

# 中国劳工通讯 2019 年度回顾

## 2019: The year in review

The labour news and the most notable issues from  
China Labour Bulletin



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## Gone for 100 days:

### Three labour activists “disappeared” in China

27/06/2019

Friday 28 June marks the 100th day since labour activists Wei Zhili and Ke Chengbing were detained by the authorities in Guangzhou. Along with their colleague Yang Zhengjun who was detained earlier, they are being held under “residential surveillance at a designated location” (指定居所监视居住) with no contact with their families or legal representatives.

The three men worked at iLabour, an independent news and advocacy platform established in 2013 to “promote economic democracy, safeguard labour rights, and build a just society.” Prior to their arrest, the iLabour journalists were actively involved in the long-standing struggle of a group of migrant workers from Hunan who were demanding compensation for their occupational disease, pneumoconiosis, contracted while employed on the construction sites of Shenzhen.

iLabour began supporting the Hunan workers’ struggle early in 2018, providing them with legal advice and posting regular updates of their petitioning activities in Shenzhen. The focus of the iLabour posts was the workers’ rights to health, a dignified life and freedom of assembly.

On 8 January, however, one day after around 50 petitioners were forcibly sent back to Hunan, iLabour chief-editor, Yang Zhengjun, was arrested in Guangzhou. Police told him that he was being held in connection with the Hunan workers’ protests. Two months later, Wei Zhili and Ke Chengbing, who had continued to help the Hunan workers, were arrested as well.

When the Hunan workers heard of Wei and Ke’s arrest, many of them attempted to visit Shenzhen to lobby on their behalf. However, they were intercepted at the local train station.

“We were all devastated when we heard the news,” said worker representative Gu Fuxiang. “They always stressed the importance of respecting the law, in fact Wei Zhili told us many times that in our struggle for justice, we should use the law to our advantage.”

## 01 Labour Activists and their 2019

2019 is filled with continual news of labour activists who are cut off from their relatives and under detention. CLB has been publishing their stories all year round: some of them were actively involved in the long-standing struggle of a group of migrant workers; some were enraged by witnessing discrimination gone unpunished ..... To “promote economic democracy, safeguard labour rights, and build a just society” is what three “disappeared” labour activists of iLabour advocate. As a brand-new year and decade come close, we hope that we will be able to move close to “a just society” that they are fighting for.

The iLabour Three are all charged with “picking quarrels and provoking trouble” (寻衅滋事), a catch-all charge commonly used by the authorities for several years now to detain civil society activists. “Residential surveillance at a designated location” (RSDL), likewise is regularly used by the authorities to crackdown on dissent. Amnesty International defines RSDL as:

A form of secret incommunicado detention that allowed the police to hold individuals for up to six months outside the formal detention system, without access to legal counsel of their choice, their families or others, and placed suspects at risk of torture and other ill-treatment.

Yang Zhengjun After Yang Zhengjun’s arrest on 8 January, he was initially taken to the Shenzhen No. 2 Detention Centre. He was then transferred to RSDL on 6 February. As of today, Yang has been held for more than five months. His lawyer made four requests to see him and all were refused. The police claim that Yang has written a statement that terminates the appointment of the lawyer hired by his family but this alleged statement has never been shown to his family.

Ke Chengbing was transferred to RSDL, one month after his initial detention, on 20 April. His family were harassed and threatened, and eventually they reluctantly agreed to terminate his lawyer’s appointment.

After publicising his arrest and disappearance on social media, Wei Zhili’s wife, the feminist activist Zheng Churan, was forced to leave her home in Guangzhou. Others who had spoken out in support of Wei were harassed or threatened by the police and some were reportedly beaten. All requests by Wei’s lawyer to meet him since his transfer to RSDL on 20 April have been refused. Wei had stated categorically before his arrest that he would never terminate the appointment of his lawyer but in mid-May, his parents were shown a note apparently in Wei’s handwriting rejecting the lawyer his family had appointed for him.

Zheng Churan’s campaign to free Wei Zhili is documented in the following RTHK program which aired this week. The program, in Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese, also features Xiao Hongxia, the ex-wife of another well-known labour activist, Zhang Zhiru who was detained in January and later charged with gathering a crowd to disturb public order (聚众扰乱社会秩序罪). Zhang is still in detention in Shenzhen.

## 三名中国劳工活动人士“消失”100 天

28/06/2019

### 01 中国劳工活动人士和他们的 2019

从年头到年尾，时常传来的，是又有活动人士被消失、被逮捕的消息。2019 年的中国劳动通讯里，有他们的故事：他们中有人为农民工长年奔走维权，也有人致力于减少职场歧视……

“推动经济民主，维护劳动价值，建设公义社会”是三位被捕的劳工自媒体编辑一直所呼吁的。当下一个十年向我们靠近，我们是否也能在新的一年里……

6 月 28 日是劳工活动人士危志立、柯成兵在广州被捕的第 100 天。加上他们早前被捕的同事杨郑君，三人目前被指定居所监视居住，无法与家人或法律代表联络。

这三人都是劳工自媒体新生代的编辑。新生代成立于 2013 年，致力于“推动经济民主，维护劳动价值，建设公义社会”。被捕前，新生代编辑们积极支持湖南尘肺病工人的维权行动。这些工人因早年在深圳建筑工地打工而患尘肺病，他们长年奔走维权，要求获得职业病赔偿。

自 2018 年初，新生代开始关注湖南尘肺工人的抗争，为工人提供法律建议，定期发布工人在深圳维权的最新消息。新生代主要聚焦于工人的职业健康权利、有尊严的生活以及集会自由。

然而，2019 年 1 月 8 日，约 50 名上访工人被强制送返湖南的后一天，新生代主编杨郑君在广州被捕。警方称，他的被捕与湖南尘肺工人的抗争有关。两个月后，仍坚持支援湖南尘肺工人的危志立与柯成兵亦被捕。

得知他们被捕的消息后，许多湖南工人试图到深圳进行声援，但在当地火车站被拦截而未能成行。

“听到这个消息的时候，我们都哭了，”工人代表谷伏祥说，“他们总是强调尊重法律的重要性，实际上小危（危志立）总是告诉我们，要依法维权，进行合理合法的维权。”

三位新生代编辑被控涉嫌“寻衅滋事”，这是当局多年来抓捕社会活动人士的口袋罪。类似地，当局常以“指定居所监视居住”打击不同政见者。国际特赦组织将“指定居所监视居住”定义为：

它是一种秘密监禁方式。在正式拘留系统之外，警方最长可拘留个人至六个月；嫌疑人无法选择其法律顾问，也无法联络亲友，这使嫌疑人面临遭受酷刑和其他虐待的风险。



1月8日被捕后，杨郑君最初被拘留于深圳第二看守所，后于2月6日被转至指定居所监视居住。杨郑君至今已被关押超过5个月。他的律师四次申请会见均遭拒绝。警方表示，杨郑君已作书面声明，要求解除与其家人指定律师的代理关系。然而杨的家人表示，他们从未见过这份声明。

4月20日，柯成兵亦于被捕一个月后被转至指定居所监视居住。他的家人遭到骚扰与威胁，最终被迫解除与律师的代理关系。

在社交媒体上发表有关危志立的文章后，他的妻子、女权活动家郑楚然被迫搬离广州。一些危志立的声援者也受到警方骚扰，报道称有人因此遭到殴打。自4月20日被转入指定居所监视居住以来，律师的会见申请全

部遭拒。被捕前，危志立曾明确表示，他绝不会解除与律师的代理关系。但在5月中旬，他的父母见到一张明显属于危志立笔迹的纸条，表明拒绝父母为他指定的律师。

本周香港电台的节目《活在被消失的恐惧中》记录了郑楚然为释放危志立而奔走活动。这期节目以粤语和普通话播出，也记录了肖红霞的故事。肖红霞是另一知名劳工活动人士张治儒的前妻。张治儒于今年1月被捕，被控涉嫌“聚众扰乱社会秩序”，至今仍被羁押于深圳。

## 02 The Poorly-regulated Construction Industry and its Way Out

Contrary to many expectations, China's most hazardous jobs are not in coal mining but rather in the poorly-regulated construction industry. The construction industry accounts for more than a third of all the incidents recorded on the Work Accident Map and these incidents most commonly involve some kind of structural or mechanical failure or workers falling from a height.

Before the Chinese Spring Festival, CLB gave an overview of the construction industry: *Understanding and resolving the fundamental problems in China's construction industry*, in which we emphasised that China can no longer rely on legislative changes and administrative fiat to protect workers, and that only a strong trade union presence on construction sites can actually guarantee workers a decent wage and safe working conditions.

## Understanding and resolving the fundamental problems in China's construction industry

18/03/2019

In CLB's research report *建筑行业工会归位: 我国建筑行业 40 年之“法外运行”及其出路*, published in January 2019, we analysed the deeply ingrained and systemic problems affecting workers in China's construction industry and suggested a way forward in the future.

In this English-language summary, we highlight some of the key extracts from the report that contextualize the development of the industry over the last four decades and reveal why construction workers are more likely than any other group to suffer from violations of basic labour rights, such as the non-payment of wages, and are more likely than workers in other professions to be involved in a workplace accident. In conclusion, we argue that China can no longer rely on legislative changes and administrative fiat to protect workers, and that only a strong trade union presence on construction sites can actually guarantee workers a decent wage and safe working conditions.

For this situation to change, the union must first eschew its traditional role as a neutral mediator and facilitator between labour, management and government, and reclaim its identity as the sole representative of the interests of the construction workers, and become one of the central actors in the development of labour relations in China. The union must stop being a rights advocate that only provides legal assistance after workers' rights have been violated, and focus on

organizing and representing workers in collective bargaining with construction industry federations.

Please see the English-language summary in [Full Text](#) and the [original Chinese text](#) for citations and detailed case studies.

