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Chapter 6

## The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: (2) The Strike

### INTRODUCTION

The second general subclass of methods of economic noncooperation is the strike. The strike involves a refusal to continue economic cooperation through work. It is a collective, deliberate and normally temporary suspension of labor designed to exert pressure on others within the same economic, political and, sometimes, social or cultural unit. That is to say, though the issues are normally economic, they are not necessarily so, even though the means of action are economic. The aim of a strike is to produce by this leverage some change in the relationships of the conflicting groups. Usually this takes the form of granting of certain demands made by the strikers as a precondition for their resumption of work. It is the collective nature of the strike which gives this type of noncooperation its characteristics and power. Strikes are largely associated with modern industrial organizations; they also occur, however, in agricultural conflicts and within various institutions. Strikes are possible wherever people work for someone else.

Strikes are almost always specific, in the sense of being *for* or *against* something which is important to the strikers. In theory any number of workers might act together to produce a strike, but in practice the number of strikers must be sufficiently large to disrupt seriously or to make impossible continued operations of at least that economic unit. As with violence and other more powerful forms of nonviolent action, the mere *threat* of a serious strike may be sufficient to induce concessions from the opponent group; some examples of such threats are included in this chapter. Strikes may be spontaneous or planned, "official" (authorized by the unions) or "wildcat" (not authorized by the unions).

The motives for strikes vary considerably. Economic motives, which include wages, working conditions, union recognition, and hours, have been predominant. Even these types of strikes may be directed against a government agency, though an employer is usually the target. Political and social aims may accompany economic objectives or may be independent of them. Those wider issues may take many forms.

Now to the classification of the forms of the strike. The broad categories which must be used in classifying the many methods of nonviolent action are too rigid to suit the reality, as we noted at the beginning of Part Two. Consequently, in every general class and subclass—such as the strike—there are some methods which also have one or more characteristics of another class (or do so under certain conditions) or which differ in at least one respect from the general characteristics of its class. This is especially true in the case of the strike. Normally, the strike is a temporary withdrawal of labor, but there are methods in which the withdrawal is, or at least is intended to be, permanent. Also, some methods are combinations of economic boycotts and strikes. Other methods operate by withdrawing labor but do so only symbolically, so that they might also be included within the class of nonviolent protest and persuasion. One solution might be to develop a much more complicated classification system than that offered in this book; that indeed needs to be done, for there are many methods which should have at least dual classifications. Also, the effects and leverages of particular methods differ with the situation in which they are applied and the manner in which they are conducted. For our purposes here, however, several methods which fall on a borderline between classes or which have mixed characteristics are grouped within the strike, coming closer to belonging here than in any other class or subclass of the methods. This is instructive and humbling, for the reality of social dynamics is always more complex and flexible than the intellectual tools which we use in efforts to understand it. Three of the groupings of methods of the strike which follow consist of such

borderline forms or are offspring of mixed parentage. These are often some of the fresher, more imaginative ones; because they are less usual or because they combine more than one type of leverage or population group, they may also make a disproportionate impact.

## SYMBOLIC STRIKES

### 97. Protest strike

In a protest strike,<sup>2</sup> also called token strike<sup>3</sup> and demonstration strike,<sup>4</sup> work is stopped for a preannounced short period—a minute, an hour, a day, or even a week—in order to make clear the feelings of the workers on a particular issue: economic, political, or other.<sup>5</sup> No set demands are made. The aim is to demonstrate that the workers feel deeply about a certain matter and that they possess strength to strike more effectively if necessary, thus warning the officials that they had best take the workers' feelings into consideration. An additional aim may be to catch the imagination of workers and the public. This method may also be used in the early stages of a protracted struggle to accustom the workers to the idea of striking on the issue involved; in instances in which the unions are not prepared for a longer strike; where longer strikes would incur more severe retaliation than the workers are, at that particular point, prepared to suffer; or where serious damage to the economy is not desired. The token strike may be varied by combining it with periods of silence, "stay-at-home" days, or other methods. There may be protest general strikes, protest industry strikes, protest sympathy strikes and the like.

On January 15, 1923, four days after the Franco-Belgian invasion of the Ruhr, the population of the Ruhr area and the occupied Rhineland held a thirty-minute protest strike to express their will to resist.<sup>6</sup> A one-day strike to protest the ill-treatment of the Jews was called in Amsterdam on February 25-26, 1941.<sup>7</sup> Other examples include a one-hour strike on April 10, 1959, by about five hundred building workers in a factory making rockets in Stevenage, Hertfordshire, England, in support of the unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons;<sup>8</sup> the ten- to fifteen-minute work stoppage by nine million people in Belgium (half the population), as a demonstration against nuclear weapons, which occurred at 11 A.M. on May 8, 1962;<sup>9</sup> the one-day strike (except on ships at sea, troop carriers, and relief ships) by various U.S. maritime unions in protest against delays in bringing servicemen home after World War II.<sup>10</sup>

Protest strikes were frequent during the Russian 1905 Revolution. In February, for example, streetcar workers in Astrakhan held a one-day strike,<sup>11</sup> and in October the printers in St. Petersburg held a three-day strike to show sympathy for the striking printers of Moscow.<sup>12</sup> A conservative bureaucrat described the November strike movement in the capital: "One day the barbers would strike; another day it would be the restaurant and hotel employees. No sooner would these strikes end than the newsboys would strike; then it would be the salesmen in stores."<sup>13</sup>

A twenty-four-hour protest general strike was held in Ireland on April 23, 1918, and was solidly observed throughout the country, except in Belfast. "Factories stood idle, shops and bars were closed, transport was stopped," writes Edgar Holt. "It was now clear that Southern Ireland had no intention of standing patiently by in the remote hope that conscription, when the Government chose to impose it, would be accompanied by Home Rule."<sup>14</sup>

Several short protest strikes were conducted in Czechoslovakia the week after the Russian invasion in August 1968. On August 21 at 12 noon, only hours after the invasion, in response to a call for a two-minute protest strike issued by representatives of the creative artists' unions and broadcast on television and radio, all movement on the streets of Prague came to a halt.<sup>15</sup> A broadcast plea from the North Bohemian region brought about a one-hour general strike starting at noon the following day.<sup>16</sup> The Declaration of the Extraordinary Fourteenth Party Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on August 22 contained a call for a one-hour protest strike at noon on Friday, August 23. Appeals were posted that morning that everyone leave the streets of Prague during that hour. "Prague is to become a dead city." The Communist Party newspaper *Rude Pravo* reported that strike as seen in the center of Prague:

From the National Museum, a line of young people marches down Wenceslas Square. They are holding hands and shouting: "Evacuate the streets!" Behind them there is only the empty, wide space of the Square. The sirens begin to wail; car horns join them. The soldiers in tanks look around. They don't know what is going on. They are scanning buildings on either side, watching the windows. Some of the tanks are closing their hatches. The machine guns and cannon are turning around, looking for targets. But there is no one to shoot at; nobody is provoking them. The people have begun a general strike, as proclaimed by our Communist Party.

