military authorities, and at a session of "labor unrest" held in the House of Representatives four resolutions were passed stating: (1) That in accordance with the Provisional Constitution of the Republic the Government should now recognize the right of the workers to hold meetings; (2) That the Government give money to the families of the deceased or wounded, and (3) that the Government remove troops and police from railway stations. But the Government adopted a rather repressive policy and took steps to suppress the strike and the activities of the strike leaders. In Peking the authorities prevented the co-operation between labor organizations and student associations, and prohibited the circulation of unregistered printed matter. Outwardly the strike was a failure, for the Peking-Hankow (Kin-Han) Railway Union was dissolved and the strike suppressed. As a matter of fact the indirect influence of the strike was far-reaching. The Government became awakened to the growing strength of labor organizations and devised ways and means to cope with the situation. Therefore, on February 22, 1923, a Presidential Mandate was issued ordering the proper ministries to draft labor laws for the consideration of Parliament. As a result the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce was able to promulgate on March 29 the first ministerial order on provisional factory legislation of the nation, and later drafted labor-union regulations.

STRIKES IN 1926

In addition to the foregoing analysis of the important strikes during the last nine years, it seems desirable to make a rather detailed study of the strikes of 1926, for in that year the labor movement shows several significant changes which were plainly seen in the strike situation. As the 1926 strikes are quite numerous they are here treated as a summary, and for supplementary information the publications of the Bureau of Economic

Information¹¹ and of the South Manchuria Railway Company¹² should be consulted.

One outstanding fact is the phenomenal increase of the strikes in 1926 as compared with those in the previous years. In 1926 there were 535 strikes as compared with 318 in 1925 and 698 for the eight year period between 1918 and 1925, counting the strikes arising directly from the May 30 affair in Shanghai in 1925. The rapid increase in the number of strikes fairly indicates the growing labor movement and its increasing complexities. However, the fact must be borne in mind that strike-reporting and data-gathering for 1926 are comparatively more satisfactory than formerly and therefore the number of unreported strikes should be smaller for 1926 than for previous years. The total number of strikers in 1926 is 539,585 which is the next largest in all the nine years, being surpassed only by 1925. The average duration of the strikes is shorter, namely, 6.87 days for 1926, 18.88 days for 1925 including the May 30 affair, and 11.52 days for 1918-1925 including the May 30 affair. The details are shown in Table 12.

Another change in the labor movement is seen in the changing character of the strikes. This may best be illustrated by an analysis of the cause of the strikes. Between 1918 and 1925 (including the May 30 affair) the principal causes of the strikes were economic pressure (involving 331 cases), popular movements (involving 178 cases) and social treatment of the workers (involving 110 cases). In 1925 the strikes on popular movements amounted to 141 cases, those on economic pressure amounted to 105 and those on treatment amounted to 52 cases. In 1926 there were 250 strikes on economic pressure, 172 cases on treatment of labor and 19 cases on popular movements. Thus, the most striking change has occurred in the strikes caused by treatment of labor; as between 1918 and 1925 this class of strikes numbered only 110 cases, whereas in 1926 alone it was increased to 172 cases. This means that the character of demands has changed from those for purely economic needs to those for social improvement including just relations between capital and labor, better living conditions and better terms of employment. This is a very significant turn which the labor movement in 1926 has taken. Table 13 classifies the 1926 strikes by causes and by industries.

Respecting the methods of mediation it should be pointed out that in 1926 the part played by the Kuomintang government as an arbitrator was appreciably more important than in former years, because in 1926 the Kuomintang gradually extended its influence in the Wu-han area and the lower Yangtze Valley and

¹¹ Especially the issues of the *Chinese Economic Bulletin* for 1926: "Strikes in Shanghai in 1926," *Chinese Economic Journal*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 227-233, March, 1927.