# 中国建筑工人需要建筑行业工会

22/01/2019

中国工人集体行动地图显示，2018 年建筑工人的集体行动在所有工人抗议活动中占最大比例（45%），而几乎所有的建筑工人抗争都与追讨欠薪相关。

同时，根据中国安全事故地图统计，2018 年建筑工人也是各行业工人中，遭遇安全事故的最大群体（占比 26%）。这一统计结果与应急管理部通报的数据相符。该部门指出，自 2009 年起建筑业事故起数开始超过煤矿，已连续 9 年为工矿商贸事故最多行业，主要事故类型为高处坠落和坍塌。如果采取适当的安全程序，这些事故本可以避免。

改革开放四十年来，中国的建筑工人被系统地剥夺了基本劳工权利（按时足额获得劳动报酬、签订劳动合同、参加社会保险）。且正如应急管理部指出的那样，在建筑业混乱的分包转包系统中，在缺乏适当培训和安全设备的条件下，建筑工人的职业健康和安全往往难以保障。

许多观察者将这一情况归咎于执法不到位、剥削的老板和漠不关心的政府官员，甚至归咎于工人自身不了解自己的权利，然而截至目前，还没有人提出一个可行的解决办法或找到有效出路。

今日，中国劳工通讯发布了一份关于建筑行业的中文报告——《建筑行业工会归位：我国建筑行业 40 年之“法外运行”及其出路》，将为解决建筑行业根深蒂固的问题提供新的视角。报告认为，最好的办法是从工会开始，让建筑行业工人工会回归到建筑工人的利益代表者，回归到建筑工人的组织者，回归到代表建筑工人与建筑企业协会集体谈判的谈判者。

报告提议，工会应走出办公大楼，走进建筑工地现场，把建筑工人组织到工会中来，从而使建筑行业工会在一线建筑工人当中具有充分的代表性。应该推动建筑行业工人工会与建筑企业协会，通过集体谈判，达成建筑行业年度集体协议，实现按年调整业内不同工种的工资标准，规范工资支付方法和日期，确定工伤保险、养老保险、失业保险、医疗保险等的缴费方法以及缴费额度。

## 02 建筑行业 40 年之“法外运行”及其出路

在大众的想象里，煤矿是中国最危险的行业，但实际上，在管理不规范的建筑行业，安全事故更加频繁。在中国安全事故地图上，有 1/3 的事故发生在建筑行业，大部分和工程坍塌或工人从高处坠落有关。

2019 年年初，中国劳工通讯纵览建筑行业，发布了《建筑行业工会归位：我国建筑行业 40 年之“法外运行”及其出路》，指出对于侵害建筑工人权利的行为能够事后追责，更可以做到事前预防，并抛出应从“建筑行业工人工会”和“建筑企业协会”入手的建议。

以建筑行业年度集体协议所约定的方式，每名建筑工人在进入工地前，便缴付了各种保险，从而最大程度避免雇主故意或无意违法；建筑企业可以以符合建筑行业特点的支付周期，向不同工期的建筑工人支付工资，从而最大程度避免发生欠薪；一线建筑工地上的建筑工人们，将能够在工作现场直接参与安全生产和职业健康的监督和维护。

2018年10月29日，习近平对中华全国总工会新一届领导班子集体讲话，要求“哪里的职工合法权益受到侵害，哪里的工会就要站出来说话”。报告认为，中华全国总工会应该从建筑行业入手，从建筑行业工人工会做起，积极探索从被动维权向主动协调和谈判转型的路径。

本报告首先描述了建筑行业的基本状况，其后分析了建筑行业的分包制度，以及建筑工人的权利保障状况，并以案例说明了建筑行业“法外运行”对普通工人的影响。最后，报告呼吁，通过建筑行业工人工会的归位，逐渐解决建筑工人被拖欠工资、没有劳动合同、没有社会保险、安全生产和职业健康保障不足等问题。

随着春节来临，又到了建筑工人讨薪的季节。报告建议，应以建筑行业工会归位为起点，走出解决建筑行业沉痾顽疾的新出路。（《建筑行业工会归位：我国建筑行业40年之“法外运行”及其出路》报告[在此下载](#)。）

## 建筑行业工会归位

——我国建筑行业40年之“法外运行”及其出路



韩东方  
(www.clb.org.hk)

2019年1月

## China's minor league football players take collective action over wage arrears

18/09/2019

Following their 2-0 victory over the Qingdao Red Lions last weekend, nine players from Jilin Baijia walked back on to the pitch to display a banner calling for the payment of wages in arrears and their promised bonus. Photo below from social media.

It was the sixth time that players from teams in China's troubled League 2 (中国足球协会乙级联赛) had staged collective protests over wage arrears just this year.

Prior to their game on 7 September, several players from Nanjing Shaye staged a protest claiming that they had only been paid about three month's wages so far this year. Like many other teams in the league, Nanjing Shiye is struggling financially and is looking for new investors.

Other teams are in an even more precarious situation. Dalian Chanjoy, for example, reportedly has less than 50 yuan in its bank accounts and owes its players around seven million yuan. The players took collective action on 5 June this year to demand payment of five months' wages.

The players at Ningxia Fiery Phoenix have staged two collective protests so far this year in May and August. Wage arrears at the club reportedly total about 15 million yuan. However, unlike players at many other teams who are looking for transfer opportunities, the Ningxia players say they are determined to stay at the club and put on good performance in the hope of attracting new investors. The players fear that if the club goes bankrupt, they will not get a cent. The team, also known as Yinchuan Helanshan, is currently placed fifth in League 2's northern division.

In January this year, just before the Lunar New Year when millions of construction workers traditionally demand payment of wage arrears, players from Hainan FC, owned by real estate developer, R&F Group, staged a protest demanding payment of 5.5 million yuan in wage arrears.

### 03 Football Players Staged Wage Arrears Protests

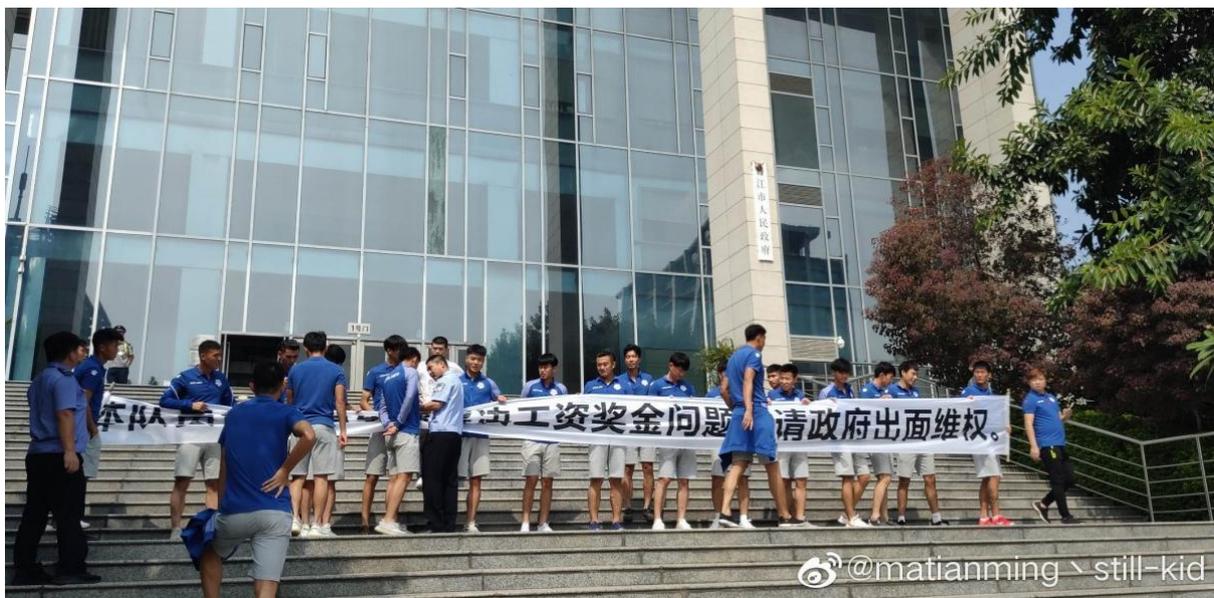
Standing in a line on the pitch with team uniform -- this is not a competition but a group of young players who displayed a banner calling for the payment of wages in arrears and their promised bonus. According to CLB Strike Map, there are 7 cases that players from teams in China's troubled League 2 had staged collective protests over wage arrears just this year.

As the Chinese economy slows further, it seems less and less likely that domestic companies will be willing to invest in loss-making League 2 teams.

One team member, Li Changliang, who joined Haikou FC last year, compared the players to migrant construction workers who had been cheated out their wages by a labour contractor and were now desperate to get paid before the holidays.

There are 32 teams in the League 2 (China's third-tier league) and many of them are in financial difficulty. The league lacks the glamour and international stars of the Super League and teams regularly play in virtually empty stadiums and struggle to attract sponsorship and television broadcast royalties. There have also been examples of match-fixing, which have further tarnished the league's reputation.

Wage arrears is a long-standing problem in the league and despite threats by the Chinese Football Association to disqualify teams that don't pay their staff, there is little sign that the situation is improving. Indeed, as the Chinese economy slows further, it seems less and less likely that domestic companies will be willing to invest in loss-making League 2 teams.



See [CLB's Strike Map](#) for more details of the collective action taken by China's professional footballers.

### 03 一年零工资的中乙球员

身着队服、一字排开于球场上——照片所记录的并非一场球赛，而是拉着横幅、要求俱乐部解决工资和奖金问题的青年球员们。2019年，#中国工人集体行动地图 共记录了七间爆出拖欠工资的#中乙球队。

随着中国经济增长下行，盈利能力有限的企业能否继续支撑二、三线球会已成为问题。收入水平贴近中产的球员，也将随着经济发展的波动而面临#欠薪、#失业等问题。

## 一年零工资仍坚持完成赛季：敬业的中乙足球队终于群起维权

05/11/2019

10月中，中乙两间球队福建天信和湖南湘涛相继爆出拖欠工资，几十名年青球员拉着横幅要求俱乐部解决工资和奖金问题，请政府出面解决。这已经是今年第六和第七间爆出拖欠工资的中乙球队了，究竟是什么原因令这些球员不得不抛下足球训练去讨薪呢？中国锐意发展的足球产业为何最后却使球员落得集体维权的下场？

### 球员被俱乐部和政府一再欺骗

据福建天信球员在微博透露，他们被俱乐部拖欠工资的事情已经持续6个月了。10月11日，数十名球员来到晋江市人民政府门前，拉起横幅抗议企业拖欠工资。球员说：“沈文策（福建天信投资老板）

联合晋江市体育局、晋江市政府欺骗球员！和我们球员说晋江文旅接手球队，其实压根没有这样的事。在这六个月中我们球员没有闹过任何事情而且也打出这样的成绩，试想一下一个普通人六个月没有任何收入会过的怎么样？我们也是距离联赛已经临近结束，实在走投无路才出此下策！我们寻求政府的帮助无人接待，甚至要撵走我们！”

福州天信的球员说得一点也不错。翻查一下赛果，即使被拖欠工资6个月，球队在中乙联赛南区最后仍排在16队中的第7名，成绩算是不错了，可见球员对企业 and 球迷也是仁至义尽。当天晚上，俱乐部跟他们开会，承诺政府领导已经找了老板沈文策，政府会提前支出500-700万资金用来发放球员拖欠的工资奖金，条件是球员要删除微博。球员们为了生计也只好就范。

