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Souls in Exile: A study of Chinese Migration Workers in Romania

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International Labour Office for China and Mongolia



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Souls in Exile: A study of Chinese Migration Workers in Romania

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1. Introduction

With the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, Romania embarked on a series of political and economic reforms and began its transition to a market economy. On 1 January 2007, Romania became a member of the European Union, with one of the lowest per capita income among EU member states.

The construction and clothing manufacturing sectors, both labour intensive industries, have developed rapidly since 1989. During the same period, many Romanians travelled to Western Europe to take advantage of the labour shortage and higher levels of pay there, leading to a labour shortage in Romania.

Labour brokerage companies sprang up to seize on the business opportunities associated with this labour shortage. They started to bring in large number of workers from neighbouring countries and non-European areas, e.g. the Republic of Moldova, Turkey, Asia and Africa. However, the migration of labour into Romania created its own set of problems. In January 2007, 200 female Chinese workers employed at a textile factory in Bacau went on strike for a week. The workers were protesting against the low salaries which were allegedly well below what they were promised at the time of employment.

The Romanian National Trade Union Block (BNS)¹ conducted an investigation into the cause of the strike and identified at least eight issues that needed to be addressed:

- Discrepancy between salaries promised at the time of hiring and the salaries actually received in Romania
- Sub-standard living condition
- Long working hours in excess of 12 hours per day

¹ BNS is a trade union confederation represented at Romanian national level, in total it represents the interests of approximately 400,000 workers, including foreign workers. It is internationally affiliated to the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC).

- Difficult working conditions
- Lack of awareness among the Chinese workers of Romanian employment legislation and workers' rights
- Isolation from the local communities: lack of social activities and contacts between the local communities and the Chinese workers.
- Communication difficulties between foreign workers and the Romanian society due to language barrier
- Workers did not know how to access support from the Chinese Embassy and in general were not in contact with their Embassy

The purpose of this report is to show the path of migration of Chinese workers to Romania and to provide details on the labour business, covering their reasons for migration, salary and terms of employment among other related issues. This study examines the process of migration into Romania by Chinese migrant workers and the risks associated in human trafficking and forced labours. It concludes with a set of policy recommendations.

This report first provides a general background on Romanian migration and the history of Chinese migration to Romania; this is followed by detailed analysis of three separate groups of Chinese workers: Chinese construction workers in Iași and Bucharest, female textile workers in Bacău and workers at the Constanta shipyard with emphasis on construction workers.

2. Romania: Immigration and Emigration

2.1 European Integration and Romanian Emigration

The integration of Europe precipitated major changes in the

European labour market and at the same time, a new set of challenges. As economic conditions in Western and Southern Europe improved, citizens in these regions demanded higher pay for their efforts, creating the opportunity for cheaper labour from Eastern Europe to enter Western and Southern European labour markets. The Accession of Romania to the EU in 2007 also enabled Romanians to enter European labour markets which offered higher wages and better working conditions than those in Romania. Between 2002 and 2006, the number of Romanian emigrants almost doubled; over 60% of the total Romanian emigrants went to EU countries and by 2006, close to 1 million of Romanians were working in the EU (Table 2.1). The effect of this emigration was felt almost immediately as the exodus of Romanian migrants in turn created a labour shortage in the internal labour market². The percentage of Romanians working in the EU reached almost 5% of the total Romanian population of 21.5 million³.

Table 2.1: Romanian Emigrants (2002-2006)⁴

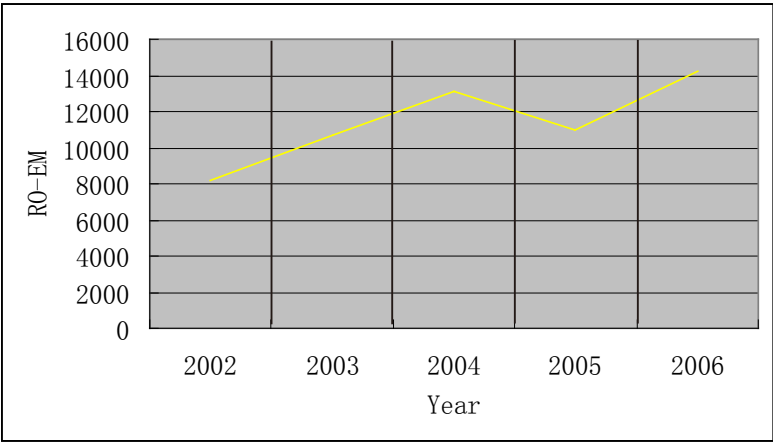
Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Total Emigrants	8154	10673	13082	10938	14197
Emigrants to EU		6562	8913	7438	9653
Emigrants to EU(%)		61.48%	68.13%	68.00%	67.99%

¹ Data received upon request on Jan. 2009 by the National Trade Union Bloc (BNS, located in Bucharest). BNS is a trade union confederation representative at Romanian national level, in total it represents the interests of approximately 400,000 workers, including foreign workers. It is internationally affiliated to the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC).

³ Source: National Statistics Institute, Jan 2008.

⁴ Source: Eurostat Database

Figure 2.1: Romanian Emigrants (2002-2006)⁴



Further analysis of the 2006 data found that the 26 - 40 age group constituted 57.74% of the total number of Romanian emigrants. This figure rose to 82.45% when the age group is expanded to cover the 18 - 50 age range (Table 2.2). Therefore it can be seen that the Romanian emigrant population included a significantly high percentage of the Romanian labour force which was likely to have an impact Romania’s own labour market.

Table 2.2: Romanian Emigrants to the European Union by Region and Age groups in 2006

Age Group(years)	Under 18	18-25	26-40	41-50	51-60	61 and over	Total
No. of Emigrants	963	1726	8198	1782	839	689	14197
% of total number of emigrants	6.78%	12.16%	57.74%	12.55%	5.91%	4.85%	100.00%

⁴ Source: Eurostat Database.

2.2 Immigrants to Romania

According to the BNS's report, the sectors in Romania most affected by this labour outflow were construction (building and infrastructure), textile, food and tourism and tourist services.⁵ In the Bacau labour dispute mentioned in section 1, the textile company complained, "they could not find any Romanian workers because all of them have left to work in Western and Central Europe". The labour shortage and the existence of unfilled job vacancies in Romania are two factors that contributed to the emergence of labour brokers in Romania and to labour migration into the country. From mid-2007, labour brokers together with Romanian employers started to bring large numbers of workers from third-world countries into Romania and to push the authorities to grant an increasing number of work permits. In 2008, the Romanian authorities issued 15,000 work permits compared to 10,000 in 2007⁶.

BNS estimated that about 11,000 foreign workers were working legally in Romania. Most of these foreign workers came from Turkey (4,200), China (4,100) and the Republic of Moldova (1,200)⁷ (Figure 2.2). Estimates by the National Forecast Committee (Romania) indicated that by 2013 about 300,000 foreigners will be working in Romania (Figure 2.3).

⁵ Foreign workers in Romania - vision and BNS actions. BNS, 2008.

⁶ Foreign workers in Romania - vision and BNS actions. BNS, 2008

⁷ Source: BNS, Sept. 2008

Figure 2.2: Migration workers' home country (2008)

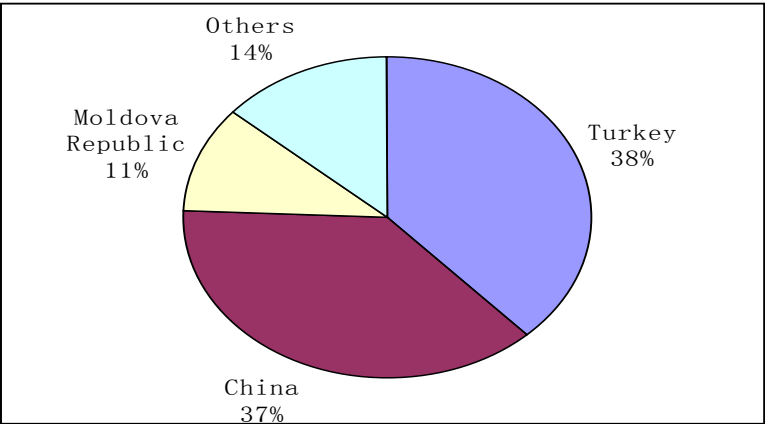
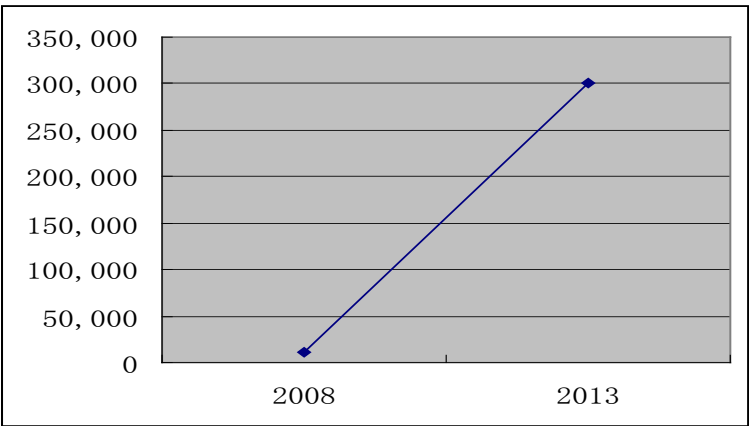


Figure 2.3: Increase of migration workers (based on estimates from the National Forecast Committee)



3. History and Social Structure of Chinese Immigrants in Romania

3.1. An overview of the Sino-Romanian Relationship

P. R. China and Romania established diplomatic relations on October 5, 1949 and set up embassies in their respective capital cities in March 1950. From the 1950s to the 1980s,

the Communist parties and state leaders of the two countries exchanged frequent visits, with frequency of contacts reaching a peak in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

In 1968, when Sino-Soviet relations were at a very low point, Romania openly opposed the Soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia. Fearing military aggression from its giant neighbour from its eastern border, Romania strengthened its ties with China and the good political relations between the two countries proved to be mutually beneficial: Nicolae Ceausescu, the then president of Romania eventually brokered the normalization of Sino-US relations.

Sino-Romanian trade relation began in 1950. Between 1950 and 1991, bilateral trade volume grew rapidly, particularly in the 1970s, due to active promotion by the two governments. Following the launch of Romania's economic reform after the fall of the Ceaucescu regime, bilateral trade dropped in the 1990s but started to develop again from 2000 as the Romanian economy rebounded.

