

## 南韓雙龍汽車(Ssangyong)工人罷工始末

國際處李威霖

這次發生在韓國京畿道平澤市的雙龍汽車工人罷工事件肇因於 2008 年全球經濟風暴，讓雙龍汽車公司無法正常營運，資方遂引進中國資金，由上海汽車取得雙龍汽車的經營權。但是中國來的經營者卻一面掏空雙龍汽車一面任意裁員，讓所有勞工人心惶惶。工人透過工會要求與資方進行協商談判，但是資方不但不理會工會要求，甚至要求政府協助對付工會。工人在忍無可忍的情況下自今年 5 月下旬在平澤市廠區發動靜坐罷工。但是資方似乎不理會工會的警告，甚至變本加厲，要求主管到參加罷工工人的家裡威脅恐嚇，讓一位工會幹部的 28 歲妻子心生恐懼而患了憂鬱症，不久就跳樓自殺身亡，留下兩個可憐的幼兒，一個 4 歲、另一個才 8 個月大。

此次在平澤市廠區的罷工總人數約有 800 人左右，但是卻有至少 3000 名的警察包圍整個廠區。警察甚至動用噴水車、瓦斯槍、直昇機噴灑催淚瓦斯還有不知名的有毒化學物，而警察個個手持鋼管或木棍，對付這些手無武器且和平行使罷工權的工人像對付戰場的敵人或暴徒一般。到了 7 月 16 日，罷工已持續了 50 幾天，有些工人身體已經出現狀況，但卻因整個廠區被警察包圍而無法進出，且警察毫無人性的禁止外面遞送食物、藥品甚至不准醫護人員進去。尤有甚者，公司開始斷水、斷電，讓罷工工人沒水喝、沒東西吃，公司和政府絲毫不顧是否會發生人命。

7 月 23 日韓國民主勞總開始向韓國李明博總統提出警察撤離的要求，並向全世界勞工團體請求聲援。由於本會過去與韓國民主勞總交往密切，也收到民主勞總的信函。本會呼應民主勞總的要求於 7 月 29 日寫信(如附件一)給南韓李明博總統，要求南韓政府立即撤退包圍雙龍汽車平澤市廠區的警力，並坐下來與工會和工人進行協商。儘管如此，8 月 5 日韓國警方仍開始逮捕工人並強力鎮壓罷工工人，情勢似乎演變成戰爭的狀態，經過各方努力斡旋，韓國政府和雙龍汽車公司終於在 8 月 6 日同意工人要求並進行協商達成協議，協議內容(如附件二)，罷工危機終於落幕，然而這次罷工行動中，很不幸有工人家屬身亡，更有 90 幾位勞工仍被拘留，其後續發展仍需要我們關心。



南韓警方動用 3 台直昇機在平澤市廠區噴灑催淚瓦斯來對付罷工工人



南韓警方動用噴水車向搭帳棚在平澤市廠區的罷工工人家屬噴水柱

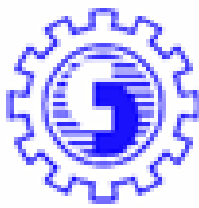


罷工工人在經過 50 幾天的罷工之後，有些工人病倒了，亟需醫生治療  
但是警方卻不准醫生進入，並加以逮捕



紅圈內倒地的是 KMWU 的工會幹部。雖然他已倒地但是警方仍然不停的用棍子擊打

(附件一)



中華電信工會  
Chunghwa Telecom Workers' Union

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Mr. **Lee Myung-bak**

President of the Republic

Blue House, Seoul

Republic of South Korea

By fax: +82 2770 1690

29 July, 2009

**RE: Police violence against striking workers**

Dear President,

On behalf of the Chunghwa Telecom Workers' Union (the CTWU), which represents over 24,000 workers of its 21 telecom affiliated branch unions in Taiwan, we are extremely concerned with the escalating violence by riot police against the striking workers of the Ssangyong Motor Pyeongtaek plant.