不过，政府和俱乐部拟出这项说法乃是因为当时赛程还没完结，希望球员能继续完成赛事。结果，10月14日，敬业的球员完成了赛季最后一场比赛，更击败了对手。但翌日当球员找市长、副市长沟通开会解决欠薪问题时，出现的却只是体育局局长！甚至将之前的承诺全部否认了，所有球员教练员于是坐在晋江市政府大门口，要求解决问题。

### 一年零工资 为延续俱乐部历史留下来

另外一队爆出拖欠工资的球队湖南湘涛的情况则更为严峻。10月21日，三十名湖南湘涛一线队队员及工作人员来到股东科力远新能源股份有限公司的门前抗议，要求俱乐部对欠薪一事给说法。

原来，从去年 10 月至今，湖南湘涛俱乐部便没有发放工资和奖金，导致大部分主力都离队了，球队遇到前所未有的运营危机，险些便使 13 年历史的俱乐部解散。不过，仍有一班球员留了下来，他们说：“出于对湖南足球的热爱和对湖南球迷的感情，在俱乐部确定参加 2019 赛季中乙联赛后，我们选择了坚守。在球队流失大部分主力的情况下，我们仍然完成成为湖南足球保住职业联赛参赛资格的目标。”

不过即使员工含辛茹苦地完成了整个赛季，回基地训练了一周等待领导的消息，却没有高层露面。球员到总部拉横幅也没人理会。球员指科力远新能源股份有限公司共拖欠湘涛全体队员、教练组成员奖金 290 万、工资约 1710 万，总计约 2000 万左右。



## 足球事业资本化 球员待遇受企业条件主宰

2019 年赛季的中乙球队里，湖南湘涛、福建天信、吉林百嘉、南京沙叶、宁夏火凤凰、云南昆陆、大连千兆均先后被曝出球队欠薪，球员集体讨薪。中乙联赛的运营问题引起了大众的热议。

长期研究足球历史的大卫·哥德布拉特（David Goldblatt）在《足球是圆的：一部关于足球狂热与帝国强权的全球文化史》一书里提到，由 1992 年邓小平南巡讲话宣布“改革就是硬道理”，将放眼于创造一个资本主义式的工业经济后，足球也乘上了变革的浪潮：

“顶尖球会断绝与军队、铁路局等旧国营机构残余的纽带关系，改与地方政府和地方企业打造新商业同盟。球会合法改组为企业，掌控门票收入、广告、赞助和电视转播权利金。中国足总的收入在十年内增长五倍，球会预算快速倍增，顶级联赛的球员薪资一度与中产阶级公务员相差无几，但至一九九八年已经比公务员高出二十倍。”

中国足球事业的资本化除了使黑哨、外围赌博等问题更为严重，球员的待遇也日益跟企业的市场竞争扯上关系。球会要得以生存，首先得看背后企业的财政能力，其次便由门票、广告费等一系列收益决定。结果，不同层级的球员处境差异愈发悬殊。一方面，中超球队由地产商入主，再通过上市实现进一步资本化得到更大笔的资金，从而支付高额年薪和吸纳外籍球员；另一方面，中乙球队的东家则在市场经济中匍匐前进，在自身企业难补的情况下弃俱乐部的球员不顾。

## 经济下行 造就由中产下流的球员

以拖欠工资一年的湖南湘涛为为例，熟悉中国足球发展的评论员指出，科力远集团总资产负债 32.24 亿，负债率 49.71%，其中流动负债占比 48.48%；上半年，科力远总营收近 8 亿，但实际亏损超过 1.6 亿。事实上，这家新能源企业高度依赖地方政府的补贴以度日。

随着中国经济增长下行，盈利能力有限的企业能否继续支撑二、三线球会也是一个问题。要在自身企业外开辟一项完全不同的业务并不简单，尤其是即使乙级联赛球员的薪金也跟城市中产相近。网上评论便指：“福建天信的球员们半年的薪资是 600 万元，全队上下薪资开支是 1200 万元，还不包括教练领队后勤人员的薪资。如果加上比赛交通食宿费用、训练比赛场地费用以及杂项费用，确实一年没有 2500 万至 3000 万元，无法经营一支像福建天信这样的中乙队，而一支中乙队一年的赞助投入可以说完全的杯水车薪。”

中国乙级联赛足球队的前景实在令人担忧。收入水平贴近中产的他们，也将随着经济发展的波动而面临欠薪、失业等问题。今天还可能有相对优渥的生活，明天难保便要联合起来夺回应得的工资。不过，这群敬业的足球队还有一大班愿意支持他们的球迷。在企业运营有问题时，足球队和球迷会是时候为球会曾经奋斗过的历史团结争取更大的利益。

## Wuhan's good trade union official struggles to be heard

16/07/2019

In China Labour Bulletin's ongoing trade union reform and accountability program, focusing on recent strikes, we observe local trade unions through phone calls. In a case of Wuhan, we meet one of the few trade union officials in the construction industry who is willing to get his hands dirty and actually help workers resolve the issues most important to them.

In this case study from China Labour Bulletin's ongoing trade union reform and accountability program (工会改革观察与促进), we meet one of the few trade union officials in the construction industry who is willing to get his hands dirty and actually help workers resolve the issues most important to them.

**The Incident:** On 11 December 2018, a group of 24 construction workers in the central city of Wuhan staged a protest demanding the payment of wages in arrears amounting to 490,000 yuan. They had been hired by a labour contractor, Xiao Chen, who had in turn signed a contract with a labour agency to provide plumbing and electrical workers for a construction project in the city. None of the workers hired had signed an individual employment contract with either Xiao Chen or the labour agency. The workers ended up doing more work than stipulated in the original service contract and demanded additional payment. However, Xiao Chen argued that he could not pay the workers because he had not been paid himself. He then disappeared until the story came to light in the local media. Xiao Chen and the workers went to the construction project office where local labour inspectors mediated between Xiao Chen and the labour agency. Eventually the construction company agreed to pay the 24 workers all the money they were owed.

**The response:** In January this year, China Labour Bulletin contacted the local Hongshan District Trade Union and the local construction sector trade union to follow up on this case. None of the local trade union officials had heard of this wage arrears case despite the fact that it had been widely reported by the media and subsequently resolved by the local labour inspectorate. None of the workers involved had approached the union and the labour department had not notified the union of the case. An officer from the district union explained:

Wage arrears are the responsibility of the labour department; you have to go there for help. The labour inspectorate is part of the labour department, they have the executive power. The trade union does not have any executive power, we can only negotiate... Very often, when migrant workers come to us, they can't even provide the contact information of their employers, and so we can't help them. As a result, they go to the labour department for help instead.

Back in 2016, the construction sector trade union in Wuhan was praised by the Workers Daily for its outstanding efforts in establishing a sectoral wage negotiation system in the construction industry. The report noted that in 2011, the union had initiated collective wage negotiations in each district. After five years, the construction sector trade union had succeeded in signing collective contracts

and establishing a collective wage negotiation system between all employers and employees in the construction industry across the city.

However, none of the 24 workers in the Hongshan wage arrears case had signed any kind of employment contract, suggesting that the Workers Daily report may have been exaggerated or that the collective contract and wage negotiation system only existed on paper.

When we interviewed the soon-to-retire chairman of the Hongshan District Construction Sector Trade Union, Lu Dejun, who was one of those complimented by the Workers Daily report, he had no hesitation in discussing the problems with Wuhan' so-called collective wage negotiation system.

First, he said, the union did not really have the authority or the power to bring big construction companies to the negotiating table, it was only the government's construction bureau that could force the enterprises to talk.

There is a government department in charge of the whole industry, it is quite powerful and it can pressure the construction enterprises... if it were not for their help, we would not be able to negotiate, the employers would just ignore us.

Asked if the collective power of trade union members and ordinary workers would be sufficient to bring employers to the negotiating table, Chairman Lu said:

Hardly. To be honest, in China we have our own special characteristics. Despite the national union and the central government demanding that we eliminate bureaucratic tendencies, we have to face these characteristics, that we cannot do our job well without relying on our bureaucratic resources. It is just the reality.

But even with government support, the trade union still struggles to get anything done. Chairman Lu remembered that once when he tried to bargain for a wage increase for workers, he wanted to convince the construction companies with hard evidence, so he went to the district's construction sites and personally investigated the workers' pay and conditions. Incidentally, he is one of the few trade union officials that we are aware of who has undertaken this kind of empirical study and acted on it.

His efforts resulted in construction workers getting an average 200 yuan increase in the minimum wage, with an additional increase of at least ten percent every Lunar New Year. However, Chairman Lu downplayed his own achievements. "The minimum wage is not the main problem in the construction industry," he said. It was not the workers' primary concern:

In the construction industry, the negotiated minimum wage is well below the actual wage. Because the ordinary wage has been raised, workers earned more than the statutory minimum. Construction workers can earn at least around 300 yuan per day (while the monthly minimum wage is about 2,000 yuan). This industry is not an easy place to work. Construction workers have to endure long hours in all kinds of weather and a lot of different work hazards.

Chairman Lu tried to raise this issue with his superiors but they insisted that collective negotiations in the construction industry should only focus on the minimum wage. After listening to the workers however, Chairman Lu was able to identify their three main concerns as, “wage arrears, work safety, and getting ill without medical insurance.” These are of course the areas the trade union should be concerned about.

Chairman Lu agreed with many of our suggestions for developing a genuine sectoral trade union but he also stressed that, “to turn these good thoughts into reality, we have to rely on the higher leaders.”

We were delighted to encounter such a thoughtful trade union official during our investigations but we are concerned that he is not being listened to, let alone having his ideas implemented. We hope that the Hubei provincial trade union can employ Chairman Lu as a consultant after his retirement and that the Wuhan municipal union can negotiate an additional collective agreement with the city’s construction sector enterprise association based on the three main concerns of construction workers in the city as identified by Chairman Lu.

For more details, please refer to the original Chinese language analysis of this case and the overall report on five cases in Hubei from the same month.

