

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

(NOT INCLUDING STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS)

GREATER SHANGHAI

1930

上海市

勞資糾紛統計

民國十九年

BUREAU OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS

TY GOVERNMENT OF GREATER SHANGHAI

1932

上海市政府社會局

民國二十一年

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BY BUREAU OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS

THE CITY GOVERNMENT OF GREATER SHANGHAI

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本編十九年上海市勞資糾紛統計，卷帙稍多，編排需時，到二十一年一月排校纔過半。一二八滬變猝起，商務印書館被燬，本編的最後校正本亦遂成灰燼了。在這過去幾個月中，重行檢閱卷宗，抄繕調解筆錄和仲裁裁決書，又補編案件索引，方成完璧。並且把月報表改編案件表，以節省閱者檢閱各案始末的時間。至於二十年度的材料，雖亦早經齊備，以限於篇幅，未能同時發表。又郭秉文先生曾替本編撰有序言，送稿匆促，未曾留底，致付闕如，良用歎仄。二十一年六月。

上海市政府社會局

勞工統計刊物

民國十七年

上海特別市罷工統計報告

上海特別市勞資糾紛統計報告

上海特別市工資指數之試編

上列各書，每冊一元二角，由上海福州路大東書局發行。

民國十八年

上海特別市罷工停業統計 定價三元五角

上海特別市勞資糾紛統計 定價五元

上海特別市工資和工作時間 定價五元

民國十九年

上海市罷工停業統計 定價四元

上列各書，均由上海河南路商務印書館發行。

上海市勞資糾紛統計 定價五元

民國二十年

上海市工人生活費指數 定價二元半

上海市工人生活程度 在編輯中

近十四年來上海之罷工停業 全 上

近四年來上海之勞資糾紛 全 上

上海市工資制度調查 全 上

上列各書，均由上海福州路中華書局發行。

除上列統計刊物外，本局更從事編譯勞工統計叢書，書目如下：

生活費指數編製法 定價四角

失業統計編製法 定價三角半

勞動協約統計法 定價三角

工人意外遭遇統計法 定價五角

美國住宅問題概觀 定價四角

家庭生計調查法 印刷中

上列各書，均由上海河南路商務印書館發行。

孫 序

我國統計事業漸見萌芽，政府方面近亦注重，各機關調查研究，日新月盛，而其規劃有準，進行有序，博稽精研，慮定後動，方法謹嚴，條理縝密，駁駁日上，以力斲合於國際之標準，如上海市社會局之勞工統計者，猶不多觀。此吾人對於蔡正雅君及社會局中協力研討諸君子，不禁且敬且愧者也。

上海市勞資糾紛統計之出版，於今爲第三次，其體例大抵沿十八年之舊而於統計數字所能表現者之外，更根據歷年經驗之所得，對於勞資關係之真相，有所闡發，裨益讀者不尠。吾人循讀之餘，知十九年之勞資糾紛，較十八年並未多見緩和，案件數目與前相埒，關係廠號雖減四分之一，而關係職工數目則超出十八年一倍以上。糾紛之解決，雖仍以勞方獲勝者居多，然因資方團結之漸固，其勝利已不如前此之易。糾紛之原因，兩年皆以解雇及雇傭爲最要，約居全體案件中百分之六十；而解雇按件中由於營業清淡者，兩年平均占百分之十五，由於紀律及工作效率者，則十八年居百分之二八，十九年居百分之四三，是知欲減少勞資糾紛，首應着重此點。解雇案件之所以成爲問題，在於沒有公平的標準，要有公平的標準，則又非厲行科學管理法不爲功，實足資經營工業者之深省。

糾紛之次要原因爲工資問題，十九年爲物價與生活費暴騰之時期，增加工資宜爲勞資糾紛重要原因之一，而工資案件之數，僅居全體百分之十一強，且勞方要求加薪之案件僅有十起，而資方要求減薪者則有十四起之多，或使讀者對於我國工業之凋敝與工人生計之低下，不禁生感慨之念。然工資之增減，初不全繫於糾紛之有無，而罷工統計復不在勞資糾紛統計以內。在得讀十九年罷工統計與工資統計以前，對於以上數字之意義，尙難遽下解釋。同時當知所謂次要者，乃姑就案件之多寡立論。若由其他方面而言，則全年最重要案件十四起中，關於工資者四起，關於勞動協約者六起，關於待遇者三起，而勞動協約之案件，大都集中工資一項，改良待遇之案件，亦以米貼問題爲最要也。篇中對於勞方之不顧工作效率，資代之不顧管理改良與忽視工人之生活程度與購買力，皆痛下鍼砭焉。