Between 1980 and 1983, around 4,000 Chinese specialists, in political affairs, economics, technology, science and culture – including the former Chinese president Jiang Zemin - visited Romania. These specialists and retailers from Beijing were among the first group in China to discover Romania as an attractive destination for immigration. In the 1980s, merchants from the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries visited Xiushui Street, a street in the commercial district of Beijing that is famous for its cheap clothing and counterfeit products and brought information about their home countries to China. As a result Asian traders began to travel by train from Beijing to Moscow, carrying products to be sold in Moscow. The cost of such a trip was US\$ 80. At the beginning, the traders could expect to sell their products almost immediately on arrival in

Moscow. However, as more traders arrived in Moscow and competition grew more fierce, these trading activities spread to Kyiv, Bucharest and Budapest. These early traders formed the first wave of Chinese immigration to Eastern Europe.

Many studies attributed this immigration wave to the “Agreements on Exemption of Visas for Holders of Diplomatic and Service (Official) Passports” between China and some Eastern European countries, for example Romania and Hungary. However, this study has found it to be only one of two secondary factors to contributing to the momentum of immigration: the second being the economic needs of Eastern European countries. The two dominant driving forces behind this immigration wave were two fashionable trends in 1980s China: to go into business and to go overseas.

The experience of Chinese traders in Romania compared favourably with their experience in Western Europe, and was representative of their overall experience in Eastern Europe. Chinese merchandise was more highly valued in Eastern European countries such as Romania than in Western Europe. Middle class and even upper-middle class Romanians were well disposed towards Chinese products, making it possible for Chinese traders to thrive and develop commercial activities in Romania.

This study found three models of Chinese migration into Romania, which are reviewed in later sections: migration via the participation of co-operation projects, migration via the acquisition of Diplomatic and Service (Official) Passports and via human trafficking and smuggling.

3.2 Demographic Structure of the Chinese Community in Romania

Official data from the Romanian Authority showed that in 2007 there were 5,189 Chinese people living in Romania, distributed over 31 counties. The top ten counties are listed below in Table 3. As can be readily seen, Bucharest, the capital of Romania hosted the most Chinese immigrants in the country, nearly three quarters of all Chinese immigrants. Bucharest, together with Ilfov and Bacau, is home to nearly 90% of all Chinese immigrants in Romania. That is to say, Chinese immigrants are centred in the Bucharest-Ilfov region; with the exception of Bacau which host 5.67% while other counties did not have any immigrant population of any numerical importance. An analysis of the geographical distribution of the Chinese immigrant population among the Romanian administrative regions is shown below in Table 3.1 and Figure 3.1.

Table 3.1: Chinese migrations to Romania (Top ten counties)⁸

Counties	Bucuresti	Ilfov	Bacau	Hunedoara	Buzau	Timis	Calarasi	Arad	Cluj	Constanta	Total
CN-Immigrants (i)	3.855	438	294	65	57	55	39	31	30	30	5,189
CN-Immigrants (%)	74.62	8.44	5.67	1.25	1.10	1.06	0.75	0.60	0.58	0.58	
Population(ii)	1931236	288296	721411	477259	490981	660966	316294	458487	689523	716576	21584365
CN-Im/P (%)	0.20	0.152	0.041	0.014	0.012	0.008	0.012	0.007	0.004	0.004	0.024

(i) Data in Feb. 2007 (ii) Data in Jul.2006

Table 3.2: Chinese migrations to Romania (all regions)⁹

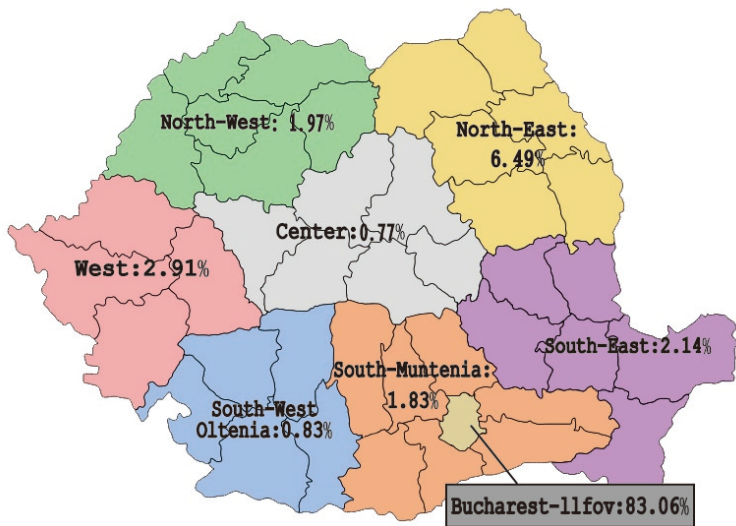
Counties	Bucuresti	Ilfov	Bacau	Hunedoara	Buzau	Timis	Calarasi	Arad	Cluj	Constanta	Total
CN-Immigrants (i)	3855	438	294	65	57	55	39	31	30	30	5189
CN-Immigrants (%)	74.29	8.44	5.67	1.25%	1.10	1.06	0.75	0.60	0.58	0.58%	
Population(ii)	1931236	288296	721411	477259	490981	660966	316294	458487	689523	716576	21584365
CN-Im/P (%)	0.20	0.152	0.041	0.014	0.012	0.008	0.012	0.007	0.004	0.004	0.024

(i) Data in Feb. 2007 (ii) Data in Jul. 2006

⁸ Sources: Migration Data received upon request by Department of Foreigners and Migration (RO); Population data from INSTITUTUL NATIONAL DE STATISTICA (RO).

⁹ Sources: Migration Data received upon request by Department of Foreigners and Migration (RO); Population data from INSTITUTUL NATIONAL DE STATISTICA (RO).

Figure 3.1: Geographic Distribution of Chinese Immigrants to Romania



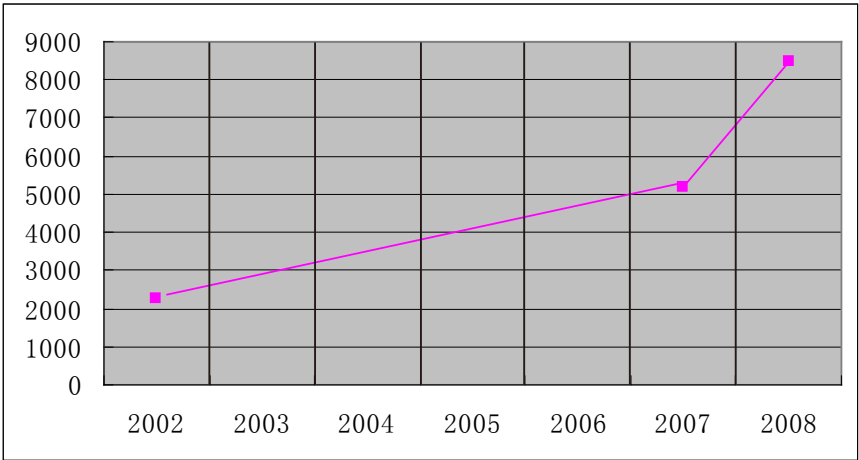
According to the above official statistics, there are 803 Chinese in possession of Romanian Permanent Residency, which accounts for 15.48% of the whole Chinese immigrant population. There were 7,714 foreign citizens who obtained permanent residence in Romania in 2006, which meant¹⁰ permanent Chinese residents accounted for over 10% of foreign permanent residents in Romania. Together with permanent residence permit, the top 5 types of residence permits are shown below in table 3.3.

¹⁰ Sources: INSTITUTUL NATIONAL DE STATISTICA (RO)

Table 3.3: Residence Permit Status of Chinese Nationals in Romania¹¹(2007)

Residence Permit	Permanent residence	Temporary	Commercial activities	Workers	Family reintegration	Married to Romanian	Students	Preparatory year	Specialists	Total
Num.	803	4386	2234	1290	518	144	46	32	21	5,189
%(in CN-IN)	15.48	84.52	43.05	24.86	9.98	2.78	0.89	0.62	0.40	
%(in Temp)			50.93	29.41	11.81	3.28	1.05	0.73	0.48	

Official data indicated that the number of Chinese in Romania in 2002 was 2,249 and rose to 8,488¹² in 2008. The trend of the growth of the Chinese immigrant population is shown in the figure below: this number more than doubled between 2002 to 2007, and nearly doubled again between 2007 to 2008.



As shown in Table 3.3, the largest group of Chinese nationals holding residence permits in Romania was those who engaged in commercial activities. Anecdotal information from those interviewed for this study indicated in their interviews that most family re-integration is related to this group. In general, when a husband comes to Romania for business, he will bring his family with him. As a result, the commercial group represents

¹¹ Sources: Migration Data received upon request by Department of Foreigners and Migration (RO)

¹² Source: Romanian Migration Bureau.

close to 50% of those with residence permits in Romania. In the Romanian Chinese community, this group is generally known as “Lao Huaqiao”, meaning old Chinese immigrants indicating their relatively early arrival in Romania. The Lao Huqqaos opened Chinese stores in Hong Long market, Bucharest’s China town or ran Chinese restaurants in Romania. In other words, they are involved in ethnic Chinese business in Romania. Some of the second or third generations have integrated into local Romanian communities and are generally well settled.

The workers in the labour market are relative newcomers who went to Romania to help fill the labour shortage resulting from the emigration of Romanians into Western Europe. This is a rapidly growing group that would have grown even faster had it not been the financial crisis. According to the Romanian Chinese community, there were no Chinese worker groups before 2005, a fact that was confirmed by the Romanian authorities.

After 2005, as discussed in section 1, labour brokers and employers brought many Chinese workers to Romania to relieve the labour shortage there. It is this group of people that is of the greatest interest to this study and is the main target of research.

However, there is evidence that the actual number of Chinese immigrants to Romania is higher than is indicated in official data. Mr. Liu Zenwen, China’s Ambassador to Romania, estimated that at its peak, there could be as many as 15,000 Chinese immigrants in Romania¹³ while estimates by the Lueluohuabao, a Chinese language newspaper published in Romania, was around 10,000 for 2004 and 20,000 in 2008¹⁴. The 2008 estimate was also supported by Ciprian Radavoi of Lund University¹⁵.