# 工会改革观察与促进第五期

## (2018年12月)

16/05/2019

为了了解“工会改革”的成效，中国劳工通讯自2018年起定期从工人集体行动地图中选取一组事件，并就此致电事件发生地总工会及相关企业工会。通过这些对话，将中国工会的实际状况予以呈现。

在与湖北省武汉市洪山区建筑业工联会的谈话中，我们很欣慰地看到工会主席鲁德军早在2009年就多次进入工地，实地了解工人的工资收入与实际生活开支，并据此跟行业协会展开行业集体谈判。但鲁主席这一早期的“超前”做法，应该未受到工会“领导”的重视，因此没有得到推广。鲁主席几次说道“实现零的突破”、“到工棚里面去”。鲁主席的工作经验和方法，在总工会系统算是稀有之物。

2015年11月，习近平亲自主持召开中央深改组第18次会议，通过了“全国总工会改革试点方案”。工会改革的重点有两方面，一是在工作作风上，要去除总工会“机关化、行政化、贵族化、娱乐化”的官僚气，即去“四化”；二是在身份上，要增强工会的“政治性、先进性、群众性”，即增“三性”。

三年半过去了，总工会改革的成效如何呢？

各地各级工会工作人员的官僚作风是否有所改善？工会工作人员的工人阶级感情是否有所提升？工会当中来自工人群众的干部是否有所增加？来自工人的工会干部是否仍然紧密的联系着工人群众？各级工会干部协调劳资关系的主动性及能力是否有所提升？

工会在主动协调劳资关系、避免劳资冲突方面是否有所建树？在已经发生的工人集体行动事件中，工会是否有效的扮演了工人利益代表者角色？工会的基层组织，尤其是企业工会组织是否趋于健全并脱离老板的控制？企业基层工会是否有能力代表工人与雇主进行集体谈判？

为回答上述问题，中国劳工通讯将从“工人集体行动地图”中，定期选取一组事件，并就此致电事件发生地总工会及相关企业工会。通过这些对话，将中国工会的实际状况呈现在工人、工会干部、工会工作人员和政府决策者面前。我们希望，一方面，鼓励各级工会领导和工作人员，走出工会“象牙塔”，主动进入到劳资关系中去，代表企业工人通过集体谈判争取和维护权益。另一方面，鼓励和引导各行各业的广大工人，走进各地工会这座并不神秘的“象牙塔”里，积极参与到工会改革中来。同时令政府决策者更加了解工会的重要性，及工会改革所需的空间。

简单说，我们希望防止这次工会改革，再次沦为假改革。

本期，我们从中国劳工通讯的“工人集体行动地图”中选取了湖北省。2018年12月，湖北省录得6起工人集体行动事件。此外，2019年1月湖北省鄂州市有1起工人事件。我们成功拨通了其中5个事件所在地总工会。

## 工人罢工了，工会在哪里？

工会改革去“四化”（即去除机关化、行政化、贵族化、娱乐化），所针对的是各级工会领导干部和工作人员的官僚作风和态度问题。换句话说，工会改革去“四化”，就是要提高各级工会日常工作的效率。

工会改革增“三性”（即增强政治性、先进性、群众性），所针对的是各级工会领导干部和工作人员对于工人阶级的阶级感情淡漠、不具备代表工人利益进行谈判的能力以及脱离工人群众等问题。换句话说，工会改革“增三性”，就是要使全体工会领导干部和工作人员，在政治上，必须全面接受社会主义核心价值观，具有工人阶级的阶级情感；在能力上，能够代表工人通过与企业雇主集体谈判争取和改善权益；在合法性上，各级工会领导干部既要从工人群众中来，又要永远不脱离工人群众。

湖北省五个工人罢工事件中，地方总工会“工会改革”的状况如何呢？

- [武汉保利上城项目部欠薪](#)
- [宜昌融公馆工地欠薪](#)
- [武汉娱加传媒女主播讨薪](#)
- [孝感广电职工讨薪](#)
- [鄂州中建三局欠薪](#)

## 湖北省工会改革

### 去除“四化”和增强“三性”

湖北省五个案例涉及的地方总工会在去除“四化”方面，均有不同程度的进展。

娱乐化：没有发现。

机关化、行政化、贵族化：大部分工会工作人员态度诚恳，虽然大部分地方的总工会对发生在自己身边的工人罢工维权事件不知情，但仍能明确表示工会愿意对工人提供帮助。各地工会从过去的不作为到目前愿意帮助工人维权，是一大进步。

政治性、先进性、群众性：

各级工会去“四化”，可以改善工会工作人员的效率，但却不能建立工会的身份。而工会的身份，则体现在工作人员的政治性（具有社会主义核心价值观、工人阶级情感）、群众性（来自工人群众，不脱离工人群众，永远把自己当成工人的一员）、先进性（有能力代表工人争取利益最大化）。

大部分地方工会工作人员的谈话中，仍然感受不到他们具有社会主义核心价值观。在工会的具体工作中，地方工会仍然远离劳资关系，企业工会仍然处于老板和管理层的控制之下。工会缺位，工人仍然只能以静坐、堵路、罢工等集体行动提出诉求。

值得一提的是，武汉市洪山区建筑行业工联会在增强政治性、先进性、群众性方面走在了全省工会的前列。



## 观察和印象

- 湖北省各级工会企业工会的组织工作，仍沿用依靠雇主建会、工人被入会的方法。
- 湖北省各地工会工作人员对工会工作的理解和落实，仍然停留在侵权事件发生后的维权层面。即使是发生侵权事件后，工会也只是坐等工人上门。
- 有些地方工会的工作人员将工会工作理解为“舆情”传递，而非维护工人权利、避免劳资矛盾升级的主体。
- 有些地方工会的工作人员仍将工会视为政府信访办的延伸，使工会失去了主动作为的动力和空间。
- 湖北省基层工会工作安排中主次颠倒，有些地方工会的工作人员被安排去送温暖，对发生在身边的劳资冲突却视而不见。

- “属地管理”似乎已经成了工会不作为的挡箭牌。
- 工会改革最需要的是来自基层的创新和尝试。但在湖北省，有些基层工会凡事“要问上级工会领导”，扼杀了来自基层工作人员的创新活力。

湖北省各级工会仍未做到代表工人与雇主或行业协会通过集体谈判保障工人权利。因此，在湖北省工人提出诉求的主要方式，仍然是静坐、堵路、罢工等集体行动。

值得称赞的是：

- 武汉市宜昌融公馆工地工人在被拖欠工资时，主动寻求工会的帮助；
- 孝感市广电职工讨薪中，企业工会有介入；
- 孝感市总工会帮扶中心在一些个案中代表工人与企业就欠缴社保进行交涉；
- 孝感市总工会成立了“出租车司机工会联合会”和“货车司机工会联合会”；
- 武汉市洪山区建筑业工会工联会鲁主席，依据现实状况提出建筑工人有三怕：一怕拖欠工资，二怕生病，三怕出工伤。也就是建筑工人最关心的是工资兑现、医疗和安全生产保障的问题。更为可贵的是，鲁主席能够就此直接向全总政研室处长表达不同意见。

## 对湖北省工会改革的建议

建议湖北省总工会：

- 1 在全省范围内放弃雇主同意才建会工会的做法。尤其是在建筑行业，应该直接组织建筑工人个人入会，会籍全省联网。
- 2 要充分发挥基层工会工作人员的创新活力，使工会回归保护工人权利、避免劳资冲突的主体身份。
- 3 在全省建筑行业工会讨论洪山区建筑行业工会联合会鲁主席提出的建筑工人“三怕”（一怕拖欠工资，二怕生病，三怕出工伤），结合会员信息联网，推进建筑行业集体谈判。

建议湖北省各级政府部门：

- 1 当发生罢工后，应该鼓励工人寻求工会代表他们，通过协商解决问题。
- 2 警方在劳资冲突现场的角色是维持秩序，避免矛盾激化。拘捕被侵权的讨薪工人，既对工人起不到所谓的威慑作用，也使政府失去中立性。

建议湖北省工人：

建议各地各行业的工人们当权益受到侵害的时候，应该第一时间去找工会，要求工会代表工人并维护工人的权益。

## The shifting patterns of transport worker protests in China present a major challenge to the trade union

18/11/2019

Strikes and collective protests by transport workers have long been a feature of daily life in China's cities but in the last five years there has been a noticeable shift in the nature of these protests, driven primarily by the rapid growth of app-based transport services and the decline of traditional services such as taxis.

China Labour Bulletin's Strike Map has recorded nearly 1,400 transport worker protests in the five years between 2014 and 2019, accounting for about 15 percent of the total - see map below. From this dataset, we can clearly see the changes in the industries involved, the geographic location and the number of participants in each protest.

A proper understanding of these trends and the underlying issues giving rise to transport strikes is vital not only for China's government but also for the official trade union, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU), which claims it has now made recruitment and better protection of transport workers a major priority.

Taxi drivers were for many years at the core of transport worker protests in China, with some major strikes involving thousands of drivers and lasting several days. Probably the most famous strike occurred in the southwestern metropolis of Chongqing in 2008 when the then Municipal Party Secretary Bo Xilai personally met with taxi driver representatives to end a dispute that had crippled the city. In the Chongqing strike, as in just about every other dispute, driver grievances centred on the widely-used contract system (承包制), under which drivers paid a sizable deposit and monthly leasing fees (份儿钱) for the use of the vehicle to the taxi companies. The cab companies could arbitrarily raise the monthly fee, while the driver had to cover the costs of fuel, maintenance and repairs. When fees were raised or costs went up, drivers with no other channels to express their grievances would stage strikes in protest.

## 05 Where are Strikes by Transport Workers Driving to?

Strikes and collective protests by transport workers have long been a feature of daily life in China's cities but in the last five years there has been a noticeable shift in the nature of these protests, driven primarily by the rapid growth of app-based transport services and the decline of traditional services such as taxis.

China Labour Bulletin's Strike Map has recorded nearly 1,400 transport worker protests in the five years between 2014 and 2019, accounting for about 15 percent of the total. However, the trade union has been conspicuous by its absence -- local union officials have been either incapable or unwilling to recruit them.

The one noticeable exception to this trend of smaller-scale protests is the trucking industry which employs around 30 million drivers across the country. Drivers staged regular mass protests in the mid-2010s and also organized a nationwide strike as late as June 2018.

Taxi drivers had also long complained about competition from unlicensed “black” cabs but this complaint became even louder with the entry into the market of ride-app vehicles in the mid-2010s. Striking taxi drivers regularly went on “fishing expeditions” to catch and threaten illegally operating drivers. However, as ride-app drivers became more regulated and started to dominate the market, protests by taxi drivers began to decline from a peak of about 70 percent in 2015 to just 25 percent of the total so far this year.

The focus of many taxi driver protests nowadays is on claiming their operating rights and car ownership from the cab companies. In April 2019, for example, hundreds of taxi drivers went on strike in Nanxian, Hunan, when the management company forced them to upgrade their cars. Drivers were furious at having to pay 160,000 yuan to the company for a new car that retailed at 100,000 yuan, and demanded ownership rights following the upgrade.