然使讀者感觸最深者，當爲關於勞資糾紛惡化之紀載。如篇中有云：

「工會要求安插失業會員，理由自極正大，然而實際情形，並不如是簡單，所謂某業失業工友，不一定是該業工友，有些工會不許資方錄用非會員，該業的勞工市場便受了牠的壟斷。凡某業工人要覓工作，非先入工會不可。起初入會的工友，或係在該業素有訓練的人，但日久便不免發生流弊，真正的工友反致失業。所以介紹非本業訓練有素的工人，既無相當程度，又無相當經驗，工作能力自然十分薄弱，這一點也應深切注意的。」又云：

「資方……去運用他應付的策略：（1）實行分化作用……（2）賄買工會委員……（3）間或雇用無賴，在廠外毆辱工會委員或從事工運的工友，被毆的人雖明知廠方所爲，但却不能得到主使的證據，只得知難而退。這類情勢，近已成爲一個嚴重的問題」。又云：

「……其次是包身制的進展。吾國農村經濟的崩潰，日益顯著，農村人民大批地到都市求生，……漁利之徒，招呼他們——尤其是童年的男女——到廠工作，供給他們一些極簡陋的居處，或些微的零錢，而他們應得的工資便完全由他們向廠方領取，就是說，他們是這些工友們的雇主，廠主是間接的雇主呀！他們是工友們真正的剝削者，在廠方求管理上的便利和工潮的避免，很歡迎他們來代理，這些工友們一入彀中，此後恐怕很難脫離他們的羈絆。」

凡此事實，皆根據數年來實地接觸得來，非統計之所能詳者，極足資研究勞工問題者之參攷。處此種惡化的形勢之下，欲謀勞資糾紛之解決，誠非易易。就已往排難解紛之功效言之，兩年來社會局之成績已不爲不著。十八年之糾紛案件，經該局解決者居百分之九一強，十九年居百分之八九弱，自非根據切實之調查統計，洞悉勞資雙方之底蘊，有以折服其心，何能收效如是哉。

以上所舉特就個人循讀所感，述其大略，讀是編者當見其警語精義，美不勝收。近聞蔡君將以治勞工統計之暇，更從事研究其他方面之統計，予觀蔡君以往之成績，有以知其將來，不勝翹首企望焉。

國民政府主計處統計局

孫 拯

南京二十年五月

趙 序

工業革命之象徵，厥爲(1)機器代替人工；(2)工作場所與居住區域，截然劃分；(3)製造之目的爲生產而非消費。機器既用以代人工，則一部份工人，必受淘汰而釀成失業問題。工作既多恃機器，勢必將全部工作，條分縷析，工人祇知其所製之小部分，而莫窺全豹。工作興趣，自必銳減。而工人倚賴於機器日增月進，一遇失業，即無法他就，浸假成爲險鉅之工業問題。其影響所及，彌漫於整個社會。工作場所與居住區域劃分，則工人與工人之接觸機會日多，而與雇主相見之時日少，階級觀念，油然而生。工人團體亦即應運以出，諸如工資，工時，待遇，工會，會員等問題，紛至沓來。機器製造，利於大量之生產，生產愈多，獲利愈厚，而消費區域，漸行擴充，自一城而及一省，自一省而及全國，自國內而至國外，浸至尾大不掉，偶有阻扼，生產剩餘，消費不足。經濟恐慌，因以發生，工廠停閉，商業凋零。其間受害最先，影響最大者，莫如工人，諸如上述，證之典籍，殆歷歷不爽。吾國向以農立國，近十餘年來，通商大埠，工廠林立，駸駸乎趨入工業化。舉凡工業革命之種種象徵，悉有表現，雖爲勢未烈，而隱患堪憂，將重蹈歐美工業革命所產生之弊端。使工人受無限之痛苦乎？抑瞻仰前車，力圖矯正，使勞資及消費者三方面，交受其益乎？上海市社會局之勞工調查及統計工作，實具有後者之趨勢。其於勞資糾紛設有調解會及仲裁會，爲泰西工業革命時所無，而近代始有創立，該局即隨而採用，尤見近代化之精神。至於蒐集勞資糾紛統計，以明過去之事實，癥結之所在，俾該局設施，有所針指；研究勞働問題，及一般社會經濟者，有所參攷。雅具有鑒往知來，因事設計之苦心，而吾友蔡正雅教授，實主其事，韋路藍縷，慘澹經營，於今已近五載，所編各項統計，除糾紛統計外，如工資與工時統計，工人家庭生活費，與生活程度等等，類開吾國勞工統計之先河。茲於糾紛統計第三次出版之日，爲弁數語，以祝其成功。世之研究國民經濟，或掌理社會行政者，尙祈有所取法乎？