¹³ Cited from website of Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council (P.R.C.), <http://www.gqb.gov.cn/news/2008/0611/1/9357.shtml>, Aug. 16th, 2009

¹⁴ Source: XinhuaNews Agency. http://news.xinhuanet.com/overseas/2004-12/01/content_2279951.htm, Aug. 16th, 2009, and further interviewed,

¹⁵ See: Chinese migration to Romania: the past counts, p11, Ciprian Radavoi, Lund University Website

Upon further analysis, the number of both legal and illegal Chinese immigrants living in Romania in 2008 should be between 20,000 to 25,000 against the official figure of 8,488 legal immigrants.

According to data from the Chamber of Commerce, there are 8,000 firms in Romania that are partially or wholly owned by Chinese nationals. If each company has two to three Chinese nationals working for each of these companies in Romania, there should be in the region of 20,000 Chinese workers. When other categories of residents are included, the total figure could be around 25,000. Also, according to interviews with the Chinese community in Romania, Honglong, Bucharest's China town accounts on its own for 15,000 Chinese workers. When residents from the rest of Romania are included, the number of Chinese residents should be around 20,000. This estimate is between 150% to 200% higher than the official figure and is likely to rise due to an increase in Sino-Romanian co-operative programmes, development of Chinese ethnic businesses and human trafficking and smuggling.

The reason for this big discrepancy between the official and estimated figures remained unclear. The Chinese community alleged that illegal immigrants, often discovered during a population census frequently arranged to remain hidden by offering bribes. However there was no evidence offered for this allegation. Against this allegation of corruption in Romania, it is noted that according to the Corruption Perception Index published by Transparency International on 23rd September 2008¹⁶, Romania scored 3.8 out of a total of 10 points, which is a tenth of point better than 2007's score. Bulgarians and Romanians perceived their own countries to be the most corrupt of EU member states, with Italy, France and Great Britain also

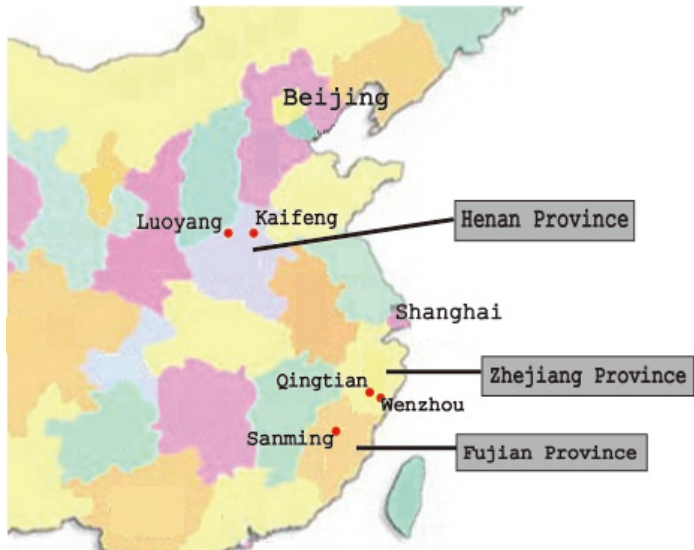
¹⁶ Press release by Transparency International - <http://euobserver.com/9/26795>

experiencing a significant drop in public confidence in the fight against corruption

3.3 The commercial group

The commercial sector accounts for the majority of Chinese residents in Romania. This group comes mostly from Wenzhou and Qingtian in Zhejiang, Sanming in Fujian, and from Kaifeng and Luoyang in Henan. People from these provinces provided most of the Chinese immigrants to Romania following the departure of failed Beijing retailers in the mid-1990s. Zhejiang, Fujian, and Guangdong provinces have a long historical culture of migration and are the main sources of emigration from China to the rest of the world, and not only to Romania. When the Agreement on Exemption of Visas for Holders of Diplomatic and Service (Official) Passports between China and Romania was signed in 1980s, Henan was the province where “official” Passports could be acquired easily and at low cost thereby allowing visa free travel by Henanese “Official” passport holders to Romania. According to first hand information from the Chinese community, each region accounted for approximately 1/3 of the whole commercial group.

Figure 3.2: Geographic Distribution of Chinese commercial group's origin provinces



Wenzhou and Qingtian in Zhejiang are known for their huge population. Their people regard Romania as a stopping point on the way to Western Europe. They came here mostly through human trafficking during the 1980s and 1990s. Year after year after their arrival in Romania, they tried to get to France, Holland or Italy to join their relatives or friends. Some of them would be detained by border control and among those who failed to get to Western Europe, some would choose to go back to China while others stayed in Romania as they saw business opportunities there or other personal reasons. As the first group settled and achieve some level of success, they started to bring their family and friends over to Romania and eventually a Chinese community developed.

Fujian is also a large province in China that accounts for a high level of emigration to North America. Most of overseas Fujian Chinese are from Fuqing and Changle, and not from Sanming as is the case in Romania. From 1980s onward, people from other regions in Fujian province started emigrating as well,

and some of them chose Europe, or more specifically Western Europe as their destination via Romania, like the people from Wenzhou and Qingtian did. However, the key difference between the migrants from the Wenzhou and Qingtian people was that most of them did not have any overseas relationship that could help them to go to the West and they ended up settling in Romania instead. Human trafficking and smuggling have been very common in the past thirty years in both Zhejiang and Fujian.

Immigrants from Henan formed the third group who came to Romania, profiting from the Agreement on Exemption of Visas for Holders of Diplomatic and Service (Official) Passports between Chinese and Romanian governments at the end of the last century. In Henan Province, a Diplomatic and Service (official) Passport could be purchased illegally for between 300 to 1000 RMB (30 to 100 Euros) and more than 20,000 Henanese came to Romania via this method and of whom 6000 to 7000 stayed. This is a very particular type of migration. This study considers them as legal migrants until their residence permits expired.

Certainly there are other immigrants from other regions, like Shanghai, Beijing, Sichuan and so on but there are not enough of them to form any big groups or communities. Anecdotal evidence suggested that immigrants from these regions have either joined one of the bigger groups or participate in the overall Chinese community in Romania

Migrants from Fujian and Zhejiang in Romania are in many ways like their relatives in other Western countries: running small businesses, setting up emigre associations, even starting newspapers in order to establish a Chinese community in foreign lands. Since there are not so many Henan people in

other countries, it has been hard to compare them with similar groups.

There have been many researches into Chinese immigrant societies focusing on their social structures and their centralised settlement in urban areas. In particular, notable research into Fujian and Zhejiang migrants was conducted by Chunguang Wang, Paul Nyiri and Bin Wu. Chunguang Wang (2004) pioneered the research into social structures and changes to Chinese immigration and provided a comprehensive description of the “Zhejiang Village”, a centralised settlement by Wenzhou people. Wang concluded in his paper that Wenzhounese businessmen have a unique pattern of entry into foreign countries via their local “business-community”. This study will focus instead on the worker group of immigrants where little research has been conducted.

Trading is the main source of income for the Romanian Fujianese and Zhejiangese. Bucharest’s “China Town” is called Honglong, which means red dragon in Chinese. Honglong is a well known clothing and merchandise market for the population of Romania and other Balkan countries such as Moldova, Serbia and Bulgaria. Honglong is situated about 20 km from the centre of Bucharest and is made up of six smaller markets. An average shop in Honglong employs on average four to five people, half Romanian and half Chinese. It is notable that Chinese businesses in Romania employ a large number of Romanians. Besides trading, Chinese businesses include restaurants, travel agencies and traditional Chinese medicine clinics.

Some Chinese have also invested in manufacturing in Romania. As they have accumulated their wealth in business, some of them have started to diversify from traditional Chinese ethnic businesses and real estate investment has provided their other main source of income. This group of Chinese is the second

group of foreigners after the Israelis, to enter the real estate market. For its ascension to the European Union, Romania needed to meet EU standards in many aspects and many manufacturing industries and old Romanian factories were no longer able to comply with them, which provided opportunities for Chinese investors to set up construction and decoration material factories to meet local demands.

This study has found that most Chinese immigrants to Romania arrived after 1990 and first generation immigrants still form the dominant group. This group of immigrants still own properties in China and expect to return to there at retirement. The younger generation is still focusing on business activities and it is very likely that they will visit Western Europe for tourism and market research when Romania joins the Schengen area. Chinese immigrants still identify themselves more as Chinese than Romanian partly because most of them are better off than the local population, a fact that distinguishes Romanian Chinese from the Chinese in most other European countries. In general Romanian Chinese maintain a low profile and focus on getting rich.

3.4 The workers

Of all the Chinese immigrant groups in Europe, the one in Romania is unique. Official data in 2007 showed that over 70% Chinese migrant workers are based in the Bucuresti-Ilfov Region and while 21.86% are in Bacau. For details, see Table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4: Top 3 counties with Chinese workers

Bucuresti	854	66.20%
Bacau	282	21.86%
Ilfov	68	5.27%
TOTAL	1290	TOTAL WORKER IN ROMANIA

According to the Romanian authorities and the Chinese Embassy, Chinese workers in Romania work mainly in the construction, textile and agriculture sectors. In this study, it was found that nearly all Chinese workers in Bacau are female textile workers whose strike action hit the headlines in 2006 and 2007. Most of the workers in Bucharest are construction workers who also made headlines in 2008 and 2009 and are scattered throughout the whole of the capital city. This new migrant worker group is totally different from other Chinese migrants who are mostly engaged in Chinese ethnic businesses. It is estimated that there are currently 3,000 members of this migrant worker group living in Romania. This report will focus on this worker group, and in particular on the construction workers, and reviewed the reason for their emigration from China, how they chose labour agencies and/or how they were recruited, and analyzed the entire process of their emigration from China to Romania.

In this study, construction workers in both Bucharest and Iasi were visited and interviewed. Those questioned came from six Chinese provinces. In total, 500 informants were reached either directly (via interviews) or indirectly (interviewed via labour brokers).

Provinces			
Jiangsu	150 (Direct)	Bucharest and Iasi	
Anhui	150 (Direct)	Bucharest	
Fujian	30 (Direct)	Bucharest and Iasi	
Shandong	80 (Indirect)		
Hebei	100 (Indirect)		
Jilin	140 (Indirect)		

4. Motivation to Go to Romania

The analysis began with an examination of the motivation that drove the migrants to sell their labour abroad. In this section, the socio-economic and cultural backgrounds of informants before they chose to be migrant workers were examined.