Since July 16, management at the plant has blocked all food from entering the factory. On July 19, it began to disallow medical doctors and nurses from entering the compound. At 10:00 am on July 22, riot police entered the factory compound with court officials and creditors who tried to deliver a forced eviction order. The police surrounded the paint factory where 800 workers are sitting in on the 68<sup>th</sup> day of their strike.

Over 3,000 riot police and around 30 vehicles including water cannons, ladder trucks and helicopters have been mobilized for this operation.

After news came in that police had started to advance into the compound, it was learned that the wife of the KMWU Ssangyong Motors Branch policy director had committed suicide. She was the 28-year old mother of an 8 months old baby and of a four-year old child. She suffered stress and anxiety from receiving subpoenas and a warrant for her husband's arrest.

Sir, accounts and pictures taken yesterday, and sent by our Korean sister unions, give a clear picture of the unacceptable level of unrestrained brutality exercised by the riot police.

We are deeply concerned about the blockade on water, food, access to medicine and medical treatment for the workers as well as the constant battery with chemical substances including teargas concentrate dropped from helicopters. These represent violations against basic human dignity.

Violence and repression on this scale cannot lead to constructive industrial relations. I urge you, as a matter of urgency and before further blood will shed, to end the brutal attack against the Ssangyong Motors Branch workers, withdraw all pending arrest warrants and release all imprisoned union leaders related to this strike.

I strongly urge your government to immediately begin negotiations with the Korean Metal Workers' Union to promote a peaceful resolution through dialogue.

Yours sincerely,

Chu, Chuan-ping  
President  
CTWU

Cc. KCTU [inter@kctu.org](mailto:inter@kctu.org)  
KMWU [inter@metal.nodong.org](mailto:inter@metal.nodong.org)

## (附件二)

Dear Colleagues,  
親愛的合作夥伴

Solidarity Greetings from KCTU!

一封來自韓國民主勞總的信

On Thursday(August 6th), agreement was reached between Ssangyong Motors management and workers. KMWU Ssangyong Motors Branch brought a 77-day sit-in strike to an end. The main contents of the agreement are as follows.

8月6日(星期四),在經過了77天的靜坐罷工之後,雙龍汽車公司終於和工會達成協議,協議的主要內容如下:

Union members who are affected by the layoffs, are allowed to make a choice of unpaid leave, transfers to sales positions, transfers to spin-offs, or voluntary resignation. 48 % of restructured people are being given unpaid leave or are being transferred to sales positions, and 52 % are voluntarily resigning or shifting to spin-offs.

(However, what is the '100%' out of which the ratio is applied is subject to additional negotiations for details.)

工會會員原先被裁員的,可以選擇無薪休假,調到業務部門或其他單位或自動辭職。結果,48%的員工選擇了無薪休假並調到業務部門,而52%的員工選擇自動辭職或調到其他單位。(不過,所有這些相關調動處理細節仍須進一步協商。)

After one year, depending on production levels, workers on unpaid leave are allowed to engage in job rotation and 2-day work shift system will be implemented. Workers who are transferred into sales positions will be provided with wages of 500,000 Won per month for one year.

一年後,視生產情況,無薪休假的員工可以從事輪調並且可以有2天工作的輪班制。凡調到業務部門的員工,公司必須提供每月50萬韓圓的薪資至少一年。

Workers who take an unpaid leave, transfer to sales positions or voluntarily retire during this restructuring period will be fairly reinstated or rehired if a demand for new workers arises in the future as a result of an improvement in the company's financial situation.

這次公司組織變化,不管員工選擇無薪休假、調到業務部門或自動辭職者,將來公司若需要勞工或是公司財政狀況改善時,這些員工應獲得復職或再聘僱。

An additional two-month voluntary retirement allowance will be paid to workers taking unpaid leave or retiring voluntarily, while livelihood security support, such as job placement, will be provided in cooperation with central and local governments and cooperating firms.