¹² Especially "Industrial disputes in Manchuria in 1926," Dairen, 1927 (大正十五年度南滿勞資爭議錄, 南滿鐵道株式會社人事課, 大連, 昭和二年)

TABLE 12.—NUMBER OF STRIKES AND STRIKERS AND DURATION OF STRIKE, CLASSIFIED BY INDUSTRIES

Industry	Total number of strikes	Strikes for which number of strikers was reported		Total number of strikers	Average number of strikers per dispute	Strikes for which duration was reported		Total number of days lost	Average duration of strikes (days)
		No.	%			No.	%		
Textile trades	201	146	72.64	234,634	1,607.08	147	73.13	941	6.40
Foods and foodstuffs... ..	34	12	35.29	8,397	699.58	11	32.35	41	3.73
Household goods	10	4	40.00	980	245.00	6	60.00	45	7.50
Construction and Building ...	19	7	36.84	3,250	464.30	10	52.63	37	3.70
Tool making and engine manu- facturing	64	44	68.75	19,076	433.54	43	67.19	275	6.40
Communication and transporta- tion	77	35	45.45	22,562	644.63	50	64.94	152	3.04
Basic Industries	5	4	80.00	8,000	2,000.00	4	80.00	44	11.00
Educational enterprises	41	20	48.78	7,426	371.30	27	65.85	178	6.59
Personal hygiene and public- health	18	11	61.11	6,157	559.73	13	72.22	26	2.00
Ornaments and luxuries	23	16	69.57	11,385	711.56	14	60.87	44	3.14
Miscellaneous	43	14	32.56	217,718	15,551.30	15	34.88	552	36.80
Total	535	313	58.50	539,585	1,723.91	340	63.55	2,335	6.87

wherever the party has gone, it has carried with it the tactics of directing the labor movement. In 1926 out of a total of 535 strikes 266 cases were settled either through the efforts of the representatives of employers and employees or of third parties. Between 1918 and 1925 there were 460 cases, out of a total of 698, that called for mediation or arbitration, and about which there is adequate information. In reference to the conduct of strikers, 92 cases of disorder have been noted, as compared with 181 cases for the 1918-1925 period. Table 14 shows the methods of mediation and conduct of strikers as classified by industries.

As regards the settlement of the strikes, 165 cases were settled to the entire satisfaction of the laborers, which constituted 30.84 per cent. of the total; 93 cases were partially successful or 17.38 per cent.; 74 cases were failures or 13.83 per cent. and 203 cases of unknown terms or 37.95 per cent. of the total. During the 1918-1925 period, the successful strikes numbered 284 or constituting 40.7 per cent. of the total; partially successful strikes numbered 71 or 10.2 per cent., failures numbered 41 or 5.9 per cent. and cases of unknown terms numbered 302 or 43.3 per cent. (all including the May 30 affair in 1925). The details are given in Table 15.

TABLE 13.—CLASSIFICATION OF STRIKES BY CAUSE, AND INDUSTRY

Cause	Textile trades		Foods & foodstuffs		Household goods		Construction & Building		Tool making & manufacturing		Communication & transportation	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Economic pressure:												
High cost of living	1	.50	4	11.77	1	10.00	—	—	2	3.13	2	2.60
Wage increase	65	32.34	13	38.24	7	70.00	16	84.21	27	42.18	22	28.59
Increase in fees	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	11.69
Increase in taxes	—	—	1	2.94	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3.89
Wage reduction	5	2.48	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Treatment of labor:												
Working hours	6	2.98	1	2.94	—	—	—	—	4	6.25	—	—
Maltreatment	18	8.95	2	5.88	1	10.00	—	—	2	3.13	3	3.89
Change of working conditions	5	2.49	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1.30
Policy of employer	9	4.48	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3.89
Foreman	22	10.95	1	2.94	—	—	2	10.53	3	4.69	8	10.39
Tips, bonuses, etc.	2	1.00	2	5.88	—	—	1	5.26	1	1.56	1	1.30
Against dismissal of workman without cause	22	10.95	3	8.82	—	—	—	—	5	7.81	1	1.30
Miscellaneous	9	4.48	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	6.25	1	1.30
Popular movements												
Patriotic demonstrations	6	2.98	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1.56	—	—
New-thought movements	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3.89
Right to organize unions	4	1.99	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	6.25	1	1.30
Outside conflicts	3	1.49	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	10.39
Sympathetic strikes	8	3.98	1	2.94	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1.30
Miscellaneous	9	4.48	1	2.94	—	—	—	—	5	7.81	4	5.19
Cause unknown	7	3.48	4	11.77	1	10.00	—	—	3	4.69	6	7.79
Total	201	100.00	34	100.00	10	100.00	19	100.00	64	100.00	77	100.00