An UNICEF-supported study on child trafficking in 11 states of southern Nigeria concluded that trafficking was rife where poverty was endemic.⁴ In another study covering 151 probably and actual migrant workers from Tajikistan, most respondents and their families lived below the poverty line (measured in terms of per capita monthly income and the cost of one basic "basket of goods" costing US\$64). In the majority of cases, their income was not enough to cover the food component (US\$24) of an average the basket of goods. In rural areas, 89% of the households fell within this category, and falling to 76% in urban households⁵.

Taking the Chinese construction workers to Romania as examples, the study found that these workers came mainly from Yangzhou and Nantong of Jiangsu Province, Hefei of Anhui Province, and from Fujian, Shandong, Hebei and Jilin Province. In table 4.1 and 4.2 below, a ranking of these provinces by per capita annual consumption expenditure among 31 Chinese provinces (excluding Hong Kong and Macau) for rural and urban households can be found.

If an income of less than US\$ 2 per person per day is used as the definition of poverty, nearly all rural households from these six provinces would fall into this category. It is observed that most of the migrant construction workers came from rural areas, with the exception of workers from urban communities in Jilin,

⁴ National Agency for Prohibition of Traffic in Persons and other Related Matters (NAPTIP): Situation assessment of child trafficking in eleven southern Nigerian states, 2004.

⁵ ILO: A Global Alliance Against Forced Labour, 2005.

Hebei and Anhui.

Figure 4.1: Construction workers’ original provinces of residence in China

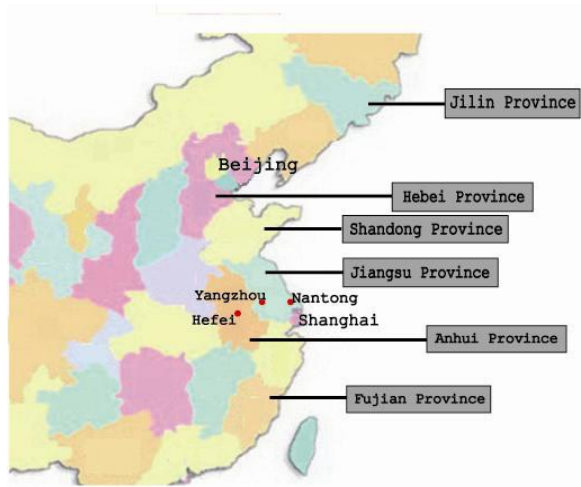


Table 4.1: Per Capita Annual Consumption Expenditure of Urban Households by Region (2007) in RMB

Region	Consumption Expenditure	Food	Clothing	Residence	Household Facilities, Articles and Services	Health Care and Medical Services	Transport and Communi-cations	Education, Culture and Recreation Services	Miscellaneous Goods and Services
National Average	9997.47	3628.03	1042.00	982.28	601.80	699.09	1357.41	1329.16	357.70
Fujian (6)	11055.13	4296.22	940.72	1261.18	645.40	502.41	1606.90	1426.34	375.98
Jiangsu (7)	10715.15	3928.71	990.03	1020.09	707.31	689.37	1303.02	1699.26	377.37
Shandong (9)	9666.61	3180.64	1238.34	1027.58	661.03	708.58	1333.63	1191.18	325.64
Jilin (15)	8560.30	2842.68	1127.09	1062.46	407.35	854.80	873.88	997.75	394.29
Anhui (16)	8531.90 □	3384.38	906.47	850.24	465.68	554.44	891.38	1169.99	309.30
Hebei (19)	8234.97	2789.85	975.94	917.19	546.75	833.51	1010.51	895.06	266.16

Table 4.2: Per Capita Annual Consumption Expenditure of Rural Households by Region (2007) in RMB

Region	Consumption Expenditure	Food	Clothing	Residence	Household Facilities, Articles and Services	Transport and Communications	Education, Cultural and Recreation and Services	Health Care and Medical Services	Miscellaneous Goods and Services
National Average	3223.85	1388.99	193.45	573.80	149.13	328.40	305.66	210.24	74.19
Jiangsu (4)	4786.15	1968.88	251.29	752.73	228.51	543.97	642.52	263.85	134.41
Fujian (6)	4053.47	1870.32	235.61	660.55	184.21	465.40	356.26	174.12	107.00
Shandong (7)	3621.57	1369.20	224.18	682.13	195.99	422.36	424.89	230.84	71.98
Jilin (14)	3065.44	1240.93	227.96	399.11	120.95	337.46	339.77	311.37	87.89
Hebei (16)	2786.77	1025.72	185.68	627.98	140.45	318.19	243.30	188.06	57.40
Anhui (17)	2754.04	1192.57	166.31	479.46	144.23	258.29	283.17	177.04	52.98

However, it is notable that none of the six provinces rank among the poorest provinces in China. In fact, these six provinces are mostly among the more wealthy half of all 31 provinces in China based on these consumption data. In particular, Jiangsu, Fujian and Shandong are among the top 10 provinces in both urban and rural annual consumption expenditures. Moreover, Jiangsu, Shandong and Fujian ranked 1st, 5th (39,526 RMB), 7th (33,257 RMB), and 10th (30,415 RMB) respectively in terms of per capita gross regional product in 2007, which were all around US\$ 5,000. Jilin (23550 RMB, 11th) and Hebei (23,454 RMB, 12th) follow closely behind, while Anhui (14,514 RMB, 27th) was the lowest of the six.

While poverty may be the key motivation for migration identified by the UNICEF funded study¹⁷, there are poorer regions in China that do not have the same scale of worker migration. This study argues that international people trafficking in China is not caused solely by poverty, but is also influenced by person and

¹⁷ National Agency for Prohibition of Traffic in Persons and other Related Matters (NAPTIP): Situation assessment of child trafficking in eleven southern Nigerian states, 2004.

family development, and other cultural factors.

None of the informants appeared to have problems making a living in China. Currently, these workers could generally earn between 15,000 to 30,000 RMB per year in China. Apart from working as labourers, some of them were small traders or professionals, even doctors. Surprisingly, the income of most of these people in China was not very low compared to the local average; some was even higher than average. One informant declared that in 2007 he earned around 5,000 RMB consistently per month as a construction contractor; another one worked in a decoration company and earned between 100 to 120 RMB per day. Of all the informants, 80 percent declared that they had a job before coming to Romania and were earning no less than 3,000 RMB per month in China. However, it seemed that when they saw advertisements in newspapers or on TV offering monthly salary between 800 to 1,200 Euros per month for a skilled worker, or nearly triple their current earnings, they chose to go overseas even if it meant being trafficked.

So the next point of investigation is the motivation of the migrants from these regions to earn more money.

All the informants were from rural or less developed areas of the provinces. One possible explanation for this is that, it was easier to obtain information on overseas labour recruitment and be recruited in these provinces than the extremely poor ones due to their relatively better economical and political situations in general. In addition, people from less developed areas of these provinces have a stronger desire for wealth due to higher expenses in their provinces and better living conditions of their acquaintances: “keeping up with the Jones’ effect”.

The most common intention for the use of overseas earnings was to provide a good education and life for the children of the

informants. One frequent complaint was that the informants need to save more money for their children. In one case, a 35-year old informant said that his child was 12 year old and was at the age when significant expenditure was required and in another case, the need to finance a daughter's college expense was cited as the key motivation for obtaining additional income.

Four reasons could account for the behaviour of the migrant workers, two of them cultural and two influenced by recent policies. The two policy-drivers are the "One Child Policy" implemented since the 1970s in response to the projected rapid increase in the Chinese population and the restructuring of the universities in the 1980s. These two policies and the cultural characteristics of the Chinese people converged to intensify the aspiration and hence financial pressure faced by Chinese households in general.

Among cultures that are strongly influenced by the teaching of the Chinese philosopher Confucius, it is generally accepted that the parents have a duty to provide for their children in the best possible way. This perceived duty extends way beyond the children's entry into adulthood and even after the children themselves marry. The "One Child Policy" means that most households will by now have only one child and in the 1980s, the Chinese university system was expanded and the number of university places increased significantly between 1980s to 2010 while university attendance stopped being free.

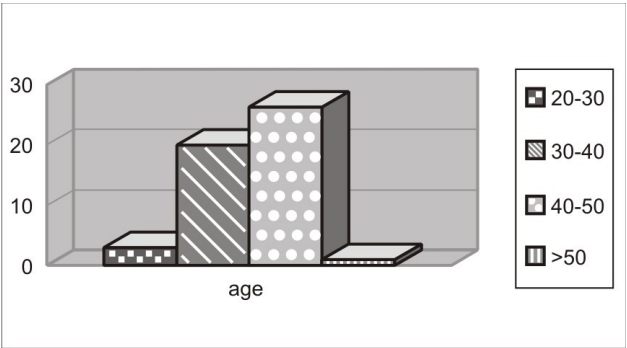
In Chinese culture, it is the groom's family who must pay for all the expenses associated with marriage, i.e. a bride price to the bride's family, the purchase and furnishing of the young couple's new home and a lavish wedding reception. This last cultural practice imposes huge financial burden on the family with sons, and is particularly hard on those with several sons. The importance of Confucian culture attached to the continuation

of the family name has increased the preference of parents for boys over girls since families are allowed to have only one child. There is a significant gender imbalance among the Chinese population and this imbalance is more pronounced in the rural areas. As competition for wives has intensified, the need for the rural households to provide for their sons' marriage has increased tremendously. In the research conducted by the Chinese Sociologist Anqi Xu in 2005⁶, the average cost of bringing up a child till college graduation was between 245,000 to 300,000 RMB and this cost increased to 500,000 RMB when marriage expenses were included, which is a huge burden on the migrant workers.

In figure 4.2 and figure 4.3, the age profile of the informants and the age profile of their offspring's are provided.

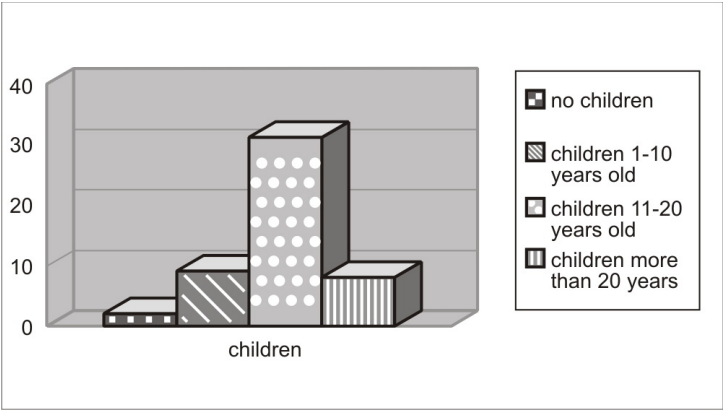
In addition, many informants aged over 50 indicated that they were working for the benefit of their grandchildren while most under informants age 30 or less indicated they were working for their own households. None of these workers is in the desperately poor category, but they are willing to take up the opportunity to make a relatively large amount of money in a short time.