All of a sudden Wenceslas Square is empty; only dust, papers,

posters rise up in the wind. All that is left are tanks and soldiers. Nobody around them, none of our people.<sup>17</sup>

#### 98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike)

Short, spontaneous protest strikes undertaken without deliberation to "let off steam" or to protest over relatively minor issues have come to be known as quickie walkouts in the United States<sup>18</sup> and lightning strikes in England;<sup>19</sup> they rarely last more than a few hours or involve more than a few workers in a plant. This is one of the form which wildcat strikes may take. They were fairly common in the United States during World War II in situations where major strikes were banned. Jack Barbash cites an example of such a walkout by department store workers because of inconveniences in a new pay system and the company's misrepresentation of the union's attitude toward the employment of a handicapped worker.<sup>20</sup> In the summer of 1963 a lightning strike occurred on the Paris *Métro*. (The government in turn sought legislation to require at least five days' strike notice.)<sup>21</sup>

## AGRICULTURAL STRIKES

#### 99. Peasant strike

Under feudal and semifeudal conditions peasants have collectively refused to continue to work on the properties of their landlords. The examples here are Russian. In 1861 peasants in the department of Kazan were influenced by Anton Petrov, a peasant political prophet, to begin a series of actions in which they would rely on themselves alone to improve their living conditions. These included peasant strikes. "The peasant communities met together in assemblies and began by deciding on collective abstention from all work on the landlords' properties."<sup>22</sup> During the 1905 Revolution, the second congress of the Peasants' Union resolved upon the "refusal of conscript military service and peasant strikes on the large landed estates"<sup>23</sup> as methods for advancing their demands for a change in the system of land ownership and for an early constituent assembly. In the autumn of 1905, strikes by agricultural laborers were reported from the provinces of Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, Kharkov, Poltava, Chernigov, Saratov, Samara, Orlov, Kursk, Tambov, Moscow, Nizhny Novgorod, and Penza, and also from the Don Cossack region. At the time there was still relatively little looting and burning of estates.<sup>24</sup>

Peasant strikes are among the means of protest and resistance frequently used in Latin America, Solon Barraclough has written.<sup>25</sup> For example, in July and August 1952 Indian *campesinos* (farm workers) in Bolivia refused to work and applied other methods of nonviolent action: organizers from the Ministry of Rural Affairs and various political parties had been active among the peasants.<sup>26</sup> Peasant unions in Northeast Brazil in 1962 conducted a strike of over 200,000 peasants. Landlords made many concessions, and various national and regional proposals for agrarian reforms were stimulated. It has also been claimed that this strike was one factor in the military *coup* two years later; the new military regime is reported to have backed the organizations of the large farmers and to have suppressed peasant union activity. Peasant leaders were jailed, exiled, or murdered.<sup>27</sup>

In Peru during 1960-63, peasant strikes were conducted in the valley of La Convención. Led by Hugo Blanco, permanent laborers on the large plantations of the valley simply withdrew the labor they had provided to landlords for almost no wages. Some of the peasants were able to work instead on the plots assigned for their own use, and thereby even increased their incomes while on strike. Leaders were jailed and military force was used to crush the movement. However, a special decree was issued breaking up the large holdings in that area and selling them to peasants, and a first attempt at agrarian reform legislation for all Peru passed the legislature.<sup>28</sup>

### 100. Farm workers' strike

Farm workers hired for wages may, like any other group, withdraw their labor by striking with the aim of achieving certain objectives. The years 1929 to 1935 witnessed in California "a series of spectacular strikes" stimulated by the wage cuts of the Depression and expectations aroused by policies of the new Roosevelt administration. Carey McWilliams writes: "Beyond question, the strikes of these years are without precedent in the history of labor in the United States. Never before had farm laborers organized on any such scale and never before had they conducted strikes of such magnitude and such far-reaching social significance."<sup>29</sup> Migrant farm laborers expressed their unrest in spontaneous strikes, as well as organized ones.

These strikes were frequently failures and usually resulted in severe repression by both local government and unofficial groups. In January and February, 1930, for example, in the Imperial Valley two spontan-

eous strike movements occurred among Mexican and Filipino field workers and American workers in the packing sheds: the issues were wage reductions and demands for wage increases and improved conditions. Trade union organizers became active during the strikes and were arrested on suspicion and watched. After the strikes failed, the union called for a conference of agricultural workers for April 20, but six days before that there were raids on residences and public meeting places. Over a hundred workers were arrested and kept on forty thousand dollars bond; eight of them were convicted under the Criminal Syndicalism Act. The union was crippled.<sup>30</sup>

In November 1932 Communist Party organizers of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union led fruit workers at Vacaville in a strike, which was met with "formidable intimidation, beatings and prosecution." Six strike leaders were kidnapped, were flogged with tug straps, had their heads clipped with sheep clippers, and had red enamel poured over them. Communists arriving in the area found 180 deputized armed vigilantes and also strikebreakers carrying gas pipes and pruning shears. After this strike was broken, other strikes occurred during 1933. Three thousand pea pickers striking in April also met wholesale arrests, floggings and general intimidation, but nevertheless they forced payment for a "hamper" (about thirty pounds) of peas up from ten cents to seventeen and twenty cents. One man was dead, however, and many injured.<sup>31</sup>

Repression against other farm workers' strikes included severe beatings, broken bones, shootings (resulting in injuries and death), arrests, acquittal of identified murderers of strikers, excessive bail for strikers, misuse of various laws and regulations to harass and prosecute strikers, tear gas, raiding parties, jailing of strikers in a stockade, forcible eviction from a strike camp, and burning of strikers' shacks. Agricultural workers involved in strikes during this period included pickers of various tree fruits as well as pickers of grapes, cotton and vegetables. During 1933 about fifty thousand strikers were involved; of the thirty-seven recorded strikes (there were many more), gains for strikers resulted in twenty-nine cases; in the union-led strikes the wage rates were increased from fifteen cents an hour to an average of twenty-five cents.<sup>32</sup>

The most famous agricultural strike in the United States in recent years has been that of the grape workers of Delano, California, under the leadership of Cesar Chavez. The strike began in September 1965, and it was not until the summer of 1970 that growers of table grapes in large numbers signed union contracts. Leading the National Farm Workers' Association, and later the United Farm Workers' Organizing Committee,

A.F.L.-C.I.O., Chavez repeatedly insisted on adherence to nonviolent discipline. The strike was supplemented by a nationwide consumers' boycott—first of all California grapes, then, after the first union contracts, of non-union grapes. In March 1966 the strikers conducted a 250 mile pilgrimage from Delano to the state capital at Sacramento to protest the spraying of pickets with insecticides and fertilizer and to publicize the boycott. Evening rallies were held along the way. At each rally the union plan was read:

We are suffering. . . We shall unite. . . We shall strike. . . . We shall overcome . . . Our pilgrimage is the match that will light our cause for all farm workers to see what is happening here, so that they may do as we have done.<sup>33</sup>

## STRIKES BY SPECIAL GROUPS

### 101. Refusal of impressed labor

Demands that certain people perform impressed labor for others have on occasion been met with a refusal to do such work. Refusal has usually been aimed at the abolition of impressed labor, rather than merely at improved conditions. In 1921, for example, in the district of Kotgiri (or Kotgarh) in India, an organized, disciplined campaign of nonviolent refusal was conducted against the very old system of *begar*, or forced labor. This system had allowed Europeans to demand at will that poor cultivators perform hard labor at extremely low wages, despite the consequent detrimental effect on the agriculture of the hill tribes. The cultivators' demands were met; a strict limitation was placed on the types of service that Europeans could demand, and reasonable rates of pay were fixed for any work performed.<sup>34</sup>