Like in the taxi industry, the number of protests by bus drivers and crews has also been decreasing to the point where there was only one bus driver protest recorded this year. Bus company workers, similar to taxi drivers, had for many years been protesting high fuel prices, competition from unlicensed operators and incompetent local government regulators. In 2013, for example, around 100 drivers and conductors went out on strike in Guangdong, protesting low pay and excessive working hours with no overtime. Bus company employees also demanded the end of fines and arbitrary charges levied by management for everything from using too much fuel to replacing tyres. Since 2017 however, bus worker protests have focused more on defensive actions related to wage arrears and compensation following company closures and the cancellation of bus routes by local government regulators. It is possible that the lower number of strikes this year is a sign that the industry is now better regulated but it could also be due to a lack of coverage of protests on social media.

While taxi and bus driver protests were declining, there was a commensurate rise in the number of protests by food delivery and express delivery workers. There were no protests by food delivery drivers at all until 2016 but today they account for 33 percent of all transport worker protests, surpassing the proportion of taxi driver strikes by eight percentage points. One of the most common causes of strikes is a sudden and arbitrary pay cut imposed by the two main food delivery companies, Meituan and Ele.me, who are in a fierce battle for market dominance. With their income reduced, drivers are forced to work even longer hours and more intensely in order to cover their losses. As a result, traffic accidents are commonplace, as shown by CLB’s Work Accident Map, which has recorded 121 accidents, with 19 deaths since the beginning of 2018.

The express delivery sector is likewise highly competitive, with many companies failing or being forced to restructure after over-aggressive expansion plans failed to secure the market share expected. This often leaves drivers out of a job or facing severe losses. The bankruptcy of OTP express in October, for example, resulted in some drivers’ monthly salaries plunging from around 8,000 yuan to just 2,500 yuan a month. So far this year, protests by express delivery drivers have accounted for 25 percent of the total.

Strikes and protests by ride-app drivers have also become a common occurrence in the last few years and currently account for about 15 percent of all transport sector cases. Market saturation has led to drivers' orders falling to the point where they can no longer make a living. Malpractice is rife in the industry with drivers feeling cheated not only the ride-app companies but by car lease companies that promise drivers an operating permit in return for substantial administrative fees but then fail to deliver on that promise.

There is a noticeably different geographic pattern for protests by traditional transport workers like taxi and bus drivers and those by new industry workers like food delivery drivers. In the five years from 2014 to 2019, taxi driver protests were concentrated in less developed cities in provinces like Shandong, Henan, Shaanxi and Hunan. Many smaller cities in these provinces have been slow to adapt to the changing nature of the transport sector and taxi companies with influential ties to local governments can still maintain their monopolistic practices that exploit drivers.

Food delivery driver protests on the other hand are mostly found in more developed eastern cities in Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Shandong and especially Shanghai. Many office workers in these cities do not have time to leave their desks during work hours and have no option but to order takeout and this has created a huge demand for food delivery services. It has also put tremendous pressure on food delivery drivers to work harder and for longer hours.

In terms of protest scale, there has also been a clear drop-off in the number of participants in individual transport strikes over the last five years. Five years ago, it was not unusual to see mass protests by thousands of taxi drivers. Today however, the industry is much more fragmented and informal. As such, protests tend to be more localised and short-lived, generally involving less than 100 people. See graph below showing the increase in the proportion of small-scale protests.

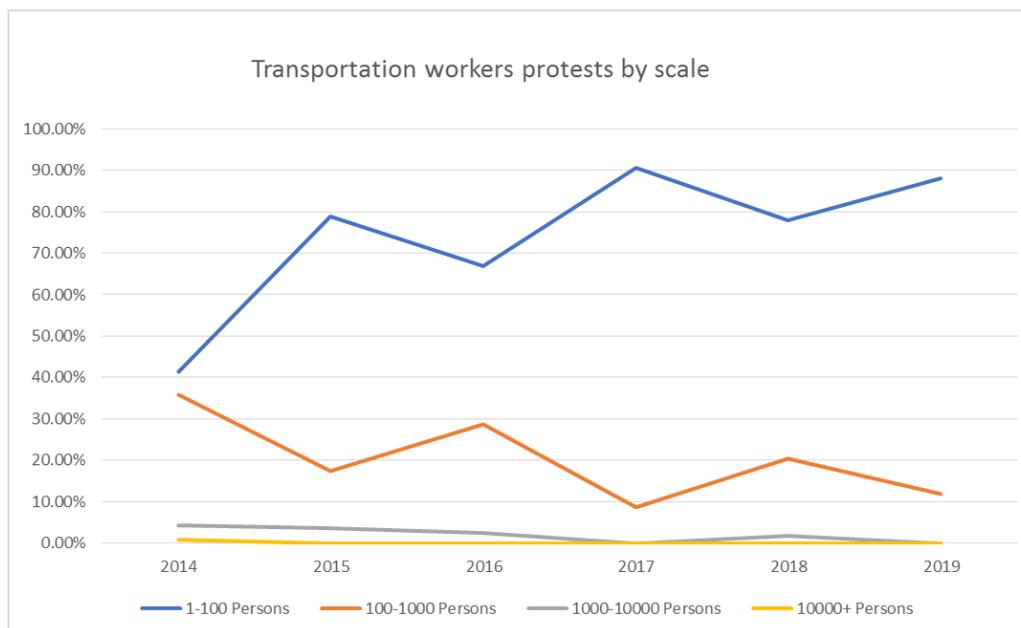
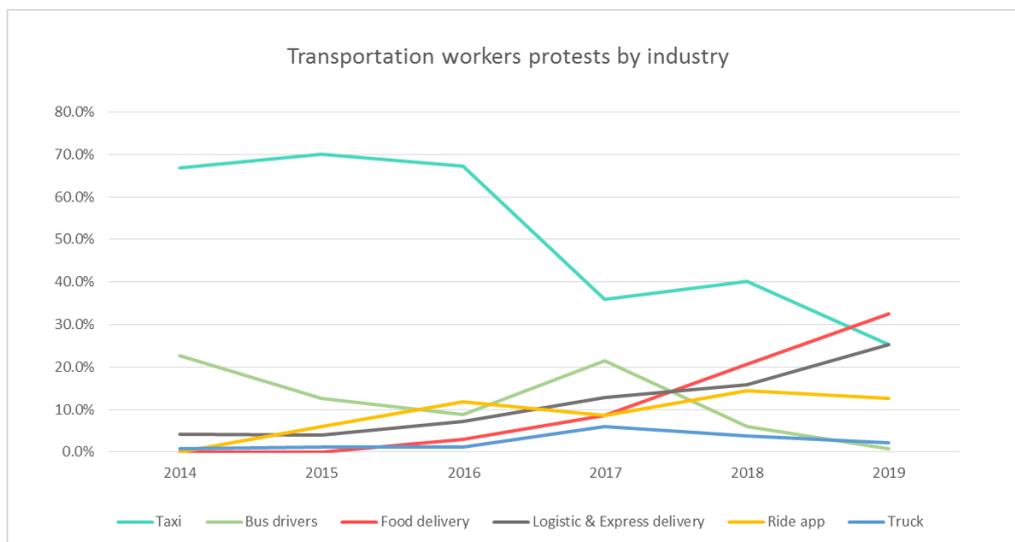
The one noticeable exception to this trend of smaller-scale protests is the trucking industry which employs around 30 million drivers across the country. Drivers staged regular mass protests in the mid-2010s and also organized a nationwide strike as late as June 2018. In this most recent protest, the truck drivers demanded higher haulage rates from the app-based companies that now dominate the market to compensate for higher fuel and maintenance costs as well as arbitrary fines imposed by local traffic police.

Through the last five years of transport worker protests in China, the trade union has been conspicuous by its absence. Transport workers have in fact been asking for union representation since the mid-2000s but local union officials have been either incapable or unwilling to recruit them. Many requests to set up taxi driver unions for example were rejected by local officials because they said the drivers were contractors and not technically employees of the cab company.

There were some attempts in the 2010s to reform the taxi industry and create an enterprise system where drivers were formal employees and therefore could form a union. But in most cases local

union officials still only negotiated with company managers rather than the drivers themselves when trying to set up a union. The only really successful taxi trade union that CLB is aware of was set up in 2008 in the suburban district of Changqing in Jinan, the provincial capital of Shandong. The union was democratically elected by the drivers and engaged in regular negotiations with the district transport authorities that successfully avoided strike action for many years. However, it seems this model was not widely replicated in other cities.

The trade union missed a golden opportunity to unionise taxi drivers in the 2000s and 2010s. It is imperative now that it does not make the same mistake in the 2020s and fail to organise China’s rapidly growing and essential labour force of food delivery workers, express delivery workers and ride-app drivers. The ACFTU has recognised the need to do a better job in organizing transport workers and ensuring that their rights are protected. Whether or not it has the ability or the political will to do so however is an open question.



## 跨地区卡车司机罢工一周年：原子化卡友如何组成互助网络？

06/06/2019

2018年6月8日，山东、四川、重庆、安徽等至少十个省市的卡车司机发起了一连串抗议。上百辆卡车停泊在路边形成长长的车龙，车上挂了“拒绝疲劳驾驶”、“抵制低价”等标语。司机的抗议内容一致，主要是运价过低、油价高企、交警路政随意罚款、疲劳驾驶以及货运平台“运满满”禁止其与客户私下沟通的新政策深感不满。

中国卡车司机通常自购车辆，以接货运货为生，是工作相对独立的职业群体，既不依赖生产装配流水线，也不需要太多工作搭档。司机们原本各自工作，竟然组织起跨越省份的大规模行动。这既暴露了卡车司机行业存在的劳动问题，也令人惊讶这一群体如何组织起互相支援的网络。究竟是什么让司机们组织起互相支援的网络？这些网络又如何发挥作用？去年出版的两本《中国卡车司机调查报告》（下称调查报告），为我们提供了不少答案。

### 自由的卡车司机：操控方向盘便能掌握生活吗？

网上媒体“卡车世界”的一篇文章，向我们展示了早年卡车司机的大众形象：在人口户籍制度极为严格的时期，卡车司机能够穿州过省，见识不同风俗，是少数“自由”和“神秘”的职业。过去只有大型国企才有运输部门，汽车亦属稀有品，更使卡车司机成为一种令人羡慕的职业。

然而，自从上世纪80年代政府加紧兴建高速公路，外贸和沿海城市高速发展，以及个人买车成为卡车司机的比例愈来愈高，物流业逐渐成为一个独立产业。调查报告显示，超过75%的受访卡车司机是散户。一些司机入行的原因，虽然跟以往的卡车司机有所重叠，都是喜欢车和喜欢驾驶，崇尚拥有一辆车后掌控工作的自由，但正是同一种工作，在今天向我们展示了自由的另一面。