Figure 4.2: Age of the Workers



⁶ Xu, Anqi, The Economic Cost of a Child: changes and optimization during the transformation period, Youth Research[J], Dec. 2004

Figure 4.3: Children of the Workers



Furthermore, Chinese media could have inadvertently encouraged emigration to the outside world. When the Chinese government opened its door to the outside world in the late 1970s, Chinese people learnt of the large differences in living standards in the western world through TV reporting, news, movies and TV series (e.g. Beijing People in New York). When opportunities arose, these informants took advantage of them and went to Romania searching for a better life.

5 The Contracts

5.1 How to Find Chinese Workers: Two Models of Recruitment

Gao and Poisson conducted a research in France in 2004 to find out how illegal Chinese migrants arrived in Europe. The research was based on 59 semi-structured interviews and ten detailed case studies, including studies of eight clandestine Chinese migrants (some of whom came with their families) and one representative of Chinese ethnic business. The research found that many migrants left China with a friend or relative who made the initial contact with the trafficking agent (a snakehead), to whom this friend or relative also advanced the money for the trip. A number of such “snakeheads” may be involved in the smuggling and trafficking process²⁰, who in some cases may also ask for money from the migrants. This seems to be the general pattern for Chinese migrants who intend to join the Chinese ethnic communities in the West. The “commercial groups”, especially Zhejiang and Fujian people generally belong to this category. People from these two areas generally have family members, relatives or close friends who are already in the destination country, or they already have relationships with a local community there, such as a social group from their home town, or from the same extended clan sharing the same surname. This local relationship also means that they can acquire a ready introduction to trafficking agents or business. It is not uncommon for members of the commercial group to know in advance for whom they will work before their departure from China.

The situation for the migrant workers is, however, different from the other groups and this difference is a very important aspect

²⁰ Gao Yun; V. Poisson: Le trafic et l'exploitation des immigrants chinois en France (ILO SAP-FL, unpublished document, 2004).

specific to the migrant worker group.

The first difference is that none of these construction workers had any contact with their employers in Romania before arrival, and no Romanian construction companies were in direct contact with the Chinese workers before they arrived. Normally, the workers need to go through several procedures through different agencies before they can start work in Romania. The second difference is that these workers arrived at the international airport in broad daylight, and not at the Romanian border in the middle of the night. They had obtained work visas to enter and work in Romania legally.

Minhuan Li, from Xiamen University, refers to these workers as Transnational Migrant Workers. Migrant workers of this type accompanied the friendship-aid projects in the 1950s when China started the Friendship Aid Policy in Africa

Several brokers were interviewed about the history of the labor business in China. At the beginning of the aid project, everything was under total Chinese state control. The government or state-owned companies ran all the aid related business, as part of a planned economy. After 1978, the Chinese government changed this aid implementation policy; private companies could also take part in these aid projects. Together with state-owned companies, Chinese construction companies were very active in East Asia, the Middle-East and Africa. Li's statistics showed that up to now nearly 500,000 workers have been sent into this region. Having benefited from the positive experience of the generally hardworking Chinese construction workers, foreign employers, especially Israeli real estate companies, in the late 1980s started to hire Chinese workers to work. Together with Chinese labour brokers, they discovered that there were many workers in China who wanted to find jobs overseas. As a result, they started to broker job opportunities to those people, from

1,000 RMB per annum at the beginning to 200,000 RMB per annum or higher. Later the brokers extended their business to other sectors, such as textile, agriculture and so on; meanwhile, the labour brokerage sector was also stimulated by the Chinese government's foreign investment. Currently Chinese workers can be found in 160 countries, with 18.6% of them working in Japan, 6.2% in Singapore and 4.8% in Russia. Together Japan, Singapore and Russia formed the top 3 destination countries in 2007²¹. As was mentioned at the beginning of this report, Romania is now a market economy. Israeli companies started to invest in the Romanian real estate market at the beginning of this century and they brought their Chinese workers along with them. The first group of Chinese workers was introduced into Romania via Israel, but that was only a small group and later due to visa problems they returned to Israel. Starting from 2006, employers in Romania together with the brokers began to bring workers directly from China just as they did in Israel.

Here the first model will be referred to as the "Chain model" which is currently a very popular method of labour migration. When a construction company in Romania is engaged on a project or itself is investing in a project, due to the shortage in the Romanian labour market, the company can apply for permits to bring in international workers. In general, small companies will not succeed with their applications and have to turn to labour brokers who have more experience of the application process.

The Romanian companies have to pay brokers to find workers. There is normally a contract between the company (the employer) and the broker appointing the broker to recruit workers on the company's behalf. The contract focuses only on how the workers will be found and how much the employer

²¹ Source: Chinese Ministry of Commerce, <http://www.mofcom.gov.cn/>

will pay the broker but will generally not include details on salaries, required skills or working conditions. All those points are agreed in an oral agreement instead of a written one. As far as this study can ascertain, broker agencies are usually Israeli run, and are registered in Romania instead of Israel for tax reasons. The Israeli brokers have co-operated successfully with Chinese brokers before in the Middle East and have developed relationships with large Chinese labour brokers who are authorized to send Chinese workers to work abroad. Most of these large Chinese labour brokers are national level human resource companies. Romania based labour brokers and Chinese brokers will have entered into contracts regarding their business collaboration as a whole but without going into details on individual cases. The main terms of the contract specify the number of workers the Romania-based brokers will need from the Chinese broker each year.

In the cases examined in this study, the Romanian cases were grouped together with some Israelis and African cases. Because of this long working partnership, the brokers would undertake individual cases without establishing any specific individual contracts to cover individual cases. During their business transaction, the brokers would have no direct contacts with individual workers nor would they contact these workers directly. A normal cycle of business transaction runs like this: a large labour agency subcontracts the business to several regional agencies that may be provincial or sub-regional level agencies without any formal paperwork or contracts. So strictly speaking, no sub-contracting actually takes place. The big labour agency simply provides information on specific cases to the favoured regional agency. On the other hand, no other agencies would be in a position to receive this type of confidential information. In general, this type of informal contractless sub-contracting will continue down to township-level brokers and in the end a few sub-regional and mostly township level brokers will end up

dealing with individual workers. The business dealings are ad hoc and are on a case-by-case basis. To recapitulate, county-level brokers send workers to the higher-level brokers and these will in turn send workers further on until the process reaches top-level brokers. If the top-level broker, and not the employers, approves the workers, these workers will then obtain their visas and the lower-level brokers will receive their commission which will be distributed to brokers' further downline. The big agencies will organise visa and travel and deal with other issues. All the other brokers, including sub-contractors and the lowest level brokers are only involved in finding and sending workers upward to the big agencies. According to Chinese law, it is at the level of the big agencies that a labour contract should be concluded between the big agencies and the workers, in which all relevant details i.e. salaries, working hours and so on must be included otherwise, the workers will not go if the terms of employment are not made clear. The big agencies normally arranged for the workers to travel to the target country (in this case Romania) via the cheapest means of transport and when the workers arrive, the big agencies will collect the commission in full. Usually travel agencies or rented buses are used to send these workers onward to their employers. Sometimes, the Israelis will go together with the Chinese employees of the big agencies and a Chinese interpreter is appointed to brief the new arrivals on work, local culture, and most importantly to guide them in signing a contract with their employer in accordance with Romanian labour laws. Normally this should be the end of the labour brokerage transaction provided the terms in this contract are the same as those in the contract signed by the workers with the big agency and that the workers are exactly what the employer was looking for. Otherwise, strikes and conflicts could result as will be explained in the next chapter.

A specific case is described below to illustrate the complex agencies system. Hai'an is a village under the administration of

Nantong City, Jiangsu Province. In the area where many labour agencies concentrate, informally known as the “Labour Street”, there are approximately 100 labour agencies. Hai’an is a small village. In general, all these small agencies have contacts with bigger agencies in Nantong City or Nanjing, the provincial capital of Jiangsu province. In order to avoid having to share their commission with lower-level agencies, sub-regional or provincial agencies some times try to find workers directly by setting up branches or hotlines in villages or towns.

In the illustration below, company YT acts as a human resource company, and is in fact a sub-regional labour agency. YT has contact with company ZQ in Beijing and ZQ has in turn good business contact with an Israeli-run company ES. As a result, by the time the worker reaches the company in Beijing they may have already passed through three or four agencies. The whole relationship between agencies is very complicated and the entire labour brokerage business is marketed through media and social networks.

Two figures are provided below to illustrate this complex relationship.

The first one (figure 5.1) describes the relationship starting from the employer, in this case the Romanian Construction Company and ends with the Chinese workers.

Between these two parties, there are at least three to four brokers, one Romanian broker, one big brokers in China who is legally authorized to send workers abroad, and several small brokers who find workers for the big broker. The blue line links the actual contracting employer-employee parties, and the red lines show how this business is conducted by the agencies in practice. In the previous paragraph, two risks in this arrangement were identified: first, whether the workers would

meet the employers' requirement or not; second, whether the contract the workers signed with the broker would be the same as the one signed with employers.

The second figure (figure 5.2) shows more details of the business. The main idea is similar to the first figure and the process flow is essentially the same except more organisations could be involved and as a result this figure shows more alternative routing.