During the American War of Independence, the British sought to revive the former French system of *corvée* (compulsory unpaid labor) in the province of Quebec. For two years, from 1776 to 1778, Quebec farmers and villagers, such as those in Chambly, often simply refused to work on the roads or to carry out any other military transport duties. Then the British withdrew the law and abolished *corvée*, providing payment for those already "hired."<sup>35</sup> In 1781 in Yang-ku, Shantung, China, a scholar (*sheng-yüan*) incited villagers to refuse to do river-dredging work. (The villagers, however, also took out their anger on government property—they attacked the prison and destroyed the tax collector's office.)<sup>36</sup>

### 102. Prisoners' strike

Prisoners have also at times refused to do work required of them by prison officials; the refusal may have various motives: an objection to being incarcerated at all, an effort to improve specific conditions in the prison, or other motives. During World War II a number of strikes by conscientious objectors took place in U.S. prisons. One of these, by nineteen prisoners, began at the Federal Correctional Institution at Danbury, Connecticut, on August 11, 1943, in protest against the official policy of racial segregation at meals. After 133 days of restriction to their cells, with only limited exercise, a monotonous diet, and restrictions on visits, the prisoners noted the gradual introduction of a cafeteria system, which the strikers expected would permanently eliminate the policy of segregation.<sup>37</sup> During the summer of 1953 coal-mining prisoners at the huge camp at Vorkuta, U.S.S.R., conducted a strike for improved conditions,<sup>38</sup> as described briefly in Chapter Two. Because the area industry (coal) was involved and this was a one-industry complex, this case had additional characteristics of both the industry strike and the general strike.

### 103. Craft strike

"A craft strike is a suspension by the workers of a single craft in one or in many shops of a local, regional, national, or international area. The variations in geographic scope may be indicated as shop craft strike, local craft strike, regional craft strike, etc."<sup>39</sup> The craft strike almost always takes place where the union is a craft union rather than an industrial union which includes all the workers in a plant or industry.<sup>40</sup> Examples of the craft strike include the following: In 1741 the New York City master bakers struck against municipal regulation of the price of bread (the first American strike);<sup>41</sup> Boston journeymen carpenters struck in 1825 for a ten-hour day;<sup>42</sup> in January 1890 over three thousand New York cloak makers struck against sweatshop conditions;<sup>43</sup> and fifteen thousand shirtwaist and dress makers in New York struck from November 1909 to February 1910 for improved wages and conditions.<sup>44</sup>

### 104. Professional strike

Groups of salaried persons or self-employed persons in a particular profession may go on strike for economic, political, or other reasons. Where the motive is political, the professional strike usually takes place within the context of a wider struggle involving other sections of the

population and other methods of nonviolent action, which may precede, accompany, or follow the professional strike.

An early example of a professional strike took place in Oxyrhynchus, Egypt, in A.D. 260. M. Rostovtzeff writes:

... the tremendous depreciation of the currency led to a formal strike of the managers of the banks of exchange. . . They closed their doors and refused to accept and to exchange the imperial currency. . . The administration resorted to compulsion and threats. The *strategus* issued an order to the bankers and to other money-changers "to open their banks and to accept and exchange all coin except the absolutely spurious and counterfeit." The trouble was not new, for the *strategus* refers to "penalties already ordained from them in the past by his Highness the Prefect."<sup>45</sup>

About 200 A.D. shipmasters who took cargoes of grain from Asia Minor to Rome apparently threatened a professional strike if certain demands were not met. The Minister of Food (*praefectus annonae*) wrote to a provincial subordinate that the seafaring shipmasters of the five unions of Arles were "virtually giving notice that their service will shortly be suspended if the grievance continues."<sup>46</sup>

The suspension of practice by lawyers as part of a political struggle has occurred on several occasions. For example, when the courts in the American colonies were required under the Stamp Act to use tax stamps—which the colonists refused to do—lawyers frequently responded by suspending practice and seeking closure of the courts.<sup>47</sup> Lawyers in St. Petersburg, Russia, reacted to "Bloody Sunday" in January 1905 by refusing to appear in court and by issuing a formal protest against the "pitiless hand of the government."<sup>48</sup> The following October various government employees went on strike in the city: printers for the navy, actors, port and customs staff, and the State Bank's local staff.<sup>49</sup>

Other groups which have used the professional strike are teachers, doctors and civil servants. The teachers in Mayfield Borough, Pennsylvania, struck in January and April 1934, after working six and a half months without receiving salaries.<sup>50</sup> In December 1956 the general strike and economic shutdown directed against the attempt of Haitian strongman General Paul E. Magliore to stay in power despite constitutional restrictions included strikes by civil servants and bank and school employees, as well as the refusal of lawyers to accept court cases.<sup>51</sup>

## ORDINARY INDUSTRIAL STRIKES

### 105. Establishment strike

An establishment strike "involves all the crafts in one or more plants under one management irrespective of their spatial distribution."<sup>52</sup> Examples of the establishment strike include: the strike, in February and March 1936, of Goodyear rubber workers in Akron, Ohio, for union recognition;<sup>53</sup> and the strike of five hundred Scandinavian Airlines System workers in Norway in March and April 1954, on the issue of wage increases.<sup>54</sup>

### 106. Industry strike

An industry strike is a suspension of all the establishments of an industry (e.g., mining, printing, etc.) of a local or other area."<sup>55</sup> Local and regional industry strikes have occurred frequently. Examples include: the strike in 1902 of the United Mine Workers against the operators of the "anthracite monopoly" in eastern Pennsylvania;<sup>56</sup> the strike in 1912 of textile workers employed by several companies in Lawrence, Massachusetts, led by the Industrial Workers of the World;<sup>57</sup> the dockworkers' strike in June-July 1959, led by several unions, in Colombo, Ceylon;<sup>58</sup> and the July-August 1953 strike of the Cannery Workers Union (A.F.L. Teamsters), which closed sixty-eight canneries affiliated with the Cannery Association in Northern California.<sup>59</sup> Other examples include: politically motivated strikes in the coal mines during the *Ruhrkampf*;<sup>60</sup> the Dutch shipyard workers' strike on February 17 and 18, 1941, which "forced local German authorities to abandon the plan of deporting workers to Germany against their will;"<sup>61</sup> the strike of Dutch railway workers which, beginning in September 1944 and continuing into 1945, was called for by the Dutch government-in-exile to aid the Allied armies;<sup>62</sup> and the Spanish strike movement in the Asturian mines in April-May 1962.<sup>63</sup>

### 107. Sympathetic strike

In a sympathetic strike workers withdraw their labor, not to help themselves, but to support the demands of fellow workers by bringing additional pressure to bear upon the employer. The two groups of workers may or may not have a common employer; the sympathetic strikers may simply believe that their participation may force other employers,

the public, or the government to bring sufficient pressure to bear on the employer directly involved so that he will grant the desired concessions.<sup>64</sup> The sympathetic strike is reported to have originated about 1875, although the present name for it was not adopted until 1886.<sup>65</sup> Sympathetic strikes were illegal in Britain between 1927 and 1946.<sup>66</sup>