公司必須支付額外兩個月的自動辭職津貼給那些選擇無薪休假或自動辭職者。另外中央和地方政府要協助讓員工生活獲得保障,像求職協助等。

The management will withdraw criminal proceedings against the trade union and its members in order to encourage good willingness for the revival of Ssangyong Motors. Civil liability will be also called off when the company' s revival plan is approved.

公司資方必須撤銷所有對工會和其會員的所採取的法律訴訟，以彰顯公司的善意，如此能讓公司更快復甦。一但公司復甦計劃獲准，所有民事責任也應一筆勾銷。

As for the KCTU' s position on the agreement, please see the below statement. But at this moment, we would like to point out that 96 strikers have been jailed, immediately transported from the sit-in strike to the police jail. We are very concerned that arrested people will be facing serious prison sentences and the union will face massive legal fees. In this regard, we are kindly requesting you to keep your eyes on this case continuously. We will keep you informed on any development of Ssangyong workers who are taken into custody.

至於韓國民主勞總在此次的協商的立場，請看底下我們的聲明稿。不過在這個時候，我們希望凸顯出目前仍有96位先前罷工的勞工仍被關，他們在罷工現場直接被警方帶離。我們非常關心這些被逮捕的勞工他們將面臨司法的極重刑期的判決，工會也因此將面臨巨大的訴訟費用。因此，我們仍希望大家能多加注意後續發展，同時民主勞總也會繼續提供各位有關雙龍罷工工人的相關資訊。

Finally, we would like to emphasize that international solidarity and pressure contributed enormously to bring a peaceful settlement of the dispute. We would like to extend upmost appreciation for your great support and solidarity for the Ssangyong Motors Workers.

最後，我們再次強調，由於來自國際的團結力量所展現出來的壓力讓此次的罷工能和平解決。民主勞總非常感謝各國勞工的支持和聲援雙龍汽車勞工。足感心liio!

In Solidarity,

患難相扶持、團結一定贏

Korean Confederation of Trade Unions(KCTU)

韓國民主勞總

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[Attached]

KCTU Statement on Agreement between Ssangyong Motors Management and Workers

民主勞總有關雙龍汽車勞資協商的聲明稿

The Struggle against Layoffs will Continue!

對抗裁員的戰鬥仍將繼續

The management and trade union of Ssangyong Motors held their final round of talks today (6<sup>th</sup> August) and came to an agreement. The KCTU respects the decisions of KMWU Ssangyong Motors Branch, of coming to an agreement through dialogue to prevent further catastrophe. We firmly reaffirm that the inhumane and potentially deadly actions taken by police and management during the course of the strike are acts

that cannot be condoned. Innocent workers are still being made to bear the brunt of this economic crisis and the poorly-conceived sell-off of companies to foreign capital. If these circumstances persist, the KCTU warns that the struggle against unjust dismissals can re-spark anytime, anywhere.

雙龍汽車勞資雙方的談判在8月6日達成協議。韓國民主勞總尊重雙龍汽車勞工的決定，透過對話避免更嚴重的悲劇發生。我們也堅決重申：警方和資方在此次雙龍勞工罷工事件當中，不人道和可能因此引發嚴重死亡的行為不能被寬恕。無辜的勞工仍然是經濟危機以及公司欠缺考慮下賣給外國買主首當其衝的受害者。如果這些情況依舊，民主勞總警告，韓國的勞工對抗不公平的解雇裁員仍然隨時隨地會引爆。

The struggle of KMWU Ssangyong Motors Branch is the result of bad contradictory economic policies. The management and government initially caused and then precipitated the crisis. They had continuously looked for ways to bash the union. Workers were forced through mass dismissals to pay for bad management practices. The government had pushed ahead with the sell-off of Ssangyong Motors to Shanghai Motors, which then withdrew after profiteering, driving Ssangyong to bankruptcy. Furthermore, we witnessed the worst forms of human rights violations such as cutting off the electricity, water and medicine, and the clashes in front of the plant was also very serious. Thus, the lesson to be learnt from this crisis is that the government must revise its substandard economic and labour policies while the management must do away with its union-bashing attitude and practices such as refusing to recognize the trade union as a dialogue partner.