TABLE 13.—CLASSIFICATION OF STRIKES BY CAUSE, AND INDUSTRY (Continued)

Cause	Basic Industries		Educational Enterprises		Personal hygiene & public-health		Ornaments & luxuries		Miscellaneous		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Economic pressure:												
High cost of living			5	12.20	3	16.67	—	—	1	2.33	19	3.55
Wage increase	2	40.00	16	39.00	8	44.42	10	43.48	24	55.81	210	39.25
Increase in fees	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	1.68
Increase in taxes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	.75
Wage reduction	—	—	1	2.44	—	—	1	4.35	1	2.33	8	1.49
Treatment of labor:												
Working hours	—	—	—	—	1	5.56	—	—	1	2.33	13	2.43
Maltreatment	—	—	2	4.88	1	5.56	1	4.35	—	—	30	5.61
Change of working conditions	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	13.04	1	2.33	10	1.87
Policy of employer	1	20.00	1	2.44	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	2.62
Foreman	1	20.00	2	4.88	3	16.67	3	13.04	—	—	45	8.41
Tips, bonuses, etc.	—	—	1	2.44	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	1.49
Against dismissal of workman	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
without cause	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	13.04	1	3.04	36	6.73
Miscellaneous	—	—	1	2.44	—	—	1	4.35	—	—	16	2.99
Popular movements	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4.35	5	11.62	16	2.99
Patriotic demonstrations	—	—	3	7.32	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	.56
New-thought movements	—	—	2	4.88	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	2.06
Right to organize unions	—	—	—	—	1	5.56	—	—	2	4.65	15	2.80
Outside conflicts	—	—	1	2.44	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	2.99
Sympathetic strikes	—	—	3	7.32	—	—	—	—	2	4.65	23	4.30
Miscellaneous	1	20.00	2	4.88	—	—	—	—	5	11.62	29	5.42
Cause unknown	—	—	—	—	1	5.56	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	5	100.00	41	100.00	18	100.00	23	100.00	43	100.00	535	99.99

TABLE 14.—METHOD OF MEDIATION AND CONDUCT OF STRIKERS CLASSIFIED BY INDUSTRIES

	Textile trades	Foods and food-stuffs	Household goods	Construction and Building	Tool making and manufacturing	Communication and transportation	Basic Industries	Educational enterprises	Personal hygiene and public-health	Ornaments and luxuries	Miscellaneous	Total
(1) Strike settled by:												
Persuasion	11	—	—	—	5	2	2	—	2	4	—	26
Mass meeting of strikers	18	3	1	4	7	9	1	3	3	4	5	58
Meeting of employers ...	5	3	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	12
Joint meeting of representatives of employers and strikers	14	2	1	—	7	2	—	2	—	—	1	29
Arbitration by:												
Local officials	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Magistrate	18	1	—	—	3	6	—	—	1	2	—	31
Police	6	3	—	1	2	5	—	—	1	3	3	24
Chamber of Commerce ...	6	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	1	1	12
Student Union	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	4
Own guild or union ...	8	—	—	1	3	1	—	3	—	1	2	19

TABLE 14.—METHOD OF MEDIATION AND CONDUCT OF STRIKERS CLASSIFIED BY INDUSTRIES (Continued)

	Textile trades	Foods and food-stuffs	Household goods	Construction and Building	Tool making and manufacturing	Communication and transportation	Basic Industries	Educational enterprises	Personal hygiene and public-health	Ornaments and luxuries	Miscellaneous	Total
Disinterested guild or general union	19	—	1	2	2	3	—	3	—	—	—	30
Disinterested individuals	8	2	1	3	3	3	—	—	—	—	1	21
Total	114	14	5	11	34	31	3	14	10	15	15	266
(2) Conduct of strikers												
Injury to persons	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	7
Destruction of property...	6	1	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	1	—	11
Personal injury and property damage	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Police to maintain order and make arrests... ..	13	2	2	—	8	6	—	4	1	5	3	44
Military body to maintain order and make arrests.	9	1	—	2	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	15
Foreign police to maintain order and make arrests	10	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	13
Total	43	6	2	2	8	11	2	5	1	7	5	92