Fred Hall elaborates on motivations for the sympathetic strike:

A sympathetic strike receives its name not so much because its motive is sympathy only . . . but because its motive is not selfish only . . . The ordinary striker protests against an injury which affects, or definitely threatens to affect, some fellow workmen, but which, he believes, will affect himself at some more or less definite time in the future. . . . Sympathetic strikers object, not to their employer's attitudes to *them*, but to his attitude toward *certain other parties*—an attitude which is hostile to labor.<sup>67</sup>

Examples of the sympathetic strike include: the railroad system strike in 1886, which originated on the Texas and Pacific Railroad and soon extended sympathetically to cover the entire Missouri Pacific Railroad as well;<sup>68</sup> and the 1924 Norwegian paper mill workers' strike in sympathy with locked-out transport workers.<sup>69</sup> In Imperial Russia in July 1903, sympathetic strikes were declared in Odessa, Kiev, Nikolaev and Ekaterinoslav, in support of strikes for increased wages and shorter hours in Baku, Tiflis and Batum.<sup>70</sup> In an unusual case, Guatemalan railroad workers in late June 1944 went on sympathy strike in support of the student strike at the National University. The ostensible purpose of this student strike was to oust the university rector, but the basic aim was to oust President Jorge Ubico, who had suspended five constitutional articles concerned with political freedoms,<sup>71</sup> with the consequences described in Chapter Two.

## RESTRICTED STRIKES

### 108. Detailed strike

In the detailed strike, as originally understood, the workers one by one stop work or take up other jobs, until the employer is compelled to inquire about their grievance and is informed of their demands. This type of detailed strike was practiced by English craft unions in the middle of the nineteenth century—for example, in the case of the Flint glass makers in the years following 1854. Their magazine described the effect

of this form of strike: "As man after man leaves . . . then it is that the proud and haughty spirit of the oppressor is brought down and he feels the power he cannot see."<sup>72</sup>

According to E.T. Hiller, the term detailed strike has come to include any piecemeal stoppage by persons engaged in a dispute. Where a strike is to cover a number of factories in a single industry (or, conceivably, in a number of industries), it may be organized in such a way that the workers in one factory or industry after another stop work on succeeding days or weeks; progressively increasing the strike. Allowance is made, however, for the possibility of a settlement before the full working force is withdrawn. Another variation of this method would be the withdrawal, each day, of a certain number of workers from a plant, the number being gradually extended accumulatively to include all the workers.

This method enables the unions to concentrate their forces on particular points, plants, or firms, while other workers either remain at work or are made jobless by a strike in which they are technically not participating—and hence, in some countries, they are eligible for unemployment benefits.

Examples of the detailed strike include: the strike of United Auto Workers at the General Motors plant in Flint, Michigan, in the summer of 1938, in which only the skilled tool-and-die workers struck; under the existing regulations the other then-unemployed "nonstriking" production workers could draw unemployment insurance;<sup>73</sup> the detailed strike by American cigar makers union in 1886;<sup>74</sup> and finally a New York clothing strike (1914?) in which the pants-makers struck one day, the vest-makers the next, and finally the coat-makers, as a means of demonstrating the workers' power and obtaining optimum impact.<sup>75</sup>

### 109. Bumper strike

A type of strike closely related to the detailed strike is the bumper strike, in which the union strikes only one firm in an industry at a time; by dealing with the firms individually, the union exposes each struck firm to the competition of rivals during the strike.<sup>76</sup> The bumper strike was used in the British radio industry in 1946.<sup>77</sup>

### 110. Slowdown strike

In the slowdown strike (also known as the go-slow and in Britain and elsewhere by the Welsh word *ca'canny*<sup>78</sup> instead of leaving their jobs

or stopping work entirely, the workers deliberately slow down the pace of their work until the efficiency is drastically reduced.<sup>79</sup> In an industrial plant this slowdown has its effects on profits; in governmental offices it would, if continued, reduce the regime's capacity to rule.

Slowdowns in work by African slaves in the United States are reported in statements by ex-slaves and others. Raymond and Alice Bauer summarize these:

The amount of slowing up of labor by the slaves must, in the aggregate, have caused a tremendous financial loss to plantation owners. The only way we have of estimating it quantitatively is through comparison of the work done on different plantations and under different systems of labor. The statement is frequently made that production on a plantation varied more than 100 percent from time to time. Comparison in the output of slaves in different parts of the South also showed variations of over 100 percent.<sup>80</sup>

Russian serfs in 1859 showed their opposition to their serfdom by doing less work,<sup>81</sup> and two years later in the early weeks of 1861, following an explicit promise of emancipation, the peasants conducted go-slows on the *corvées*.

The peasants carried out these duties, from which they thought they would soon be exempted, more and more slowly and more and more reluctantly. A sort of spontaneous strike, aimed at loosening the bonds of serfdom, and making submission to the local administrative authorities less specific, accompanied, and often partly replaced an open but sporadic refusal to yield to the landlord's will.<sup>82</sup>

Franz Neumann describes the *ca'canny* or the slowdown as "one of the decisive methods of syndicalist warfare" and claims that its first large-scale use—he presumably means in industrial conflicts—was by Italian railway workers in 1895.<sup>83</sup> It had, however, previously been used by Glasgow dockers after an unsuccessful strike in 1889.<sup>84</sup>

During the Nazi occupation, "Dutch factory workers went slow, particularly when they were forced to work in Germany . . ." <sup>85</sup> In 1942 Sir Stafford Cripps broadcast an appeal to workers in Nazi-occupied Europe to "go slow" in their work. Goebbels thought silence the best means of fighting the appeal, since he wrote, "the slogan of 'go slow' is always much more effective than that of 'work fast.'" <sup>86</sup> German workers themselves appear to have used slowdown strikes very effectively in 1938 and 1939. Go-slows by the coal miners during that period led to a significant

drop in production, which in turn prodded the government to launch efforts to raise production and to grant significant wage increases.<sup>87</sup> The wage freeze of September 1939, other worsening labor conditions, and the "clear . . . intention of the regime at the outbreak of the war . . . to abolish all social gains made in decades of social struggle" led to similar more widespread action by German workers. Neumann writes:

. . . it is at this point that passive resistance<sup>88</sup> seems to have begun on a large scale. The regime had to give way and to capitulate on almost every front. On 16 November 1939, it reintroduced the additional payments for holiday, Sunday, night, and overtime work. On 17 November 1939, it reintroduced paid holidays and even compensation to the workers for previous losses. On 12 December 1939, the regime had finally to enact new labor-time legislation, and strengthen the protection of women, juveniles, and workers as a whole.<sup>89</sup>

In Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia, "there was of course also in general the go-slow campaign when workers would either absent themselves from work or reduce the tempo of their work."<sup>90</sup>

### 111. Working-to-rule strike

The working-to-rule strike is "the literal carrying out of orders in a way calculated to retard production and reduce the employer's profit margin."<sup>91</sup> The workers remain at their jobs but meticulously observe all the rules and regulations of the union, employer, and the contract concerning how the work should be done, safety regulations, and so on, with the result that only a fraction of the normal output is produced. It is thus a variation of the slow-down strike under the technical excuse of doing the job extremely well. Neumann (who lumps the work-to-rule together with the broader slowdown strike) states that this kind of strike was applied successfully by the Austrian railway workers in 1905, 1906 and 1907 in the form of "scrupulous compliance" with all traffic and security regulations<sup>92</sup> It was also used in a series of local railway disputes in Britain preceding the General Strike in 1926, and during the 1949 British railway wage dispute.<sup>93</sup>

### 112. Reporting "sick" (sick-in)

Where strikes are prohibited by law, decree, or contract, or are not feasible for other reasons, workers may achieve anything from a slowdown of production to the equivalent of a full strike by falsely claiming to be



sick. This is an especially useful method when sick leave has been granted in the contract or law but strikes have been prohibited.