鐵道部

趙人儻

南京二十年五月

序 言

從這幾年來實地調查和編製本市勞工統計所得的結果，很想趁便說句話，使讀者能格外了解這項工作的內容和本市勞工的概況，可以分三段講：(1)最近勞工情形的重要事實和統計數字，(2)各種調查工作的關係，(3)本年殊特情形與現今勞工組織的基本弱點。

1. 重要基件 據十七年調查，本市共有 21 種主要工業，2,326 個工廠，285,700 名工人，其中男工占百分之 29.67，女工百分之 60.71，童工百分之 9.63，計時的工人占百分之 58.4，計件的百分之 41.6。

廠工每小時平均工資，男的 \$ 0.073，女的 \$ 0.044，小孩子的 \$ 0.034，雖則有大多數還不到這個數目。棉織工人 110,882 名和繅絲工人 51,376 名，占全市廠工總數百分之 56 強，棉織男女童工每天做 11 至 12 小時工的工作，每小時工資為 \$ 0.065，\$ 0.047 \$ 0.031；繅絲男女童工每天做 11 小時工，每小時工資為 \$ 0.061，\$ 0.049，\$ 0.030。普通不大不小的工人家庭平均有 4.62 人，或 3.28 等成年男子 (Equivalent Male Adult)，其每月平均收入為 \$ 34.71，而其每月支出反多，為 \$ 37.86。這 \$ 37.86 的收入，百分之 53.2，用於食物之供給；為家庭支出中等的最大項目。其餘分配於衣着，房租，燃料，和雜項。十九年工人生活費用驟高，假定十五年的指數為 100，則十九年為 116.79。

在十七年至十九年，這三年要算勞工界的多事之秋。十七年罷工停業凡 120 案，十八年 111 案，十九年 87 案。關係的廠號以千計，關係職工以萬計。大多數案件的原因，集中於四項：(1)工資問題，(2)雇用或解雇，(3)勞動協約，(4)待遇問題。這四項十七年要占案件總數百分之 67.50，十八年 80.18，十九年 80.45。集中的程度，可說逐年增高。勞工運動的趨勢，漸漸由狂熱的騷動而退至於比較平穩的狀態，十七年正在革命初成，共產學說傳布的時候，風波疊起，以後才漸歸平靜，

節制勞工運動的步驟，始於十八年所頒布的工會法。工會法內，沒有准許設立總工會的條文，而只准在同一區域內設立同一產業或同一職業之工會，此

外國民政府又頒布了三種重要法令，——工廠法，團體協約法，和勞資爭議處理法。市政府又頒布了許多補充的條例。

2. 各種調查工作的關係 以上簡略地敘說了工作的酬報，生活的狀況，和奮鬥的情形。這是吾們想努力搜集的材料和統計數字。吾們的目的，想要整個地得到工人方面種種不同生活的印象。同時也不忽視了這些工資酬付的習慣方法，歷來維持生活的情況，以及爭端之所由起與所由息。和工資率實際收入，工作時間等研究同時並進的有本市工資制度之調查。研究工資酬付方法和制度，可以格外明瞭他們得到酬報的底細。

吾們生活費和生活程度的統計，是根據 305 個工人家庭生計調查而製成的。生活費指數表示普通家庭消耗品的物價變遷。家庭的組織，收入和支出等等，皆在生活程度一書中詳論。前者說明歷年生活費用的變遷，後者研究工人生活的要素和實際情形。