### 05 运输业的工人抗议将驶向何方？

中国劳工通讯的工人集体行动地图在2014至2019年间，记录了约1400起运输工人抗议，约占每年总体事件15%。但五年间，由于平台应用的交通服务急速发展，加上出租车等传统行业服务衰落，这些抗议的性质发生明显转变。

在运输工人的抗议中，工会的缺席尤为触目。在不少个案中，司机组建工会的要求皆被地方官员拒绝，因为司机技术上并非出租车公司的员工，又或者工会官员只愿意与公司管理层谈判，而不理会工人。

长途卡车司机是运输业中的特例，自10年代中期起，他们便定期发起大型抗议，在2018年6月更组织了全国性罢工。中国劳工通讯亦在罢工一周年之际回顾了卡车司机的组织、互助的方法。

不少卡车司机在入行前均认为可以自己控制驾驶时间与进程，然而实际劳动时间的长短并不在司机自己的控制范围内。调查报告发现，卡车司机每天驾车平均时间在 8-12 小时的占 42.1%，超过 12 小时的占 9.2%，在 5-7 小时的只占 24.9%，可见工作强度之大。值得注意的是，自雇司机的工作时间比他雇司机长，反映自我剥削的情况普遍。自雇司机最长持续开车时间为 11.05 小时，他雇司机则为 10.31 小时。晚上 8 点以后开车时间的平均值，自雇司机为 4.39 小时，亦高于他雇司机的 3.75 小时。

造成这种状况的主要原因是卡车司机既是车主，也是一个庞大的负债群体。根据调查报告数据，购车司机当中有 83.7%不是以自己的存款来买车，其中向银行贷款和向家人朋友借款的比例超过七成。一般而言，卡车司机贷款的还贷期为 2 年。在这段时间内，他们每月都要搭钱还贷，基本上不挑活儿，有人一个多月也没下过车。而已经还完贷款的卡车司机则对工作有较大自主性，精神状态也比较放松。

另一方面，卡车司机虽然每单运输帐面收入颇高，但受访司机均表示行业最大问题是成本高。加上市场不规范、竞争激烈、路卡多、收费高等问题，使收入大幅减少。根据调查报告，卡车司机全年平均收入为 10.7 万元。当中，年收入在 10 万元或以下的占约七成，高于 10 万元的占 28.8%。单看收入似乎不错，但考虑到车主还要还贷和支付各种维修费用，可支配收入水平可能没有想像中高。

## 由找货到装卸：为了开工要付出多大努力？

除了生计难以掌握以外，劳动过程中的种种问题也让卡车司机相当头痛。第一个司机们会碰到的问题，是货从何来。一般来说，入行时间愈长的司机愈能拥有固定货源。但入行时间较短的人便不得不采取各种方式找货。自由的司机成为激烈竞争的对手只是一瞬间的事。近年来，很多卡车司机都涌入“货车帮”、“运满满”等 App 找货，变相使其成为压价的工具。在一些例子中，9600 元的运费动辄被压成 5600 元，货站渔利 4000 元，占总金额超四成。

找货之后是拼货。由于承运的一般是零担货物，即使有部分固定货源，卡车司机依然要找货、拉货、等货。经历过失业的人都会明白，等待是最痛苦的时候，司机等货的过程也是同样道理。调查报告访问的一位卡车司机清楚地计算出焦虑感的来源：“等待花着钱呢，心里着急。住一两天还行，三四天就难受了。住店 30 元，1 个人 1 间房，公用洗浴。（...）停车费一天 35 元，吃饭一天 3 顿四五十元。合计一天得 100 多块钱。”

配好货后还要装卸，意味着司机的等待仍未能结束。据卡车司机们表示，装卸工的特点是：给钱，先给你卸；不给钱，你就排着等吧。有时一排可以等 12 小时，一天也未卸好货。为了加快进度，卡车司机们只得用尽各种手法：天热了给买水喝，干活时塞包烟，到饭点时供应盒饭，直接给钱更是少不了。

## 上路后：只身在异乡如何化解难题？

好不容易装好货开始上路，大多已是半夜，这个时候各种亡命之旅才正式上演。首先是要躲交警、路政。由于各地执法标准不同，不少卡车司机难以保证车辆完全符合标准，随时“被超载”、“被非法改装”，惹来各种罚款，因此，他们在晚上赶路时都会尽量全速前进，务求躲过早上交警较多的时段。当然还有不少司机是受想要赚钱的迫切心情驱动。晚上开车特别容易困，许多司机自诉开着开着，看见各种幻象，例如在高速公路上看见跑马、出现地毯等。

为了维持高效，卡车司机始终需要中途休息以补充体力。这段时间往往令他们最头痛。人生路不熟，司机最痛恨的是路上被偷油、偷货和碰瓷。调查报告引述的一位司机便表示，假如到了服务站没有付钱叫保安关照，那多半是要倒楣。“一宿能偷 1 万块钱的油，没有人管，发现了也不能下车，下车揍死你。”就算开车时也能丢货，“偷货时，大车在前面跑，小车在后面跟。小车上有个磁铁直接吸到大车上， (...) 小车上的人就趁机爬到大车车厢偷货。”卡车司机都明白，报警毫无作用，还费时费事，做了笔录后音讯全无早已司空见惯。因此不少司机只能做足防范，遇事后自认倒霉。

没有遇到堵车和车祸等特殊情况便是万幸，但这不代表完成送货的卡车司机可以停下来。一般而言，将货物送抵后便要开始回程。为了不耽误行程，司机白天赶到目的地争取卸货后，通常在车上睡两三个小时，待装卸工卸完车后，便要再找货往回走。整趟旅程中，卡车司机无时无刻不处于焦虑紧张的状态之中，一时要讨好装卸工，一时又要防范别人偷货。除此之外，还要动用各种情感以求劳动过程一切顺利，既要忍交警的气，低声下气说软话，又要跟货代讨价还价。难怪调查里有 38.8% 的司机都希望将来转行，逃避这个让人身心俱疲的行业。

## 卡友的江湖：必须抱团取暖，单打独斗生存不下去

鉴于司机单打独斗无力应付各种问题，卡车司机的组织早已自发地大批出现。2014 年成立的“卡友地带”便推广了“卡友”这一身分。到了 2018 年，较大的组织包括“卡友地带”、“卡车之家”，其会员分别达 80 余万，较小型组织如“中国龙”、“东北虎”等则各有 2、3 万名会员。

虽然大部分卡车司机加入这些组织的最初目的是想要结识更多朋友，但卡友组织的实用性也不容忽视。除了最基本的信息共享外，包括指路、货源和防止诈骗，卡友之间的实地救援超乎外行人想像。卡车一旦发生故障，如果司机不能自行修理而发出求救信息，当地司机组织的基层负责人将发动和组织救援活动。掌握了故障信息的负责人会进行动员和分工，有些卡友负责代购零件，有些则带领大家前往施救地点。参与动员的卡友少则两三人，多则十数人。遇到需要倒货（因急于运货而要将货物转到另一架卡车）时，组织起包括卡嫂在内的二三十人队伍，连带运输车辆前往施救地点也十分常见。

遇到车祸事故，卡车组织也会出手帮忙。外地车与本地车发生交通意外时，外地司机难免被本地人狠咬一口。此时由卡车司机的本地卡友出面调停便相当重要，往往能将赔款额度降低至合

理水平（调查报告中一个例子由 2000 元降至 300 元）。如果遇到生命救援这种危急情况，卡车组织也能帮助定位失联司机、安排现场救援和报警。

卡车司机组织的实地救援都牵涉大量费用。当中，购买零件、聘请修理工和装卸工等费用固然由司机承担，但招呼卡友到场救援的花费大多数由组织负责人承担，或干脆由参与者分摊。

通过卡友之间的互相介绍，这些组织的发展已经具有相当规模。即使是自发性质的小型组织如“中国龙”和“东北虎”也设立了各种功能性的部门。除了上文提及的救援小组，卡车组织还有清欠小组，长期负责追讨运费。他们处理拖欠货款事宜也有既定程序：先派员说理，不少货主在这个阶段已会把钱交出，假如失败后便发动电话攻击，最极端的情况还会登门讨薪和扣押货物。以往卡车司机遇到拖欠往往忍气吞声，有了司机组织运用地方资源后，不但可以解决这种小额经济纠纷，更不用再诉上法院费时失事。

“中国龙”在两年半内已完成各种救援行动 3200 多起，“东北虎”的救援活动每天都有，二者帮助讨回的欠款分别达 113 万及 110 万元。调查报告指出，类似拖欠运费、压低运价之类直接损害卡车司机利益的事情将面对明确的抵抗，司机对议价和抗议政府部分规定的诉求也初步形成。

## 互助组织的发展：它将如何演变？

小型卡友组织近来已开始举办一些线下聚会，这些聚会无疑有助团结，但成本颇高。相比之下，有商业组织背景的“卡友地带”和公益性质的“安心驿站”在这方面发展更为顺畅，后者推出了激励金，支持站友作线下聚会。

去年卡车司机的罢工更展示了这种团结有更进一步的趋势。安徽合肥的卡车司机抗议“运满满”APP 升级后规定卡车司机在暗处投标，变相在司机群体中形成低价竞争；江西九江的卡车司机抗议过路费贵和委托方拖欠运输工资；贵州铜仁的卡车司机则不满运费过低和油价高。卡友甘愿放弃收入而采取集体行动，自制横幅和标语，与以往那种应急式地方互助行为明显不同。

虽然目前卡车司机组织的互助性质较强，但随着政治和经济条件的变化，它们将有机会变得更进取。面对燃油价格居高不下，新兴货运平台加紧压榨，司机的劳动条件越来越差，卡车司机组织也需要思考如何帮助司机抵御环境的变化。抵制出价过低的货代、帮助成员议价和介绍工作，甚至集体行动要求加薪，都是一些可能的选项，卡车司机互助组织仍有很大发展空间。

## At least 78 dead, hundreds injured in massive chemical plant explosion

22/03/2019

At least 78 people are confirmed dead and hundreds are injured or missing in one of the worst industrial accidents in China in recent years. A massive explosion on 21 March flattened the Tianjiayi Chemical Co. pesticide plant near Yancheng in Jiangsu and caused extensive damage to neighbouring factories and the surrounding residential area.

“There were two explosions,” one witness told Caixin, “the first explosion was smaller, the second one massive. The roads were full of people running for their lives, parked cars were all damaged by the explosions.” The fire engulfing tanks containing flammable chemicals “was three to four storeys high,” he added.