A great deal of feigned illness was reported among African slaves in the southern United States, sufficient to have had considerable economic impact. Sometimes the illness ratio was nearly one sick to seven well. Slaves were frequently sick on Saturday but rarely on Sunday; which was not a normal workday; more sickness often occurred when the most work was required. Although there was a great deal of genuine illness among the slave population, it is also clear that much of it was feigned in order to get out of work, to avoid being sold to an undesirable master, or to get revenge on a master (by feigning a disability while on the auction block and hence fetch a lower price). Women pretending pregnancy received lighter work and increased food. The Bauers write:

Of the extent to which illness was feigned there can . . . be little doubt. Some of the feigning was quite obvious, and one might wonder why such flagrant abuses were tolerated. The important thing to remember is that a slave was an important economic investment. Most slave owners sooner or later found out that it was more profitable to give the slave the benefit of the doubt. A sick slave driven to work might very well die.<sup>94</sup>

Another example is reported from China in late 1952. In this instance the workers, although lacking an independent union, by the very strength of their numbers maintained a capacity to act.

Gradually the workers learned to offer passive resistance, which, although never on a planned or organized basis, nevertheless became a serious problem for the regime. Basically the passive resistance was expressed in a kind of slowdown. Outwardly, the workers seemed animated with the zeal demanded by the authorities but both the quantity and the quality of production fell noticeably.

The most noticeable aspect of the resistance was absenteeism. Taking advantage of the stipulation in the Labor Insurance Regulations that only a small reduction in pay would result from medically approved sick leave, the workers now formed long queues outside the clinics. Most of the "patients" had undiagnosable symptoms which the doctors dealt with by authorizing a few days' leave.<sup>95</sup>

Caught between the pressure of officials and legal responsibility if a genuinely ill patient had an accident after having been refused sick leave, the doctors tended to grant leave. In many factories absenteeism ran as high

as twenty percent. After the Health Committee of the Trade Unions organized "Comfort Missions" to visit every sick worker to determine whether he was really ill, absenteeism in one group of flour mills dropped from sixteen to five percent; but in a few weeks it returned to the original rate, after families learned to keep a lookout for the visit of the "Comfort Mission." "Thus by the time we arrived," said one such visitor, "the patient is always having a severe attack of pain."<sup>96</sup>

### 113. Strike by resignation

Another means of bypassing contractual or legal prohibitions against strikes (it may be used also on other occasions), is the strike by resignation. In this method a significant proportion of the personnel involved formally submit individual resignations. These may be timed so that the dates on which the resignations are submitted or go into effect are phased, so that the total number of resigned personnel steadily increases. Alternately, the whole group may resign simultaneously. At the end of August 1967 in Haverhill, Massachusetts, 85 nurses out of a nursing staff of 175 at Hale Hospital submitted resignations after the failure of negotiations over wages and working conditions. Fifty-eight of the resignations went into effect immediately, while the remainder were postponed for a few weeks. This was believed to be the first case of mass resignation by nurses during wage negotiations in the state. Haverhill City Manager J.P. Ginty called the nurses' action "tantamount to a strike."<sup>97</sup>

### 114. Limited strike

In the limited strike, which has also been called a "running-sore strike," the workers continue to perform most of their normal duties in an efficient way, but refuse to perform certain marginal work (either within or beyond their required working hours) or refuse to work on certain days. Such a strike may involve, for example, a refusal to work overtime or to work longer than is deemed reasonable. Transport workers have on occasion refused to operate the last scheduled bus, either for a predetermined period or until a settlement was reached.<sup>98</sup>

In 1870 miners in Fifeshire, Scotland, refused to work longer than eight hours a day.<sup>99</sup> Workers in St. Petersburg in October and November 1905 introduced the eight-hour day by "the simple expedient of ceasing work eight hours after they had reported for duty."<sup>100</sup> Strikes limited by refusal to work certain whole days are illustrated by the "Sundays only" strikes by British railway workers in 1945 and 1949,<sup>101</sup> and the alter-

native days" strike of Argentine railway workers in November 1947.<sup>102</sup> In 1942 Dutch mine workers in the strongly Catholic province of Limburg refused to work on Sundays, not primarily for religious reasons but because of opposition to the Nazi occupation.<sup>103</sup>

When German officials in Denmark in World War II met increased public opposition and sabotage with executions, prohibitions of all meetings and groups of more than five in the streets, and a curfew of 8 P.M. to 5 A.M., workers at Burmeister and Wain in Copenhagen, Denmark's largest shipyard, retaliated with a type of limited strike. On June 26, 1944, they left their places of work and sent a message to *Dagmarhus*, the Nazi headquarters, saying that since the Germans could not guarantee enough food, the workers had to tend their garden plots—and therefore had to leave work early. They were not striking, they said; but the potatoes and vegetables from their gardens were more important to them than the German war industry. These became known as the "go-home-early-strikes."<sup>104</sup>

### 115. Selective strike

In a selective strike workers refuse only to do certain *types* of work, often because of some political objection. The objection is to the tasks themselves, not hours, conditions, or the like. The intent is thus both to prevent the work itself from being carried out and to induce the employer in the future not to request the workers to do that type of work.