勞資爭議統計，分為罷工停業和勞資糾紛兩種。其區分，只在嚴重程度上的差別。罷工停業，只限於解析勞資兩方的爭端，其結果使工作陷於停頓之狀態者；而勞資糾紛，則範圍較廣，包括一切勞資爭端，其結果雖不至於停止工作，然其性質或亦異常重要。後者實所以補充前者之不足，可以顯示全市工潮之全部狀況。各種調查，互有關聯，欲見其全，該從各方面作整個的探索。

3. 本年的特殊狀況 本編為勞資爭議統計之第二種——即勞資糾紛。十九年凡 376 案，與上年作個分析的比較。本年最顯著的有兩點：(1) 因商業上不景氣的現象，各廠當局要求減少工資者甚多。在工資爭議 43 案中，14 案的性質便是屬於此類。其中 3 案，一為電機絲織廠同業公會要求減低交織品工資案，兩為絲廠同業公會要求減低工資案，最稱嚴重，影響及於全業，遷延日數，自 20 日至 160 日不等。吾們該記得這是個生活費用繼長增高，而商業狀況，又極不景氣的時候，所以勞資雙方的要求，恰恰立於相反的地位，一方要求減低工資，以保全他們的事業，一方要求增高工資，以維持他們的生活，雙資生死關頭，在所必爭，也難怪他們各不相下。可是真真的出路，還在互相諒解，盡力合作，以求事業之復興與生活之改善。(2) 本市工業發展中之最可悲觀失望者，莫

過於一廠之中，爭端疊起。在 25 廠號中，竟發生了 164 案，平均每家 4 案。最多的爲和興烟公司凡 11 案，幾乎每月一案，而罷工案件，尙不在內。除了幾個工人領袖的巧妙操縱方法，根深蒂固地散布於幾個廠家以外，工人的盲從和資方管理的失當，皆足以使全廠渙散，而受其害者，仍在他們自身。根本上說：勞資兩方，都該把自己的事，放在自己的手中，他們正該小心提防那班爲一己之私而來控制他們切身利益的人。無論其爲資本主義，爲社會主義，凡假公濟私的人，都在打倒之列，勞資兩方，該站起來奮鬥的。現在國內並不是沒有公論，可是公論的勢力，還不是十分有力，可以裁制社會。在這樣一個過渡時代，公論是急當培養的，較之工業已經發展的國家，更該十二分加緊地去培養牠，而使牠蕃滋生長。

本編該謝交通部王仲武先生和南開大學經濟學院方顯庭博士的校閱全稿和核對數字。本局丁同力先生和周世述先生的耐心從事，費昌華先生的翻譯英文，其他調查和計算人員的努力，都應感謝。

二十年四月

蔡正雅

The manuscript of the present publication had been on press last year. Owing to its bulky contents, it was only half-way finished at the Commercial Press when the outbreak of January 28 occurred. Our only copy of the final draft suffered the same fate as that of the Press building. It took months' time for us to check up the cases, to draw up a new index of the case numbers, to keep busy our copyist with the decisions of the Arbitration and Conciliation Boards, and, also, to transform the monthly reports into a table of cases, which we deem an aid to the readers in following up the proceeding of the disputes. Finally the new manuscript was ready and here we are. It was not with little regret, besides that this report on Industrial Disputes has been behind its due course of publication, that a preface which Dr. P. W. Kuo had written for us has to disappear from the publication owing to our failure to provide a duplicate copy of the same.

SHANGHAI, JUNE, 1932.

T. Y. TSHA.

PUBLICATIONS
OF
THE BUREAU OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS
CITY GOVERNMENT OF GREATER SHANGHAI
ON
LABOR STATISTICS

1928

Annual Report on Labor Strikes in Greater Shanghai.

Report on Industrial Disputes in Greater Shanghai.

The Index Numbers of Earnings of the Factory Laborers in Greater Shanghai.

The above publications are obtainable at the Dah Tung Book Company, Foochow Road, Shanghai, at \$1.20 per copy.

1929

Strikes and Lockouts, Greater Shanghai. Price \$3.50.

Industrial Disputes—Not Including Strikes and Lockouts—Greater Shanghai. Price \$5.00.

Wages and Hours of Labor, Greater Shanghai. Price \$5.00.