Figure 5.1: The chain of labour agencies Model 1

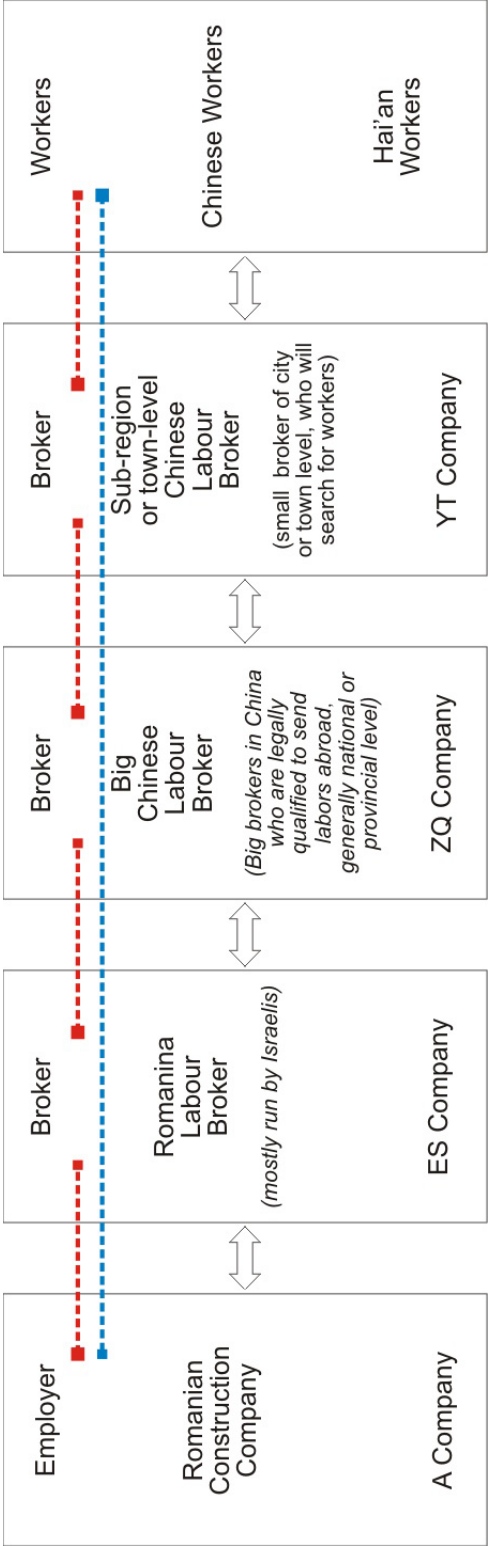
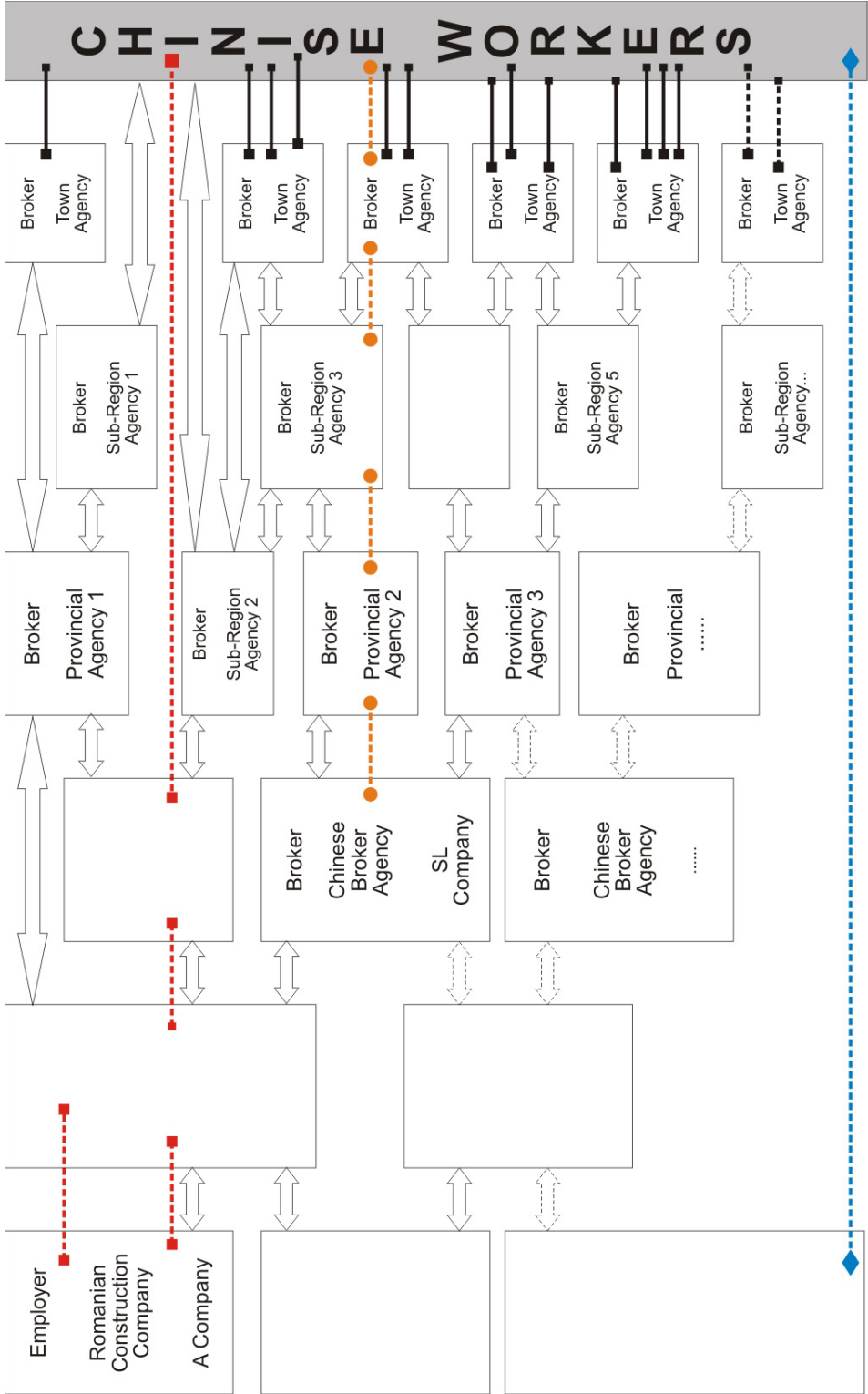


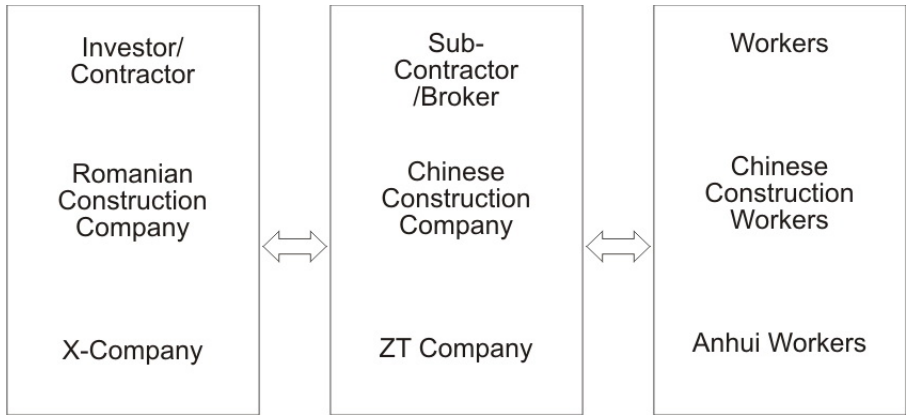
Figure 5.2: The chain of broker agencies.



A second model will be referred to as the “Sub-contractor Model” and could be easily explained and understand than the first model, the Chain Model. Figure 5.3.

The employer, i.e. in this case, the Romanian Construction Company, not only asks for workers but also sub-contractors that are capable of providing the labourers. A Romanian construction company divides the whole project it undertakes into several parts, and sub-contracts several of these to a Chinese construction company that forms a construction team in China to work in Romania. In this scenario, while the workers work in Romania, they work in fact for the Chinese company. The Romania company signs a contract with the Chinese partner, specifying the project that the Chinese partner has to complete and the fee the Romanian company will pay. The Chinese construction workers do not have to sign any contracts with the Romanian company since they do not have any direct relationship. The Chinese company not only sends workers but also a management team to run the program and in some cases, even doctors and cooks to support the team. In turn, the Romanian company also appoints several managers to monitor the construction project as a whole and will participate in some of the construction activities.

Figure 5.3 Model 2: Sub- contractor Model



The case of ZT Construction Company from Hefei, Anhui Province is selected here as an example. ZT Construction Company has signed a contract with its old business collaborator, X-Company (the contractor of some real estate projects in Bucharest). X-Company subcontracts part of the project to ZT Company. The special point to note is that ZT functions not only as a construction company, but also a labour agency which recruits workers for itself. The workers work for ZT Company, which is also their broker.

ZT Company is classified as a construction company and labour broker for the following reasons: first, it gets not only the sub-contracted project but also labour export permit; second, although it pays these workers, it also gets paid for finding workers; third, it has a permit from the Minister of Commerce in China for labour export. Not all Romanian companies will have a direct connection with Chinese companies and there are broker agencies between Romanian companies and Chinese ones generally. However, whether ZT Company acts as the foreign brokers mentioned above or not, it does change the model. The core of this sub-contractor model is that the Romanian company sub-contracts its project to a Chinese company that recruits workers and works in Romania.

There are several advantages in this system: first, without the small agencies, the service fee the workers need to pay is less than that of the first model. The workers involved in this model will pay about 65,000 RMB while others have to pay around 75,000 to 100,000 RMB or even more; second, there will be no contract discrepancies since there will be only one contract; third, the broker supervises the workers' working and living directly, so that communication between the workers and the company who manages their work and salaries would be better.

5.2 Contract signing: how do the workers sign their contracts?

Normally when a business is agreed, a contract will be concluded. Approximately 80 to 90 workers who are involved in either of the models identified above will be interviewed. Within the same model there are no big differences.

A typical case is described below in detail to illustrate the whole process of recruitment.

Case No. 1, 36 years old, is from Hai'an County. He applied for the job in February 2008 and flew to Romania on August 14th, 2008. He submitted an application, which was a simple form consisting only of personal information, and paid 3,000 RMB for a technical skills examination. At each stage, he could discontinue if he wished, but no refund would be paid. He passed the examination and was then asked to make a 20,000 RMB deposit for the application. The candidate went through a physical check and several training programs to apply for the visa. Eventually he paid 83,000 RMB in total and without signing any paper contract. Nobody offered him any contract to sign until he was about to get on the plane. While he was standing in front of the gate to the plane, the agent suddenly took out a contract for him to sign. Only after he signed the contract could he get the flight ticket. The contract was of several pages, but he was given only the last page to sign his name. He argued about it, but the response he received was that he could leave if he didn't want to sign it, but he would not receive any refund. After arriving in Romania, he was offered a new contract with his Romanian employer. The document was in Romanian and not in English. He could read English but not Romanian and he could not find anyone to explain the contract to him. Since he had already paid a large amount of money, and as a new-arrival without any overseas experience in a foreign country, he chose to sign it as the others did. Days later, he and his group found a

lot of differences between the two contracts they had signed in China and Romania.