The first example here, from the American colonies, occurred in the interim between the appointment of delegates to the First Continental Congress (elections began in June 1774) and its adjournment on October 26. In the commercial provinces, Arthur M. Schlesinger writes, "the most striking development was the combination of workingmen of two of the chief cities to withhold their labor from the British authorities at Boston. Early in September 1774, Governor Gage sought to hire Boston workingmen for fortifying Boston Neck, but was met with refusals wherever he turned." New York workers were persuaded not to go to Boston to work on the fortifications. General Gage's brief success in getting a few days' work done on barracks by Boston carpenters and masons was shortlived; the workmen left the jobs, and a meeting of committees of thirteen towns adopted a labor boycott program. Under this program they resolved that should anyone from Massachusetts or any other province supply the troops at Boston with labor or materials which would enable them "to annoy or in any way distress" the citizens, such persons would be deemed "most inveterate enemies" and should be "prevented and defeated." The leading towns at the meeting appointed Committees of Observation and Prevention for en-

forcement, and the resolves were sent to all towns in the province. As a result, "the labor boycott was made effective," and the barracks were not completed until November—and then only because workers had been brought from Nova Scotia, and a few from New Hampshire.<sup>105</sup>

In other examples, German rail workers refused to take coal trains to France during the *Ruhrkampf*, and the personnel of the coal-shipping companies joined them in that refusal. When occupation officials imposed a Franco-Belgian administration to run the railroads in the Ruhr, in March 1923, only 400 of the 170,000 preinvasion rail employees were willing to work for it.<sup>106</sup> In August 1943 Danish dockworkers at Odense refused to repair German ships.<sup>107</sup> At Gothenburg, Sweden, in the summer of 1963, dockers refused to unload 180 tons of South African canned fruit after dockers at Copenhagen and Aarhus, Denmark, had similarly refused.<sup>108</sup>

## MULTI-INDUSTRY STRIKES

### 116. Generalized strike

When several industries are struck simultaneously as part of a general grievance but the strikers constitute less than a majority of the workers in the important industries of the area, the strike may be termed a generalized strike.<sup>109</sup> For example, because of common involvement in government wage regulations and procedures, several industries may be struck simultaneously, as happened in the metal, textile, shoe, mining and building industries in Norway in 1926 and again in 1927, in protest against wage reductions; the Norwegian strikes in 1931 again involved several industries, including newspapers, breweries and the tobacco industry.<sup>110</sup>

### 117. General strike

The general strike is widespread stoppage of labor by workers in an attempt to bring the economic life of a given area to a more or less complete standstill in order to achieve certain desired objectives.<sup>111</sup> The method may be used on a local, regional, national, or international level. Wilfred Harris Crook defined the general strike as "the strike of a majority of the workers in the more important industries of any one locality or region."<sup>112</sup> When confined to a city it may be called a localized general strike, such as occurred in Seattle, Washington, and Winnipeg, Canada, in 1919 and Vienna in 1927.<sup>113</sup> While a general strike is usually intend-

ed to be total, certain vital services may be allowed to operate, especially those necessary for health, such as provision of milk, water, and food; sewage disposal; and hospital services. Crook distinguishes three broad types of the general strike—political, economic, and revolutionary:

There is the *political* general strike, with the aim of exacting some definite political concession from the existing government, as the demand for universal suffrage in the Belgian General Strikes, or, more rarely, for the purpose of upholding the existing government against a would-be usurper, as the German strike against the *Kapp-Putsch* in 1920. The *economic* type is perhaps the most common form, at least at the beginning of the strike, and is exemplified by the Swedish strike of 1909. The *revolutionary* general strike, aiming at the definite overthrow of the existing government or industrial system, may be revolutionary in its purpose from the very start, or it may develop its revolutionary purpose as it proceeds. It is more likely to be found in countries where labor has not been long or extensively organized, or where the influential leaders of labor are largely syndicalist or anarchist in viewpoint, as Russia in 1905, Spain or Italy.<sup>114</sup>

The general strike has been widely advocated in radical socialist, syndicalist and anarchist thought; it has been practiced by English, Russian and Scandinavian socialists, and French, Italian, Spanish and South American anarchists and syndicalists.<sup>115</sup>

There are a large number of examples of general strikes, with considerable geographical and political variations. The Belgian general strikes of 1893, 1902 and 1913 supported demands for political reforms, including universal manhood suffrage.<sup>116</sup> Early general strikes in Imperial Russia were held at Rostov-on-Don in 1902 and Odessa in 1903,<sup>117</sup> and general strikes were widely used during the 1905 Russian Revolution. Perhaps the largest and most important of these was the Great October Strike of 1905, involving most of the cities of Imperial Russia that had any degree of industrial life.<sup>118</sup> The situation in Moscow is illustrative:

Within a week, Moscow was virtually isolated, and most of her important public activities were at a standstill. All train connections were severed. All telegraphic connections along the lines emanating from the city were silent. Only the central General Telegraph Office remained in operation in the city to provide communication with the outside and the railroadmen were planning to close it.<sup>119</sup>

The general strike was also used against the *Kapp Putsch* in Weimar Germany in 1920, as we saw in Chapter Two.

By the late afternoon of March 14, 1920, the greatest strike the world had ever seen was a reality. The economic life of the country came to a standstill. . . Kapp attempted to break the strike . . . [and] made picketing a capital offense. But his efforts proved totally ineffectual.<sup>120</sup>

The general strike in Norway in 1921 was against wage reductions,<sup>121</sup> and the Chinese general strike of 1925 was over economic and nationalist grievances.<sup>122</sup> The British General Strike of May 3-12, 1926, was the outgrowth of unsatisfied claims of the coal miners, and developed into a major test of power between workers and the government, complicated by the capitulation by the trade union leaders.<sup>123</sup>

In Amsterdam a general strike was held on February 25 and 26, 1941, to protest maltreatment of the city's Jews.<sup>124</sup> The 1943 Dutch general strike, or wave of strikes, from April 29 to as late as May 8 in some places, involved a majority of industrial workers, who opposed the planned internment of Dutch army veterans in Germany.<sup>125</sup> In Copenhagen, too, the general strike was applied during the Nazi occupation, from June 30 to about July 4, 1944, with the aim of forcing the Germans to withdraw the state of martial law and to remove the hated Danish fascist *Schalburgkorps* from the country. Negotiations led to German concessions, though not to the granting of the full demands.<sup>126</sup>

General strikes played a very important role in many cities and towns during the East German Rising of June 1953.<sup>127</sup> A general strike in Haiti in February 1957 ousted the temporary president, Pierre Louis.<sup>128</sup>

## COMBINATION OF STRIKES AND ECONOMIC CLOSURES

### 118. The hartal

The *hartal* is an Indian method of nonviolent action in which the economic life of an area is temporarily suspended on a voluntary basis in order to demonstrate extreme dissatisfaction with some event, policy, or condition. It is used not to wield economic influence, but to communicate sorrow, determination, revulsion, or moral or religious feelings about the matter in question. Although the form of this method is largely economic, the effect is one of symbolic protest. The *hartal* is usually limited to a duration of twenty-four hours; it may rarely be extended to forty-eight

hours or even longer in an extremely serious case. The *hartal* is usually city-wide or village-wide, although it may occur over a more extended area, including the whole nation. Generally speaking, there is greater emphasis in the *hartal* than in the general strike on its voluntary nature, even to the point of the laborers abstaining from work only after obtaining permission from their employers. Also, shop owners and businessmen fully participate by closing their establishments and factories.

This is one of the forms of nonviolent action known to ancient India, where it was used against the prince or king to make him aware of the unpopularity of a certain edict or other government measure.<sup>129</sup> The *hartal* is also used at a time of national mourning. Gandhi employed this ancient method in resistance movements he led. He often used the *hartal* at the beginning of a struggle with the intent of purifying participants in the struggle, of testing their feelings on the issue, and arousing the imagination of the people and the opponent. It was used, for example, at the beginning of the nationwide *satyagraha* campaign in India against the Rowlatt Bills in 1919,<sup>130</sup> and at the beginning of and during the 1930-31 *satyagraha* campaign for independence, especially to protest the arrest of important leaders.<sup>131</sup>

### 119. Economic shutdown

An economic shutdown occurs, producing economic paralysis, when the workers strike while management, businessmen, commercial institutions, and small shopkeepers simultaneously halt their economic activities; this method thus includes characteristics of both strikes and economic boycotts. Tendencies in this direction may occur in general strikes for widely supported political objectives. Economic shutdowns vary in the extent to which the different types of economic activities are shut down and the extent to which businessmen, management, and so on, participate, just as participation in the general strike ranges widely.