1930

Strikes and Lockouts, Greater Shanghai. Price \$4.00.

The above publications are obtainable at the Commercial Press, Limited, Honan Road, Shanghai.

Industrial Disputes—Not Including Strikes and Lockouts—Greater Shanghai. Price \$5.00.

1931

The Cost of Living Index Numbers of Laborers, Greater Shanghai. Price 2.50.

The Standard of Living of Laborers in Shanghai (In preparation).

Strikes and Lockouts, Greater Shanghai, 1918-1931 (In preparation).

Industrial Disputes—Not Including Strikes and Lockouts—Greater Shanghai, 1928-1931 (In preparation).

The above publications are obtainable at the Chung Hwa Book Company, Limited, Foochow Road, Shanghai.

In addition to the above, the Bureau has also translated the following books into Chinese:

Methods of Compiling Cost of living Index Numbers. Price \$0.40.

Methods of Compiling Unemployment Statistics. Price \$0.35.

Methods of Statistics of Collective Agreements. Price \$0.30.

Housing Situation in the United States. Price \$0.40.

Methods of Conducting Family Budget Enquiries.

The above publications can be obtained at the Commercial Press, Limited.

FOREWORD

As one who is given the opportunity of conducting field research and of studying actual labor problems in Shanghai, I feel it appropriate to give the reader an orientation in the field in order to help him to realize the significance of this investigation. This orientation I propose to give by presenting here, first, the general facts and figures of the recent labor situation, second, an explanation of the relation between the different phases of our investigations, and third, the salient features of the year and a word on the fundamental weakness of the present labor organization.

1. General data: According to the investigation conducted in 1928, there are in the twenty one leading industries in this city, a total of 2,326 factories and 285,700 workers, 29.67 per cent of this total are male workers, 60.71 per cent female, and 9.63 per cent child workers. Differentiated into time and piece workers, 58.4 per cent are of the former type and 41.6 per cent of the latter.

The average hourly rates of the factory workers are \$0.073 for males, \$0.044 for females, and \$0.034 for child workers, though the majority are earning lower rates. The 110,882 cotton spinning workers and the 51,376 silk reeling workers together make up more than 56 per cent of the working population in this city. In cotton spinning, the male, female, and child workers labor from 11 to 12 hours a day at \$0.065, \$0.047, and \$0.031 per hour respectively; and in silk reeling, they work 11 hours a day for \$0.061, \$0.049, and \$0.030 an hour. The average monthly income of an average sized family, containing 4.62 persons or 3.28 equivalent male adults, is found to be \$34.71. But the average working family spends the sum of \$37.86 per month. Of this amount, 53.2 per cent goes for food; the rest is distributed among clothing, rent, fuel, light, and miscellaneous items. The cost of living of laborers shows a big jump in the year 1930, for the index, assuming 1926 as 100, rose to 116.79 in 1930.

The last three years from 1928 to 1930 have been an eventful period in the labor kingdom. In 1928, 120 cases of strikes and lockouts occurred; 111 cases occurred in 1929; and 87 cases, in 1930. Thousands of establishments and hundreds of thousands of workers were involved in these cases. A majority of the cases are concentrated in four chief causes; namely wages, engagement or dismissal of workers, collective agreement, and treatment. These four categories constitute 67.50 per cent of the total number of cases in 1928, while in 1929 the percentage is 80.18, and in 1930, 80.45. The degree of concentration has been increasing each year. The trend of labor has been gradually from maddening agitation to comparative steadiness and tranquility. The year 1928 was a stormy one in

the industrial realm following the revolutionary and communistic upheavels. Since June 1928, it has been slowly subsiding.

The attempt to regulate the labor movement was manifested in the Labor Union Law promulgated in October 1929. It makes no provision for a general local federation, but allows only one union for workers of the same trade or industrial undertaking in each district. Besides this one, the National Government promulgated three other important statutes, the Factory Law the Law of Collective Agreement and the Law of Conciliation and Arbitration. Meanwhile, a number of regulations of a supplementary nature have been made by the City Government of Greater Shanghai.