More details about the terms of the contract and the cost of the workers are further described and analysed in later chapters. The circumstances and environment of contract signing will be examined in more detail here.

Workers have traditionally been at a disadvantage in comparison to their employers in China. In the Sub-Contractor Model, which is much more successful than the Chain Model in general, the same situation exists. The workers have to pay first, and then undertake examinations and physical checks and so on. They may not even sign their contract at the airport but only after paying additional fees. However at least they are given a contract in Chinese to sign.

Even under the Sub-Contractor Model, approximately 15% of the workers complained that they had not signed any contract. In interviews, two common situations emerged: first, the broker signed the contract for the workers, which is shocking in that one party signs for both instead of each for him/herself, and the worker did not get any documents; second, some so-called black-market brokers simply conduct the business illegally in complete disregard of the law.

5.3 Terms of the contract

Four versions of the contracts were obtained, one between the Romanian employer and Chinese workers, the others between the Chinese brokers and Chinese workers. The collection of these contracts was difficult since these could only be obtained from the Chinese workers, and many workers did not have possession of their contracts at all as already mentioned above. Only a few workers photocopied their contracts when the broker

was absent from his/her office; some secretly made another copy when the contract was shown to them. No labour contract between Romanian employers and Chinese workers was collected and only one copy of an additional act to an individual labour contract was obtained from a worker. Many conditions included in this addition were in direct violation of the Romanian Labor Law, and the worker-owner of the contract complained that this could be the “real” contract for them. He did not have a chance to read the main labor contract but was asked to sign an additional document instead, which was again in direct violation of the Romanian Labour Law. Further examination showed that both contracts violated the Romanian Labour Law, and that the pair of contracts from the same worker is different in contents.

A jurisprudential study of these two contracts will not be made here; however, analysis was conducted based on common legal principles of the labor law.

In general, the sample contract with the Romanian employer unilaterally emphasised the obligations of employees but left out the obligations of employers. In other words, the contract did not protect the rights and interests of the (Chinese) employees. The contract was unfair in that it overly favoured the interest of the employer.

Article 2 read that an employee suffering from serious illness must return to their homeland after payment of one month's salary. It is one of the triggering conditions for the cessation of employment between the two sides. However, a definition of "seriously ill" was not provided in details in this or any other article and therefore could be disputed. It did not stipulate if “seriously ill” was defined in accordance with the Romanian Labour Law and health regulations or according to other standards. Use of such a vague term provided the employers an opportunity to cancel the contract unilaterally. Similar problems

existed in Article 3 and 4 where workers without residence permits or work permits were required to sign Article 4.

Article 9 read that "according to the employee's performance, employees may receive bonuses or other welfare", but this is only included in one of the additions (addendum section) to the employment contract instead of the main contract. The problem of this provision is the unclear and ambiguous wordings. First, it did not describe how "performance" would be measured; this may cause practical implementation problem and is based solely on subjective evaluation by the employer; second, it did not state clearly in the contract how bonuses and other welfare would be provided. The definition of "other welfare" is also unspecified.

Article 11 contained the provisions for "working hours" and was in clear violation of the Romanian Labour Law. Article 11 stipulated a 10-hour working day, with one day's rest per week and a monthly working time of no less than 220 hours which violated specific provisions of the Romanian Labor Law:

Article 109. (1) For full-time employees, the normal length of the working time shall be of 8 hours per day and 40 hours per week.

Article 110. (1) The distribution of the working time throughout the week shall, as a rule, be uniform, with 8 hours per day for 5 days, and with two days of rest. (2) Depending on the typical features of the company or of the work performed, one can also choose an unequal distribution of the working time, provided the normal length of the working time of 40 hours per week is observed.

Article 16 contained the terms of public holidays. In accordance with the Romanian Labour Law, it should be based on provisions of relevant decrees and holiday entitlement should be clearly stated in addition to weekend breaks, with specific dates

and the number of days corresponding to a holiday, rather than an ambiguous term of “holidays” in general. Such a non-specific agreement allowed the employer to interpret the contract flexibly to the employer’s advantage and could deprive the workers of rest time and overtime pay.

Box 5.1 A contract between a Chinese employee and a Romanian employer

ADDITIONAL ACT To the individual labor contract No.....

S.C.COMPANIA N CONSTRUCT S.A. IASI, represented by Mr. D.S., administrator,

And....., employee of the company according to the individual labor contract No.....

We agree on the changes and ads in the individual labor contract as follows:

1. Starting from the date.....provides the employee.....citizen furing the individual labor contract eh following:

- free accommodation in settled bedrooms inside the company

- food tickets in value of 186 RON/month (approximately 77 USD)

- free medical assistance from the doctor of the company and the nurse of the company according to the law.

2. If, during the individual labor contract Mr.....gets seriously ill, S.C.COMPANIA N CONSTRUCT S.A. IASI provides the payment of the wage for a period of maximum one month. The employee will return to the origin country in his own payment.

3. If Mr.....does not respect the labor contract, S.C.COMPANIA N CONSTRUCT S.A. IASI will notify the employee 15 days in advance, and the employee will pay for the transport to the country of origin and wage for one month fully worked

4. If Mr..... doesn't respect the Romanian legislation which determined the annulment of the work permit and the staying permit in the purpose of work, will have to face the rigor of the Romanian legislation and will pay for the transport to the origin country and wage for one month fully worked

5. Mr.....in the case when the free days are others from Sundays, will get a raise of 150% for the hours worked on Sunday

6. If Mr.....misses unfounded from work, will get a penalty of 10%

7. If Mr.....doesn't respect the work protection rules and comes at work without the equipment given by the company, he will get a penalty of 5% from his monthly wage.

8. If Mr.....brings prejudice to employer company, he will have to pay from his salary for the prejudice.

9. According to the professional performance, the employee may receive bonuses of loadings.

10. The employee will work in individual accord, the calculation of the salary will be made after the rules in Annex 2 of the present contract

11. Supplementary hours will be considered the ones except the 10 h/day, excluding Sundays. The guaranteed hurs per month will be minimum 220.

12. The employee has to fulfill the professional demands at the standards in Annex 1 of the present additional act – activities on crafts

13. The salary will be considered in USD. The payment will be made in lei according to the BNR exchange rate for the day in the week before the payment.

14. The monthly wage for 220 hours in 635 USD and the calculation of the salary will be made after the rules in Annex 2 of the present contract. (the minimum net payment per month will be 712 USD)

15. For the supplementary hours over the 220 h/month the employee will get a 3.05 USD net raise in the tariff per hour.

16. The resting holidays is 21 days

17. Final dispositions

- The employee must respect the regulations of S.C.COMPANIA N CONSTRUCT S.A. IASI

- S.C.COMPANIA N CONSTRUCT S.A. IASI doesn't pay for the employee's transport from the origin country to Romania and back

- The employee will respect the working schedule, the work protection rules and PSI

- The tools and inventory objects received from the company will be used properly. And injury or lost will lead to keeping their value from the employee's wage.

- Any execution mistake that will lead to the over allocation of the resources will be kept from the employee.

- The employee will respect the orders of the group leader and those of the work point leaders.

- The employee will be working on the construction sites of S.C.COMPANIA N CONSTRUCT S.A. IASI where he is distributed, the transport is free between the places where they live

- The duration of the contract is between 1 and 5 years being renewed every year, according to the legislation, the renewal will be made with the employer's agreement

- The rest of the clauses in the individual labor contract will remain unchanged.

- The present additional act will be fulfilled by the 1 Human Resources and Financial-Accounting department according to the approval of the company

- Annex 1 and 2 are parts the present additional act

S.C.COMPANIA N CONSTRUCT S.A. IASI EMPLOYEE

As mentioned above, Article 2, 3 and 4 of this contract govern termination of the employment contract and confers a large degree of power to the employers to break or terminate the contract almost at will. However, no reciprocal terms exist in the contract that would allow the workers to take the initiative to terminate the contract. On the other hand, in general the only way for workers to terminate their contract was when the employers failed to fulfil their obligations as defined in the contract or cause serious harm to the workers' rights and interests, such as not paying wages or not providing necessary protection or personal safety, etc. But these would constitute breach of contract by the employer in any case. There were no provisions in the contract regarding occupational injury and force majeure; and there were no provisions for terminating the contract at the workers' request. It remains difficult to draw firm conclusions from analysis of this addition to the main labour contract since the main contract was not available for analysis.

In addition, the level of remuneration was also absent in the contract, allowing the employer to make entirely arbitrary decisions. The method of payment was not specified: the workers did not know whether they would be paid in cash or by remittance or transfer by the Chinese labour intermediary companies or directly to the Chinese workers' bank account. The schedule of payment was also not specified. It was not known at exactly what time in the month payments would be made, if monthly salary would be paid monthly or whether the workers could take it for granted that wages would be paid weekly. There were no provisions regarding payment during stoppage caused by extreme weather, war and other force majeure. It has been the case that when work was held up because of shortage of materials or supply, no payment was made to the workers. Moreover, very importantly, there were no provisions for disputes and conflicts resolution.

The Chinese contracts that the workers signed mainly concerned the dispatch of workers for operators when business was being carried out. If the practicality of implementation was set aside, the sample contract was basically legal and effective in so far as labour rights and interests were taken into consideration. However, when compared with the corresponding employment contract, there were still many irregularities:

- 1. Salary difference: 800 Euros per month in Article 1 of Party B's contract and 635 dollars per month in the corresponding Romanian contract. It can be seen that the salary stipulated in the Romanian contract was lower. During regular work time, workers should be paid 3 Euros per hour according to the minimum wage stipulated in the Romanian Labour Law, but this was not reflected in the Romanian contract. When working outside regular working hour and during overtime, workers were to be paid 2 Euros per hour. The Romanian contract stated clearly that wages would be paid in dollars, while the Chinese contract stipulated wages in euro. Article 2 of the Chinese contract dealt with billing and payment was not reflected in the Romanian contract.*

In addition, Article 5 dealt with accommodation and food etc but there were no explicit provisions to cover this point the Romanian contract.