In late 1905 a national economic shutdown was a factor in the restoration of Finnish autonomy within Imperial Russia; Finnish employers expressed their solidarity by paying their employees wages for the duration of the strike.<sup>132</sup> J. Hampden Jackson writes:

Trains stopped, telegraphs went dead, factories stood empty. This lead was followed spontaneously by the whole nation: shops, offices, schools, restaurants were shut. The police went on strike and . . . university students formed a corps to maintain order . . . There was no bloodshed; it was merely passive resistance with a whole nation behind it.<sup>133</sup>

After six days constitutional government with free elections was granted, although several years later the Tsar's regime once more attempted Russification.<sup>134</sup>

In Esbjerg, Denmark, an economic shutdown broke out on July 11, 1943, "where not only the workers, but also the functionaries went home, and the traders closed the stores."<sup>135</sup> In Port-au-Prince, Haiti, in December 1956, General Paul Magliore, strongman since 1946, was confronted with an economic shutdown to protest his modified martial law; this involved a general strike of workers and closure of businesses by owners or managers. Almost all concerns shut down, including gasoline and oil works, docks, most of the public market, downtown shops, schools and banks; civil servants were on strike and lawyers refused to take court cases; there were even strikes in some hospitals. "The resistance was completely passive. Haitians simply stayed away from their jobs." After Magliore's resignation from the presidency on December 12, the shutdown continued with the demand that he also resign from the army, which he did after additional support for the resignation demand came from the army itself and the Papal Nuncio. On December 14 it was reported that Magliore had left for exile in Jamaica.<sup>136</sup>

During the Buddhist struggle against the Diem regime in 1963, the majority of shops in Hué closed down on at least two occasions in support of the opposition movement, although it is not clear to what degree this was or was not accompanied by the shutdown of other sections of the city's economic life.<sup>137</sup>

Certain examples of strikes show that they have been used for political objectives, and in some cases (as when civil servants have gone on strike) the events themselves have become mixed with aspects of political noncooperation. Where certain methods of the strike have been illegal or have continued despite government edicts to the contrary (say, in a case of an economic shutdown intended to destroy a government), there has also been a mixture of economic and political forms of noncooperation. Let us now turn to methods of political noncooperation and examine them in detail.

## NOTES

1. This general definition of the strike is based upon the following studies: Fitch, "Strikes and Lockouts," pp. 419-426; Jack Barbash, *Labor Unions in Action: A Study of the Mainsprings of Unionism*, (New York, Harper and Bros., 1948) pp. 124-141; Florence Peterson, *Survey of the Labor Economics*, rev. ed. (New York, Harper and Bros., 1951), pp. 565-572; E. T. Hiller, *The Strike: A Study in Collective Action* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), esp. pp. 12-24 and 278; Steuben, *Strike Strategy*; and Reynolds, *Labor Economics and Labor Relations*, pp. 284-286.
2. The term is used by Warmbrunn, *The Dutch Under German Occupation*, p. 108.
3. Knowles, *Strikes*, p. 11.
4. Barbash, *Labor Unions in Action*, p. 129.
5. This inclusion of political issues as possible motivations in the protest strike diverges from Barbash, *Labor Unions in Action*, p. 131. Here the form of the strike rather than its motivation is regarded more significant in developing a classification.
6. Sternstein, "The *Ruhrkampf* of 1923", p. 111.
7. Warmbrunn, *The Dutch . . .*, p. 110.
8. *Peace News*, April 10 and 17 April 1959.
9. *Ibid.*, 18 May 1962.
10. Barbash, *Labor Unions in Action*, p. 130.
11. Harcave, *First Blood*, p. 134.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
13. Vladimir Gurko, quoted in Harcave, *First Blood*, p. 198.
14. Edgar Holt, *Protest in Arms*, p. 157. I am grateful to William Hamilton for this reference.
15. Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, pp. 41 and 45-46.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 76 and 85.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 115. On the announcements, see also pp. 81 and 112.
18. Barbash, *Labor Unions in Action*, pp. 126-127.
19. Knowles, *Strikes*, p. 11.
20. Barbash, *Labor Unions in Action*, pp. 126-127.
21. *Peace News*, 19 July 1963.
22. Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, pp. 214-215.
23. Charques, *The Twilight of Imperial Russia*, p. 138.
24. Harcave, *First Blood*, pp. 170-171.
25. Soion L. Barraclough, "Agricultural Policy and Land Reform" (mimeo), (Conference on Key Problems of Economic Policy in Latin America, University of Chicago, November 6-9, 1966), p. 45. I am grateful to Jeffrey B. Peters for this and the following references.
26. Dwight B. Heath, Charles J. Erasmus and Hans C. Buechler, *Land Reform and Social Revolution in Bolivia* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), pp. 42-44.
27. Barraclough, "Agricultural Policy and Land Reform," pp. 45-46; and Barraclough, "Farmers' Organizations in Planning and Implementing Rural Programs" (unpublished paper, n.d., prepared for a reader on rural development being edited by Professor Raanan Weitz) pp. 11-12.
28. Barraclough, "Farmers' Organizations in Planning and Implementing Rural Programs," pp. 11-12.
29. Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field: The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1939), p. 211.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 213-14.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 215-16.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-229.
33. John Gregory Dunne, *Delano: The Story of the California Grape Strike* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1967), p. 133. Also on the grape strike, see Peter Matthiessen, *Sal Si Puedes: Cesar Chavez and the New American Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1969).
34. Diwakar, *Satyagraha*, pp. 124-126.
35. Dan Daniels, "Nonviolent Actions in Canada," in *Our Generation Against Nuclear War* (Montreal), vol. 3, no. 1 (June 1964), p. 70.
36. Hsiao, *Rural China*, pp. 247-248.
37. Mulford C. Sibley and Asa Wardlaw, "Conscientious Objectors in Prison," in Staughton Lynd, ed., *Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History*, (Indianapolis, etc.: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1966), pp. 301-302. See also James Peck, *Freedom Ride* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962), pp. 39-41.
38. Brigitte Gerland, "How the Great Vorkuta Strike Was Prepared" and "The Great Labor Camp Strike at Vorkuta," *The Militant* (New York), 28 February and 7 March 1955.
39. Steuben, *Strike Strategy*, p. 278.
40. On craft unions and industrial unions, see Peterson, *American Labor Unions*, pp. 71-75.
41. Selig Perlman, *A History of Trade Unionism in the United States* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1923), p. 3.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
43. Benjamin Stalberg, *Tailor's Progress: The Story of A Famous Union and the Men Who Made It* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1944), p. 38.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-64.
45. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, vol. I, p. 472.
46. Buckler, "Labour Disputes in the Province of Asia Minor," p. 29.
47. Morgan and Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis*, pp. 223-224.
48. Harcave, *First Blood*, p. 101.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
50. David Ziskind, *One Thousand Strikes of Government Employees* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), pp. 75-76.
51. *New York Times*, 12, 13 and 14 December 1956.
52. Hiller, *The Strike*, p. 278.