Aftermath of the explosion near Yancheng, Jiangsu, as seen in a drone video published by The Paper.

The focus of the rescue operation continues to be finding missing persons and treating the wounded but containing the damage to the air, water and soil caused by continued chemical leaks is becoming critically important. Residents fear it could take months, even a year to repair the damage.

In the immediate aftermath of the disaster, Zhang Qinyue, the general manager of Tianjiayi Chemical Co., who was injured in the accident, was placed in police custody along with several other company executives.

It was revealed by local media soon after the accident that the chemical plant had in fact been cited for 13 safety violations in a report issued by then State Administration of Work Safety just over a year ago on 7 February 2018. These violations included: a lack of qualified personnel, insufficient safety training, lack of clear safety protocols, poor quality control, poor signage, chemical tank leakages, neglect of fire hazards. etc. Ironically, the report stressed the importance of “learning lessons” from an earlier explosion at a chemical plant in Lianyungang, Jiangsu, that killed at least ten people on 9 December 2017.

## 06 Work Accidents that cannot be Stopped by Safety Inspections

At least 78 people are confirmed dead and hundreds are injured or missing in the massive explosion of the Tianjiayi Chemical Co. on 21 March – this is one of the worst industrial accidents in China in recent years. However, just over a year ago on 7 February 2018, then State Administration of Work Safety issued a report that revealed 13 safety violations of the chemical corporate.

It is not unusual for accidents to occur in hazardous workplaces that had either recently “passed” inspection or had been cited for violations but taken no action. For example at the end of 2019, the flooding in Shanmushu coal mine, Sichuan province killed five miners, but the inspection by National Coal Mine Safety Administration in April this year has revealed that its gas concentration is at the explosion limit.

The lax safety standards at the plant were well known to the local authorities but they reportedly only made superficial attempts to address the problems. A commentator for The Paper noted:

It is clear that local authorities were not blind to the risk posed by lax safety procedures in the chemical industry. Yet their repeated attempts to emphasize the importance of safety apparently still weren't enough to prevent disaster. Lines were still crossed, things were still left to chance, and — whether one blames regulators or plant managers — safety hazards were not promptly addressed.

Local residents told reporters that the industrial park was a time bomb just waiting to go off, and noted that there had been several incidents in the past, including an explosion soon after the park opened in 2007 that had killed eight people. On that occasion, it was alleged that plant managers and local government officials had sought to cover up the blast by locking up reporters or seeking to buy them off.

Following the massive explosion at an illegal chemical storage facility in Tianjin on 12 August 2015 that killed 173 people, including 104 firefighters, the Chinese government vowed to better regulate chemical production and storage facilities and ensure they were no longer in close proximity to residential areas. But as this latest industrial accident illustrates, companies continue to hire unqualified personnel to perform dangerous jobs, workers continue to risk their lives in dangerous jobs with little or no training and minimal safety equipment, and nearby residents are still placed in danger.

China Labour Bulletin's Work Accident Map recorded at least two similar fatal accidents in the last few months: on 25 December 2018 an explosion at a chemical plant in Turpan, Xinjiang, left three workers dead and 18 injured, while 22 people were killed and 22 injured in an explosion at a chemical plant in Zhangjiakou on 28 November. In the last four years, since March 2015, we have recorded a total 209 explosions, predominately at industrial and manufacturing facilities, across the whole of China.

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## 06 安全检查拦不住的安全事故

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“3·21”江苏盐城响水化工园爆炸是 2019 年死亡人数最多的安全事故，共造成 78 人死亡，收治伤员达 617 人。在此次特大事故发生约 1 年前，该化工园就被国家安全生产监督管理局点名指出 13 项安全隐患。自 2012 年起，该化工园多次因违反环境污染和公共安全管理的相关规定而遭到环保部门勒令停工，仅 2017 至 2018 年两年时间，累计罚款 101 万元。

上述情况并非个例，在发生安全事故的企业中，不少是刚“通过”检查或者被批违规但未做出任何整改的。例如 2019 年中，因透水事故造成 5 人死亡的四川杉木树煤矿，于今年 4 月国家煤监局检查过程中，就被测出该煤矿内瓦斯浓度处于爆炸界限。

2019 多起较大事故，暴露出重大风险隐患排查和安全责任落实不到位问题仍然突出。

## 07 Workers' Movement Continues When Crackdowns do not Stop 大抓捕后的工人集体 行动

Since the current crackdown began on 27 July last year with the mass arrests of 30 #Jasic workers and their supporters, CLB has recorded well more than 2,000 collective worker protests on our Strike Map. Moreover, the highest concentration of these incidents (about ten percent of the total) has been in #Guangdong, where most of the detained activists were located.

It is obvious that China's workers are not willing to silently accept these employer abuses and are now fighting back in a variety of innovative ways – both protests and online campaigns. However, the crackdown on civil society labour groups has effectively neutralised many of those best placed to help. As a result, there is an even more pressing need for China's official trade union to step into the breach.

provoking trouble” while Yang Zhengjun, the editor-in-chief of the iLabour news site, has been in police detention since January.

Former employees at Jasic Technology in Shenzhen have also never wavered in their support for the students and civil society activists who rallied to their cause last year.

Despite the wide-ranging crackdown that has seen the arrest of well-known activists such as Zhang Zhiru and Wu Guijun, China's workers have continued to stand up for their rights and push back against employer abuses.

## China's workers' movement will continue despite crackdown on labour activists

30/04/2019

China will mark May Day this year with around 50 labour activists in some form of detention. China Labour Bulletin and numerous other groups and individuals around the world have called for the release of all activists and an end to the ongoing crackdown on civil society organisations supporting China's workers. We reiterate that call on International Workers Day.

Crucially, China's workers are also voicing their support for the detained activists. Most recently, about 100 former construction workers from Hunan signed a petition in support of three citizen journalists in Shenzhen who had helped them in their struggle for occupational disease compensation.

One of the workers who signed the petition, Gu Fuxiang, told AFP, “they're not guilty - they have caring hearts and because of that they face pressure from the government.”

Activists Wei Zhili and Ke Chengbing were arrested in February for “picking quarrels and

Since the current crackdown began on 27 July last year with the mass arrests of 30 Jasic workers and their supporters, CLB has recorded well over 1,100 collective worker protests on our Strike Map. Moreover, the highest concentration of these incidents (about ten percent of the total) has been in Guangdong, where most of the detained activists were located.

Labour conflicts occur across the whole country and across a broad range of industries but are overwhelmingly concentrated in China's domestically-owned private enterprises. Many of these enterprises have routinely violated labour law by not signing proper employment contracts, not paying wages in full or on time, not contributing to China's social insurance funds, and failing to provide a safe working environment for their employees.



The construction industry, which accounts for about 41 percent of all the worker protests recorded since 1 August 2018, is probably the worst offender in this regard, as discussed in detail in our research report on the industry, published in January this year. Factory owners have also routinely ignored their legal obligations when closing, selling or relocating their business. But it is employers in the service sector who are becoming the biggest threat to workers' interests. Jobs in the service sector are increasingly precarious, workers are deprived of their legally-entitled benefits and often subject to arbitrary changes in pay and working conditions. Tech tycoons like Jack Ma and Richard Liu, meanwhile, seem to think that regulations on working hours etc. simply don't apply to their businesses.

It is obvious that China's workers are not willing to silently accept these employer abuses and are now fighting back in a variety of innovative ways. But there is a limit to what they can achieve through protests and online campaigns. The imbalance of power in the workplace is huge, and workers need help to redress it. However, the crackdown on civil society labour groups has

effectively neutralised many of those best placed to help. As a result, there is an even more pressing need for China's official trade union to step into the breach.

Thus far, the All-China Federation of Trade Union's reform program has been largely superficial and self-serving. For the most part, officials have been unable or unwilling to break the shackles of their traditional bureaucratic mindset and fully embrace a new identity as representatives of labour.

The longer trade union officials stay stuck in the past, the worse the situation will get. Workers will be forced to adopt more extreme measures to defend their rights and interests, inviting even more government repression.

China's trade union officials need to get their hands dirty. They need to go to construction sites, factories, logistics warehouses and food delivery stations across the country and recruit workers to the union. They need to galvanise workers, and help them elect representatives who are willing and able to take a firm stand with labour and against the exploitative and illegal practices of management.

For too long during the four decades of economic reform in China, nearly all the power in labour relations has been in the hands of capital. The government has tried on numerous occasions to redress that imbalance, but administrative and legislative fixes have had little success: the abuses and illegal practices keep reoccurring. It is time for fundamental change, and the trade union has to be at the forefront of that change.

2018年7月27日，警察一次性逮捕30名工人及声援者成了深圳佳士工人维权事件中最计划矛盾的一天——“727大抓捕”只是一系列进一步打压劳工活动的开始。不过，工人们的集体行动并没有就此停止，在中国工人集体行动地图上，由“7.27大抓捕”至今的行动超过2000起。

面对不公，工人们没有保持缄默，从线下反抗到线上动员，工人们不断尝试维护自身权益的新方法。但是，#公民社会及劳工人士所受到的打压，也让工人们失去了一部分强有力的帮助，因此，发挥组织工人作用的工会，在当前形势下更需要加强自身在劳资关系中的角色。

## 07 大抓捕后的工人集体行动

## One year after nationwide strike, China's crane operators are still risking their lives just to get paid

06/05/2019

A nationwide strike on May Day last year highlighted the low pay, long working hours and dangerous working conditions that China's tower crane operators have to endure on a daily basis. The strike got a lot of publicity but their demands for higher pay and safer work were largely ignored. One year on, little has changed.

The tower crane business got a huge boost in 2008 when the Chinese government announced a four-trillion-yuan stimulus package, largely for infrastructure development, in the wake of the global financial crisis. However, fierce competition soon ate into profit margins and many privately-run construction firms pushed down operators' pay and cut crane maintenance budgets. Obsolete second-hand tower cranes were sold to less-developed areas, leading to numerous accidents. One study reported 130 such accidents in 2013 alone.

The same problems continue unabated today. So far this year, CLB's Work Accident Map has recorded ten crane collapses, leading to 15 deaths and 12 injuries. Most of these accidents occurred in less-developed inland provinces where the local governments and the trade unions seem powerless to intervene.

Two workers were injured, for example, when a crane collapsed in Chongqing on 16 April this year, just two days after the local government held a meeting to emphasize the importance of construction site safety.

A month earlier, a crane operator and a maintenance worker died after a crane collapse in the town of Yuanjiang, Hunan, on 14 March. Initial investigations revealed that the construction and maintenance work were actually illegal. As a result, two people were arrested and five officials suspended. And, most recently, in the coastal city of Wenzhou, a crane operator was badly injured and trapped in his cab after a crane collapsed in stormy weather on 24 April. No action was taken to halt work during the storm.