雙龍汽車的抗爭是因為不好而有爭議的經濟政策所導致的結果。雙龍汽車公司資方和政府是始作俑者，更是這次危機雪上加霜的罪魁禍首。他們一直想要打擊工會。勞工被大量裁員成為資方不當經營管理下的替死鬼。而政府又將雙龍汽車賣給中國上海汽車，結果上海汽車掏空雙龍汽車之後撤資導致雙龍公司破產。另外，我們目睹了最不人道的行為，像切斷水、電、醫療器材等，而且在廠區前的衝突是非常嚴重的。因此，從這次危機中我們必須記取教訓，政府應該要修改經濟和勞工政策，而資方必須避免採取打擊工會的態度和做法，例如拒絕承認工會為對話的對象。

The agreement between Ssangyong Motor labour and management will not automatically lead to normalization of production. The forthcoming revival process of Ssangyong Motors may entail more confrontation. Both government and management must realize that if they maintain their present mindset, the tragedy can be repeated. The management must acknowledge the errors that it had made, and accordingly sincerely reflect upon their conduct as well as show their will for improvement. The government should turn away from their attitude of instigating destructive government-labour and management-labour relations, including its excessive criminal punishment for legitimate union activities. Furthermore, the government should come up with responsible measures such as injecting needed government aid into the ailing company. Both the government and management must not forget that the reason Ssangyong Motors struggle went beyond a 'managerial' to become a 'political' issue, blocking amicable settlement, was precisely because of their negative approach. 此次雙龍汽車勞資雙方的協定不會自動使工廠的生產變好。雙龍汽車未來的復甦過程可能會引發更多的衝突。政府和資方必須體認到如果他們仍堅持目前的心態，則悲劇很可能還會重演。資方必須承認錯誤是他們所造成的，並且要真心的反應在他們的行為上，展現誠意來改善。政府應改變他們過去的態度，不要破壞政勞和資勞之間的關係，包括過度的把合法的工會活動當做犯罪來處罰。還有，政府應適時的採取負責任的措施，像引進企業所需的援助來幫助有問題的企業。政府和資方雙方都不能忘記此次雙龍汽車抗爭的原因是超越管理層面，變成一個政治性的議

題。原先能夠和平友善的，卻明顯的因為政資雙方的錯誤處理方式而導致嚴重的後果。

The KCTU will not stop its struggles against anti-labour policies of the Lee Myung Bak government, and will not stand by complacently should Ssangyong Motors continue its union-bashing practices as shown during the recent crisis. We express sincere gratitude to our members and all citizens who had exerted tremendous effort into settling the crisis, and resolve to strive more strongly to attain labour rights of 15 million workers of South Korea.

韓國民主勞總不會停止對抗李明博政府的反工會政策。如果雙龍汽車繼續像最近爆發衝突中一樣打擊工會，韓國民主勞總不會袖手旁觀。在此我們要真誠的感謝所有的會員工會和所有的民眾，他們全心全力協助處理這次的危機。民主勞總更誓言要繼續為全南韓1 千5 百萬的的勞工權益奮鬥到底。

Finally, the KCTU hopes that the souls of Ssangyong Motors workers and family members who had lost their very lives in the course of these mass redundancy dismissals may rest in peace and conveys deep condolences to the bereaved.

最後，韓國民主勞總希望此次事件中犧牲性命的雙龍汽車工人和其家庭成員能夠安息。我們對所有受害者致上最崇敬的哀悼。

6<sup>th</sup> August, 2009

2009 年8 月6 日

Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU)

韓國民主勞總