TABLE 15.—SETTLEMENT OF STRIKES CLASSIFIED BY CAUSES

Cause of Strike	No. of Strikes	Results of Strikes							
		Successful		Partially successful		Failure		Terms unknown	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Economic pressure :									
High cost of living	19	5	26.32	6	31.58	3	15.78	5	26.32
Wage increase	210	65	30.95	48	22.86	10	4.76	87	41.43
Increase of fees	9	5	55.56	2	22.22	—	—	2	22.22
Increase of taxes	4	—	—	—	—	1	25.00	3	75.00
Wage reduction	8	1	12.50	1	12.50	3	37.50	3	37.50
Total... .. .	250	76	30.40	57	22.80	17	6.80	100	40.00
Treatment of labor :									
Working hours	13	3	23.08	1	7.69	3	23.08	6	46.15
Mistreatment	30	12	40.00	4	13.33	3	10.00	11	36.67
Change of working conditions	10	3	30.00	3	30.00	2	20.00	2	20.00
Policy of employer	14	4	28.57	—	—	8	57.14	2	14.29
Foreman	45	16	35.56	7	15.56	9	20.00	13	28.88
Tips, bonuses, etc.....	8	4	50.00	—	—	3	37.50	1	12.50
Against dismissal of workman without cause	36	15	41.67	5	13.89	8	22.22	8	22.22
Miscellaneous	16	7	43.75	4	25.00	1	6.25	4	25.00
Total... .. .	172	64	37.21	24	13.95	37	21.51	47	27.33

TABLE 15.—SETTLEMENT OF STRIKES CLASSIFIED BY CAUSES (Continued)

Cause of strike	No. of Strikes	Results of Strikes							
		Successful		Partially successful		Failure		Terms unknown	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Popular movements:									
Patriotic demonstrations	16	2	12.50	3	18.75	5	31.25	6	37.50
New thought movement	3	—	—	—	1	33.33	2	66.67	
Total... ..	19	2	10.52	3	15.79	6	31.58	8	42.11
Right to organize unions									
Right to organize unions	11	5	45.46	1	9.09	1	9.09	4	36.36
Outside conflict	15	4	26.67	1	6.67	2	13.33	8	53.33
Sympathetic strikes	16	5	31.25	3	18.75	7	43.75	1	6.25
Miscellaneous... ..	23	9	39.13	4	17.39	4	17.39	6	26.09
Cause unknown	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	29	100.00
Grand total	535	165	30.84	93	17.38	74	13.83	203	37.95

But in analysing the settlement of the strikes, a conservative attitude has been adopted by grouping all those strikes where the terms of settlement are not clearly stated under "settlement unknown." If the last-mentioned class is eliminated and the rest of the strikes regrouped the results are shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16.—RESULTS OF STRIKES FOR WHICH TERMS OF SETTLEMENT ARE KNOWN

	Number of strikes	Successful		Partially successful		Failure	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Number of strikes for which terms of settlement are known	332	165	49.70	93	28.01	74	22.29

CONCLUSIONS

Based upon the data of this study as above given, the following general observations may be made :

(1) Although during the 1918-1926 period strikes occurred in 116 different places in China, they seem to concentrate in industrial and commercial districts, for the strike is essentially an urban phenomenon and its spread generally follows the growth of modern industry and trade. Therefore, in respect of the numerical importance of the strikes, each of the following cities has ten or more cases during the last nine years (the figures including the May 30 affair being in the parentheses) : Shanghai, 534 (or 638), Hankow 77 (or 81), Canton 54 (or 54), Wusieh 41 (or 41), Soochow 40 (or 40), Chenkiang 33 (or 34), Peking 22 (or 30), Fengtien 17 (or 18), Tientsin 13 (or 14), Swatow 13 (or 14), Hongkong 9 (or 10).