2. Relation between different phases of investigation: The foregoing paragraphs give the briefest sketch of the remuneration of the laborers, their mode of living, and the amount of friction they encounter in eking out a living in this modern city of the East. It is along these lines that time and energy has been devoted in search of accurate information and reliable figures. We have made it our aim to give a comprehensive view such as will reveal a fair impression of the laborers in the different phases of their livelihood. But we shall not neglect the particular usages and modes in which their wages are paid, their livelihood maintained, and their conflicts involved and settled. Alongside with the inquiry of wage rates, actual earnings, and hours of labor in the various industries, we have started an investigation of the system of wage payments in various establishments. The study of the systems and methods of payment affords supplementary information as to the circumstance under which the workers are paid for their labor.

Our study of the cost and standard of living is based on a budgetary inquiry of 305 working families. The cost-of-living index numbers represent the change in the prices of commodities consumed by an average working family. A study of the constituents of the families, their incomes and expenditures, etc., is dealt with under the topic of standard of living. The former shows the changing cost over a span of years. The latter inquiries into the elements of the cost and gives a detailed scrutiny of the living conditions of the workers.

The statistics of labor unrest are likewise separately treated under strikes and lockouts and under industrial disputes. The discrimination here is made in view of the degrees of importance attached to the respective types of disputes. The statistics of strikes and lockouts confines itself to an analysis of the conflicts between employers and workers which result in cessation of work; while that of industrial disputes widens its scope to cover all the less violent, though not necessarily less significant, cases of

conflicts that do not lead to strikes and lockouts. It is from the latter reports, as a supplementary study of the former, that a complete account of the labor unrest in the city may be obtained. From the above statements the reader will see that the different phases of our investigations are supplementary to each other and no single report will give him complete information on the labor situation as a whole.

3. Features of the year: The present report on industrial disputes falls under the last named category in the preceding section. It contains an analysis of the 376 cases of disputes occurring in 1930, and a comparative study of the same with those of the previous year. One or two things might be singled out as outstanding features of the year. First, as a result of the business depression, a great number of cases of demands for reduction of wages have been submitted by the managements of many establishments. Among the 43 cases of disputes over wages, 14 were of this nature. Three of these cases, one submitted by the Silk Weaving Employers' Association and two by the Silk Filature Employers' Association, were of very significant bearing, affecting the entire industries concerned and lasting from 20 to 160 days. It must be remembered that it is a period of rising cost of living and of depression of business activities with which we are dealing. The existence of such phenomenon has led to opposing demands by the employers and the workers, one to save their business by cutting down labor cost and the other to keep up their livelihood by raising their incomes. It is a question of life or death for both, and neither is less stubborn than the other. However, the way out should not be the cutting of each other's throat but a cooperative effort to revivify the tottering enterprises.

Secondly, the repeated occurrence of disputes in certain establishments gives a pessimistic impression of the industrial development in this city. As many as 104 cases of disputes occurred in 25 establishments, averaging more than 4 cases in each establishment. The largest number of occurrence was the 11 cases in the Ho Shing Tobacco Company, almost a case a month without counting the cases of strikes encountered by this unfortunate establishment. Besides the clever manipulation of some professional labor leaders, who have struck their root into many an establishment, both the blind agitation of the workers and the inefficient management of the employers are to blame. It was their unwise action that led to the success of the manipulators, and it was they themselves who sustained the loss and sufferings. Fundamentally the employers and the employed must take the matter into their own hands. They must guard against having their own interests fall into the control of a few who work for their private gains. Whether in a capitalistic or in a socialistic order of things, those who manage things for selfish aims must be got rid off,

and to eliminate them both the workers and the employers must strongly assert their own sentiments. Undoubtedly public opinion exists, but its expression is either lacking or manipulated. In her present period of transition, the act of social control is a prime requisite in China, even more so than in the industrially better developed nations.

For the present publication deep gratitude is due to Mr. C. W. Wong of the Ministry of Communications, Nanking, and Dr. H. D. Fong of the Nankai Institute of Economics, Nankai University, Tientsin, who kindly read over the manuscripts, checked over the figures, and suggested valuable improvements and corrections. Among the members of our staff, mention must be made of Mr. D. L. Ting and Mr. S. Z. Chow who rendered most patient and faithful service in connection with the work, of Mr. C. H. Fei who made a correct translation of the original, and of other staff members, who directly or indirectly helped in the gathering of data and compilation of results.

T. Y. TSHA.

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