## 08 After National Strike, the Salaries are Still in the Middle of Nowhere

A nationwide strike on May Day last year highlighted the low pay, long working hours and dangerous working conditions that China's tower crane operators have to endure on a daily basis. The strike got a lot of publicity but their demands for higher pay and safer work were largely ignored. One year on, little has changed.

There are 78 crane collapses recorded on Work Accident Map in 2019 (69% of the total number of accident in construction industry), most of which occurred in less-developed inland provinces where the local governments and the trade unions seem powerless to intervene.



CLB's recent report on the construction industry highlighted the extreme dangers faced by workers due to the widespread and criminal disregard of health and safety regulations in China. The report called on China's trade unions to improve workplace safety by negotiating collective contracts

with industry federations that clearly stipulate the responsibilities of contractors and ensure that all equipment on site is adequately maintained, workers are properly trained and have the safety equipment they need.

## 08 塔吊司机的罢工与工资

2018 年国际劳动节前夕，全国塔吊司机联盟发起全国性大罢工，从 4 月 25 日至 5 月 1 日，共有 18 个省份 40 多个城市的塔吊司机参与了集会抗议活动，要求加薪，禁止超时间、超负荷加班。突破企业或地区的局限、跨企业跨地区联合行动，是 2018 年行动型集体劳动争议的特点之一。

可是，当今天我们回望这场大规模的罢工，却只看到工人们一年前诉求里所触及的问题还停在原地——在中国安全事故地图上，塔吊事故在 2019 年达到 78 起（占建筑业事故总数的 69%），在欠发达的内陆省份，政府监管不力及工会介入的不足使得事故更加频繁。

## 09 中华全国总工会改革观察

### Observations and Suggestions on Trade Unions' Reform

2019 年，250 通与地方工会的电话，71 起工人的集体行动，12 个省份——这是中国劳工通讯将目光直接聚焦于一个个地方工会的基层科室的第二年。

2019 年的《中华全国总工会改革观察报告》，中国劳工通讯全面深度解读改革的成效与不足，并提出改革的下一步建议。

250 phone interviews with local Trade Unions; 71 workers' collective actions; 12 provinces - 2019 is the second year CLB has reached the offices of local Trade Unions all around China.

The latest report on the All-China Federation of Trade Unions' Reform Pilot Program is released, in which we examine the reform measures the union has implemented thus far and put up with our suggestions. The following is the new Chinese-language report from CLB.

## 进一步深化工会改革 集体谈判是工会主业

24/12/2019

2015 年 1 月到 2019 年 11 月间，中国工人集体行动地图共收集到工人集体行动事件 9669 起，每年平均近 2000 起。由于收集能力限制加上删贴，实际发生的工人集体行动要远高于这个数字。

2015 年 11 月 9 日，习近平亲自主持召开中央深改组第十八次会议，正式启动中华全国总工会改革。四年过去了，工会改革进展如何？如何进一步深入推进工会改革？近日，中国劳工通讯发布了《中华全国总工会改革观察报告》，全面深度解读改革的成效与不足，并提出改革的下一步建议。

2018 年 8 月至 2019 年 6 月期间，中国劳工通讯就发生在 12 个省份的 71 起工人集体行动，对 95 个当地总工会进行了约 250 次电话访谈，并于早前发布了八期月度观察报告。在此基础上，最新发布的报告从三个方面综合论述全总改革：第一部分讨论工会改革的缘起，第二部分谈工会改革的成效与不足，第三部分针对工会改革的不足之处提出改善建议。

2015 年 11 月 9 日，习近平亲自主持召开中央深改组第 18 次会议，通过了《全国总工会改革试点方案》，要求总工会“为党分忧、为民谋利”。中共执政史上首次由最高领导人自上而下亲自推动的工会改革，其目的在于使工会组织能够务实进取，参与到探索和建立“科学的工资水平决定机制、正常增长机制”的过程中来。

报告认为，各地总工会改革取得了一定的成效，主要表现为绝大部分区县级以上工会都设立了职工服务中心，向上门求助的职工提供法律援助服务。但是，在组织工人加入工会、代表工人与企业进行集体谈判，

确保工资合理增长、监督劳动合同的签订和履行从而减少劳资冲突等关键方面，各地工会却没有寸进。

当前，各地工会仍然沿用依靠企业建会的组建方式、并不组织工人个人入会，沿用劳动法规定的集体合同样本、不会展开真正的集体谈判，工会的组织工作和谈判工作都是为了完成上级的任务而不是解决工人对于分配公平的要求。工会在组织和谈判的主业工作上仍然没有突破。

同时，工会副业花样翻新异常兴旺，占据了原本应该放在组织工人、集体谈判的主职工作时间。工会工作者的身份认同仍然存在问题。地方工会以宣传工作为本，机构设置存在行政化、依赖行政资源等问题，工会组织仍然是面向上级领导的宣传品而非面向工人的互动参与平台。

工会仍然未能成为工人的利益代表者和谈判代表者。各级工会组织仍然游离于劳资纠纷之外，无法杜绝欠薪问题，无法对于持续增加的工人集体行动有所作为，也无法代表工人通过集体谈判参与企业分配、行业分配，以合理的分配机制实现共同富裕的长期目标。

工会改革以来，全国各地总工会所采取的措施以及所取得的进展，无论是与中共最高层解决分配问题的愿望，还是与企业工人的实际诉求，都存在很大差距，工会仍然需要改革。有鉴于此，报告建议：

工会应当重新确定工会改革的方向目标，即建立企业工会和行业工会的集体谈判制度，通过工会建立发展公平的一次分配制度。

- 工会应当顺应行业发展的趋势，探索建立和完善行业总工会的方法路径。
- 工会应当根据行业用工特色，发展多种入会形式，其目标是方便该行业的集体谈判。
- 工会应当重新定位工会工作者的身份。
- 工会网站应该系统化。

在此下载最新研究报告《[中华全国总工会改革观察报告](#)》。更多中国劳工通讯中英文研究报告，请访问本网站[研究报告](#)部分。

## I Swallowed an Iron Moon:

### The enduring legacy of worker poet Xu Lizhi

30/09/2019

I swallowed an iron moon

they called it a screw

I swallowed industrial wastewater and unemployment  
forms

bent over machines, our youth died young

I swallowed labour, I swallowed poverty

swallowed pedestrian bridges, swallowed this rusted-out  
life

I can't swallow any more

everything I've swallowed roils up in my throat

I spread across my country

a poem of shame

(Translated by Eleanor Goodman)

Five years ago today, in the southern city of Shenzhen, the  
young worker poet Xu Lizhi took his own life.

He was just 24-years-old when he died but Xu left behind a remarkable body of work. A New Day (新的一天), an anthology published in 2015, contains about 200 poems that chronicle not only his own frustrations and unhappiness but those of millions of other low-paid, over-worked and under-appreciated labourers in Shenzhen and across China. As the writer and translator, Eleanor Goodman notes, "His 'poem of shame' (I Swallowed an Iron Moon) is not a personal one, but a public and national one."

## 10 On the Assembly Line 流水线上

It's been five years since the young worker poet Xu Lizhi took his own life. Xu was just 24-years-old when he died but he left behind a remarkable body of work more than 200 poems that chronicle not only his own frustrations and unhappiness but those of millions of other low-paid, over-worked and under-appreciated labourers in Shenzhen and across China.

Instead of the "Terracotta Army on the Assembly Line", workers are living individuals. To amplify labours' voice is always what CLB has been doing, and in the coming new year, more stories of workers need our witness and attention.

富士康普工许立志离开这个世界已经5年。纵身一跃，他留在身后的是他用24年人生写成了200余首诗，诗行与诗行之中是自己工厂生活的枯燥与郁郁，诗篇和诗篇之间是从深圳到全国底层生活的悲辛。

工人们并非“流水线上的兵马俑”，而是一个个活生生的个体。中国劳工通讯始终记录劳动者的声音，努力让中国劳工阶层能够独立表达、维护自己的利益和愿景。新的一年，道阻且长，但我们的目光仍聚焦在劳工身上。

What would Xu have made of Shenzhen and the lives of China's workers today? Five years ago, Shenzhen was at a turning point. Foxconn, where Xu worked for three years, had already opened a massive new facility in the central city of Zhengzhou and gradually transferred most of its iPhone production there. Many other manufacturers moved production elsewhere as well. There are still factories in Shenzhen, of course, but the vast majority of young workers today are employed in the broad spectrum of service industries that have emerged in the city over the last decade, everything from food-delivery workers to the software engineers they deliver lunch to in their gleaming office towers. The Foxconn workers who remain are being priced out of their homes as developers move in and start to gentrify the old "handshake" apartment buildings surrounding the factory, described by Xu in his poem *Rented Room*. Subway lines and new middle-class housing estates now extend all over the city, creating a vast anonymous suburban sprawl.

Perhaps Xu Lizhi would have written about the "losers" at the Sanhe recruitment market not far from Foxconn in Longhua district. Here young men and women look for casual work that can pay the rent for a few days before moving on to another gig. Perhaps, he would have joined the army of delivery drivers who jam the city streets every day, told where and when to go, when to arrive, and how much they will get paid by the app on their phone. Perhaps he would have finally landed his dream job of working in a bookstore, but given the cutthroat nature of the retail industry in China, that bookstore would probably close down suddenly and without notice, leaving employees out in the cold with no compensation and owed wages in arrears.

The nature of work in Shenzhen may have changed on the surface but the pressures of work, the mind-numbing and body-breaking effects of work for young migrant workers, described in *My Friend Fa*, have not changed very much at all. In fact, you could even argue that, over the last five years, the situation has actually deteriorated and that the prospects of decent work and decent pay have diminished further with the emergence of the gig economy.

That is why Xu Lizhi's work is still relevant today. Factory work may be in decline but working and living conditions, and the social and economic pressures on young workers trying to get ahead remain as harsh as ever. At the time of Xu's death, China's Communist Party leader Xi Jinping was already promoting the idea of the "China Dream." Xu Lizhi knew it was a fantasy then. Today, even the "lucky" ones employed in the hi-tech sector are tired of working 996 in pursuit of their dreams and are demanding a fundamental shift in labour relations that will give them a greater say in their pay and working conditions and allow them to enjoy a better work/life balance.

Xu Lizhi's poetry is dark and cynical and gives the reader little cause for optimism. But because it articulates so starkly the reality of working-class life in China, Xu's poetry can perhaps act as an agent for change. For some, it may reconfirm a sense of hopelessness, for others however, it may just galvanise them into action.