(2) The three main causes of the strikes were : economic pressure, alleged maltreatment of the workers by employers and popular movements. Economic pressure was responsible for 47.15 per cent. of the total, alleged maltreatment for 22.97 per cent. and popular movements 16.07 per cent., all including the May 30 strikes in 1925. Thus, strikes due to economic pressure constituted 47.15 per cent. of all the strikes during the last nine years. Respecting the other two principal causes, they have shown variations in individual years. For instance, the year 1925 led all the other years in the strikes on popular movements which numbered 141 cases, and in 1926 the strikes on treatment of labor shew tremendous increase over the preceding years. In 1926 there were 172 strikes on treatment of labor as compared with only 110 cases of the same category in all the eight preceding years. These fluctuations have indicated important

changes in the labor movement. Economic pressure has remained to be the predominant cause of social unrest in China. Labor's political agitation was most active in the year 1925. Beginning with 1926 the nature of demands has shown significant changes: in a large number of strikes the demands did not involve purely economic matters which were characteristic of the strikes in former years but involved demands for social improvement of the working population including better living, better terms of employment and just relations between employers and employees.

(3) During the nine years between 1918-1926 (including the May 30 affair) only 85 strikes were settled by the efforts of the management alone. In those strikes which have been mediated, two general policies have been noted—joint meetings by representatives of capital and labor or arbitration by third parties. In 1926 there were relatively more cases which involved the Kuomintang government as the arbitrator. Broadly stated, the majority of the strikes have been carried on in a rather orderly manner, for in only 66 cases in nine years (including the May 30 affair) has destruction of property or injury to persons been recorded, although the number of strikes where the police or military force was called out to maintain peace has been considerably larger.

(4) During the nine years successful strikes have constituted 40.80 per cent. of the total excluding the May 30, 1925, affair, or 36.41 per cent. including it; partially successful strikes constituted 11.75 per cent. excluding the May 30 affair or 13.31 per cent. including it; failures constituted 10.38 per cent. excluding the May 30 affair, or 9.34 per cent. including it. Terms of settlement are unknown for the remaining 37.07 per cent. excluding the May 30 affair or 40.94 per cent. including it. A conservative attitude is taken in making this classification, for a number of strikes whose terms of settlement are not clearly recorded have been grouped under "settlement unknown." If the strikes in the last-mentioned group are eliminated and the remaining strikes reclassified, the following results are obtained: (the figures including the May 30 affair are given in the parentheses) successful strikes constituting 64.83 per cent. (or 61.68 per cent.), partially successful strikes 18.68 per cent. (or 22.53 per cent.), failures 16.49 per cent. (or 15.79 per cent.) Judging from the last classification it is clear that during the last nine years the successful and partially successful strikes have amounted to 83.51 per cent. of the total and the failures constituted the remaining 16.49 per cent., all excluding the May 30 strikes. If the May 30 episode is included, the figure for the successful and partially successful strikes is 84.21 per cent. and for the failures 15.79 per cent.

(5) As shown by this study, strikes for the right to organize

unions or for the recognition of the unions when organized began with the year 1922.

(6) For those strikes for which data were secured on the points specified in this study, the number of strikers per strike each year averaged 2,524.65 (or 2,768.38 including the May 30 affair), and an average of 6.81 days (or 9.18 days, including the May 30 affair) was lost per strike. Strikes arising from the May 30 occurrence involved an average of 4,057 workers per strike and lasted, on the average, 66.6 days.

(7) The textile trades have experienced the largest number of strikes—368 cases in nine years (or 400 cases including the May 30 incident). Next in order comes communication and transportation with 189 cases (or 201 cases, including May 30 strikes). Basic industries have had the smallest number of strikes—25 cases in nine years (or 27 cases, including strikes arising from the May 30 episode).

(8) The single establishments having the largest number of strikes include the Naigai Cotton Mills of Japanese ownership, Shanghai, with 34 cases in nine years; Sino-Japanese Cotton Manufacturing Company, Shanghai, with 22 cases; British-American Tobacco Company, Shanghai, with 18 cases; and British-American Tobacco Company, Hankow, with 10 cases. Their demands have shown great variations including the following: Wage demands, complaints against foreman, maltreatment by management, protest against change of working conditions, sympathy with the student movement, demands for bonus, demands for recognition of union, protest against the events of May 30, 1925, protest against the non-enforcement of former labor agreements, and demands that the dismissal of workers be for cause only.