53. McAlister Coleman, *Men and Coal* (New York: Farrar and Rienhart, 1943), pp. 164-166.
54. Harriet Holter, "Disputes and Tensions in Industry" (reprint from *Scandinavian Democracy* [Copenhagen], 1958, pp. 3-4).
55. Hiller, *The Strike*, p. 278.
56. Herbert Harris, *American Labor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), pp. 120-129.
57. Foster Rhea Dulles, *Labor in America: A History* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, Co., 1949), pp. 215-219.
58. *The Observer* (London), 5 July 1959.
59. *Militant*, 10 and 17 August 1953.
60. Sternstein, "The *Ruhrkampf* of 1932," pp. 118-119.
61. Warmbrunn, *The Dutch . . .*, p. 108.
62. Jong, "Anti-Nazi Resistance in the Netherlands," in *European Resistance Movements 1939-1945*, pp. 141-142. The failure of Field-Marshal Montgomery's military plan and German counter measures to the strike led to over 15,000 deaths from starvation, de Jong reports. Warmbrunn (*The Dutch . . .*, pp. 141-146) offers a more detailed account and evaluation.
63. *The Times*, 3, 7, 8, 10, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28 and 29 May 1962.
64. Peterson, *American Labor Unions*, p. 270, and *Survey of Labor Economics*, pp. 568-569.
65. Fred S. Hall, *Sympathetic Strikes and Sympathetic Lockouts* (New York: Published Ph.D. dissertation in Political Science, Columbia University, 1898), pp. 11-12.
66. Symons, *The General Strike*, p. 226.
67. Hall, *Sympathetic Strikes and Sympathetic Lockouts*, pp. 14-15.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-84.
69. Walter Galenson, *Labor in Norway* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 165.
70. Seton-Watson, *The Decline of Imperial Russia*, p. 130.
71. *New York Times*, 23, 24 and 27 June 1944.
72. *Flint Glass Makers' Magazine*, July 1850, quoted by Hiller, *The Strike*, p. 136.
73. Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, *The U.A.W. and Walter Reuther* (New York: Random House, 1949), pp. 78-79.
74. Hiller, *The Strike*, p. 137.
75. *Ibid.*
76. Knowles, *Strikes*, pp. 12-13.
77. *Ibid.*
78. Knowles, *Strikes*, pp. 18-19.
79. Peterson, *American Labor Unions*, p. 268.
80. Raymond A. Bauer and Alice H. Bauer, "Day to Day Resistance to Slavery," *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. XXVII, no. 4 (Oct. 1942), p. 397.
81. Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 191.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208.
83. Franz Neumann, *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism 1933-1944* (New York: Octagon Books, 1963), p. 344.
84. Knowles, *Strikes*, p. 19.
85. Jong, "Anti-Nazi Resistance in the Netherlands," in *European Resistance Movements 1939-1945* p. 144. On slow-downs by Dutch miners, see Warmbrunn, *The Dutch . . .*, p. 138.
86. Lochner, ed., *The Goebbels Diaries*, p. 107. Diary entry by Goebbels for 1 March 1942.
87. Neumann, *Behemoth*, pp. 344-345.
88. Neumann uses this term as identical with the *ca'canny* and the slow-down.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 347. Neumann (p. 348) offers reasons for believing that the concessions followed from the workers' action, while he acknowledges a possible primary role for reduced demands resulting from the "phoney" war of 1939.
90. Personal letter from Josef Korbel, 22 December 1966.
91. Knowles, *Strikes*, p. 18.
92. Neumann, *Behemoth*, p. 344.
93. Knowles, *Strikes*, p. 18.
94. Bauer and Bauer, "Day to Day Resistance to Slavery," p. 408.
95. Loh, *Escape from Red China*, pp. 109-111. I am grateful to Margaret Jackson Rothwell for this reference.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Boston Globe*, 27 and 29 August 1967.
98. Knowles, *Strikes*, pp. 11-12.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
100. Keep, *The Rise of Social Democracy in Russia*, p. 237, and Harcave, *First Blood*, p. 224.
101. Knowles, *Strikes*, p. 12.
102. *Ibid.*
103. Warmbrunn, *The Dutch . . .*, p. 138.
104. Kirchhoff, et al., *Besættelsestidens Historie*, p. 204.
105. Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*, pp. 386-388.
106. Sternstein, "The *Ruhrkampf* of 1923," p. 115.
107. Reitinger, *The Final Solution*, p. 346.
108. *Peace News*, 19 July 1963.
109. Hiller, *The Strike*, pp. 139, 243-244 and 278.
110. Galenson, *Labor in Norway*, pp. 166-168.
111. For more detailed discussion of the general strike, see esp. Wilfred H. Crook, "General Strike," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. VI, pp. 607-612; Crook, *The General Strike*; and Crook, *Communism and the General Strike* (Hamden, Connecticut: The Shoe String Press, 1960).
112. Crook, *The General Strike*, p. vii.
113. *Ibid.*
114. *Ibid.*, pp. vii-viii.
115. Ligt, *The Conquest of Violence*, pp. 110-111 and Peterson, *American Labor Unions*, p. 257, for example.
116. Crook, *The General Strike*, pp. 54-103.
117. Seton-Watson, *The Decline of Imperial Russia*, pp. 128 and 130.

118. See Harcave, *First Blood*, pp. 180-186.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
120. Halperin, *Germany Tried Democracy*, pp. 179-180.
121. Galenson, *Labor in Norway*, p. 162.
122. Crook, "General Strike," p. 610.
123. Symons, *The General Strike*, and Crook, *The General Strike*, pp. 367-445.
124. Jong, "Anti-Nazi Resistance in the Netherlands," p. 140, and Warmbrunn, *The Dutch . . .*, pp. 106-111.
125. Warmbrunn, *The Dutch . . .*, pp. 113-118. Jong, "Anti-Nazi Resistance in the Netherlands," p. 141. and personal letter confirming the participation of a majority of industrial workers from Dr. L. de Jong, 7 July 1966.
126. Kirchhoff, et al., *Besættelsestidens Historie*, pp. 206-209.
127. Brant, *The East German Rising*, pp. 69-136 *passim*.
128. *Time*, 18 February 1957, p. 23.
129. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*, pp. 118-119.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
131. *Ibid.*, p. 94 and Sharp, *Gandhi Wields . . .*, pp. 91, 104, 109, 121 and 132.
132. Eino Jutikkala, *A History of Finland*, pp. 240-242.
133. J. Hampden Jackson, *Finland* (New York: Macmillan, 1940), pp. 74-75.
134. Miller, *Nonviolence*, p. 248.
135. Kirchhoff, et al., *Besættelsestidens Historie*, pp. 168-169.
136. *New York Times*, 7-14 December 1956.
137. Adam Roberts, "Buddhism and Politics in South Vietnam," in *The World Today* (London), vol. 21, no. 6 (June 1965), p. 246.