- 2. In II-1.6 of "the rights and obligations of Party A", dealt with financial compensation and insurance for illness and occupational injury and so on while no explicit provision existed in the Romanian contract.*
- 3. In II-2.6 of "the rights and obligations of Party B", it said that safety training would be provided, but this was not reflected in the Romanian contract.*

According to the regulations of the appropriate government departments, sub-contractors should sign a labour service cooperation contract with Romanian employers when entering into business, and they should also sign a dispatch contract with the worker-labourer. The worker-labourer should sign an employment contract. Salaries, working and living conditions and other main provisions in those three contracts should be consistent. In fact, many Romanian employers and the Chinese Intermediaries did not sign any "labour service cooperation contract". And as far as the "employment contract" and "dispatch contract" are concerned, it appeared from the samples under analyses that the contents were irregular and inconsistent.

Box 5.2 Contract between employees and labor brokers

Labor Sending Contract	
Part A: HY Company	
Part B: Employee	
<p>According to "Contract Law of the People's Republic of China", "Law of the People's Republic of China of the Exit and Entry of Citizens" and other relevant laws and regulations, the two sides should base on equality, voluntary, fair, consensus, and they should reach the agreements as follow when Party A send Party B to work abroad :</p> <p>I - General Provisions</p> <p>1. The Basic Situation of Project</p> <p>The foreign owner is the ES Development Company of Romania (hereinafter referred to the Foreign). Party B is engaged in the jobs of construction.</p> <p>Contract of Employment: Four Years. On conditions that Party B doesn't break the law and breach the contract.</p> <p>2. The Treatment of Party B</p> <p>2.1. After Party B finishes the different kinds of basic work, the wage will be no less than 800euros per month. The work can not be reckoned by the piece after foreign approval, people will be paid 3euros an hour. Different job's quota, unit price and other relevant clauses, you will find in the annex. If the Foreign causes the problem of lay-off, waiting for materials, the Foreign will pay 2euros an hour.</p> <p>2.2 The way of wage of Party B's balancing and payment: settle account of the volume of projects on the last day of each month, before the 30th of next month the Foreign should transfer accounts to Party B. And Party A should pay to Party B according to the Bank of China's RMB exchange rate. Party B should pay tax by 2.75% at home.</p> <p>2.3 In order to ensure the quality of the project, the Foreign will hold Party B's first month of wage as the quality margin, and this will be return before Party B leaving.</p> <p>2.4 Party A will charge 5euros one person per month from Party B as management fees outside.</p> <p>2.5 The Foreign will offer accommodation, medical insurance and personal accident insurance to Party B. Meals should be took care by themselves. The board wages will be paid in advance but it will be clew back from the wage every month.</p> <p>2.6. Party B will bring their own working clothes (the cost will be undertaken by the Foreign) and their own working tools to finish the work (such as steel hook, cartridges, etc.)</p> <p>□ - The Rights and Obligations of Both Sides</p> <p>1. Rights and obligations of Party A</p> <p>1.1 Party A is obliged to show Party B the Private Immigration Business License. Party A has an obligation to introduce Party B outside working conditions, types of work, fees, wages, insurance, security, facilities and length of contracts and other relevant circumstances truthfully.</p> <p>1.2 Party A is responsible for all the exit procedures. Party A is responsible for consulting with foreign partners, dealing with Romania work permits and related visas for Party B, helping or guiding Party B conduct immigration passports, visas, notarization, physical examination, immunization procedures and other documents. When Party B arrives in Romania, he need execute for a visa in accordance with the law and accept the production safety induction training before work. The waiting time is normal and during this period there is no need for the Foreign to pay Party B the wage.</p> <p>1.3 Party A is responsible for supervising of the foreign to perform the contract and safeguarding legitimate rights and interests of the party B. Party A should assist Party B according to their requirements in the performance country (region) through mediation, arbitration, litigation, etc. to safeguard the legitimate rights</p>	

and interests. The expense from this produce should be processed according to the two sides' agreements.

1.4 Educate Party B to adhere to the countries (regions) of the laws, regulations and social ethics strictly, compliance with contracts and the rules and regulations relating to foreign enterprises. Provide the necessary skills training and language training before Party B leaves the country.

1.5 May accept the party B's delegation to agent or instruct that party B go to Legitimate agency of Labor and Social Security Services or the related business insurance organization to handle the home or the foreign related social security or the business insurance.

1.6 During the period when Party B performs the contract, When because of Unexpected or new disease, or Work-related injuries or suffering from occupational diseases, Party A should coordinate of the foreign country in accordance with the relevant laws and regulations, labor contracts and related insurance terms to handle the medical and hospitalization costs so that he can obtain the appropriate financial compensation.

1.7 If there is no peculiar circumstance, Party A should guarantee that party B will go and work abroad within 6months after submitting the application materials and deposit.

2. Rights and obligations of Party B

2.1 According to party A's request, submits the outside promptly or handles the real identification which, the school record proof, the occupational qualification certificates related material the related card illuminates needs, the party B guaranteed that provided proof, certificate and related materials are true and effective. Otherwise, party B will undertake all consequences.

2.2 Party B, as the specialized worker, must understand and can complete the stipulation the work quota.

2.3 Party B has to go a qualified medical institution or national entry-exit inspection and quarantine departments to take the physical examination (including chronic and infectious diseases, pulmonary X-ray) and be qualified.

2.4 In the foundation that party B understands the Rights and obligations of himself, Party B should fulfill the contract earnestly; obey reasonable arrangement and the management of Party A and the Foreign; observes the related rules and regulations and the working routine strictly; do not reveal secrets of Party A and the Foreign Business.

2.5 Party B should be Positive for a passport and other exit procedures, etc. under Party A's assistance, and leave for the country in order to work in the scheduled time according to Party A's arrangement.

2.6 After arriving at Romania, Party B should participate in the safe training according to the arrangement. If accident happens because of not attending the safety training, all consequences should be undertaken by Party B.

2.7 In foreign duration of work, maintain the motherland and own dignity, do not do harms the civic morality and the personality matter. Simultaneously, observe the country's law and the manners and customs, do not participate in the strike and the political activity, otherwise, Party B will undertake all the consequences produced from. If Party B in the foreign country picks a quarrel stirs up trouble, forces other people by the military force, besieges Chinese consular offices in foreign and many other behaviors, Party A and the Foreign is authorized to terminate the contract immediately, and repatriates him. All consequences and the expense caused by this will be undertaken voluntarily by Party B. All expenses Party B has paid will not be returned, simultaneously, Party A retains the right to lawsuit Party B.

2.8 In foreign duration of work, Party B has dispute or controversy because of his own behavior (for example fighting, behavior unrestrained, participates in unlawful assembly and so on) with the owner, all consequences should be undertaken voluntarily by Party B.

2.9 In the performance of the contract period, Party B should consciously submit to the project team managers of Party A. Strictly enforce the work schedule and the progress of work according to the requirements of Party A and the Foreign, Ensure that hand over a completed project on schedule, the miners are not allowed off-the-job. After the expiration of the agreement, Party B must return to homeland on time. Those who do not return on time will be punished by default. All the consequences caused will be undertaken voluntarily by Party B.

2.10 Do not take advantage of the opportunity to work outside for illegal track and other unlawful actions, otherwise all the consequences caused will be undertaken voluntarily by Party B. And Party A will hold the corresponding responsibility for the economy and reputation, etc.

2.11 if Party B is unable to do their foreign work because of himself, the Foreign has the right to dismiss Party B; moreover, Party B should bear the cost of home.

2.12, Party B need pay the outside management fees to Party A according to the agreement and time on this Contract. (Payment standard: 5euros / person / month), Party B should pay the actual cost of the visa of the third and forth year, about 500euros /person/year.

2.13, Party B has the responsibility to hold down the regulations to maintain the home clean. Properly use, carefully keep living appliances and equipment provided by the Foreign. If Party B breaks the rule, damages and loses items of equipment, he is to be fined according to the rules. Party B ought to pay 200\$ deposit before going abroad. When Party B works a full year in Romania, the deposit will be sent back totally. If Party B has a violation by a fine, the balance will be refunded after deduction of a fine.

III- Other matters

1, the two sides have an obligation of confidentiality of the contents of the contract, not to leak related matters of this contract to unrelated persons.

2, when out of war, major natural disasters, as well as that both sides agree that the reasons are irresistible, has the impact of the implementation of this contract, this time period of the implementation of the contract could be delayed. Or both sides agree to this contract through consultation.

3, this contract is in duplicate; it will become effective after both sides sign their names. The valid will be calculated when B arrives in Romania until he returns home. The two sides own one. This contract will be modified and added in writing. Supplemental agreement will serve as an integral part of this contract. Supplemental Agreement has the same legal effect with this contract.

4, the controversy and dispute Party A and Party B have and cannot reach the agreement by consensus can be solved by ways related to the administration of justice. Party A and Party B agree that will be adjudged or ruled in the Area People's Court or arbitration institutions where the defense locates.

Party A:

Party B:

6. The Cost of going to Romania

6.1 Commission

Ordinary workers in China do not have the social network or capability to obtain employment abroad. Labour agencies were set up to meet to this need. In this section, the cost of obtaining employment overseas will be analyzed in detail.

As mentioned in the previous example, there are over 100 labour agencies in Hai'an County. Small agencies do not have permission to send people working abroad, so they are all "feeder" or "feeder-to-feeder..." companies to the big brokers in Beijing. As a direct result of this arrangement, the worker has to pay fees to all the small and big agencies on the same chain for arranging him to work overseas.

In table 6.1 the entire costs involved up to the moment the workers boarded the airplane to Romania are listed. The data is based on interviews with the workers from Hai'an County.

Table 6.1 The expenses a worker must pay before departing for Romania

		In RMB	
Commission fees		83,000	3,000 for application 20,000 after technical skills test 30,000 in three month 30,000 after getting visa – WHEN a 3 month visa is granted?
Other fees	Passport	296	
	Technical skill certification	250	
	Notarization of all the technical skill certifications	450	
	Non-criminal confirmation notarization	160	
	Education certificates notarization	200	
	Double authentication	650	
	Physical Check	480	
	Visa	1500	
	Train ticket to Peking	320	
Total		87306	

All the workers from Hai'an County complained that they paid in total 83,000 RMB for commission and another 4,200 RMB for passport, certificate authentication, physical check, visa and so on. A breakdown of the expenses is shown in the table above. As was stated earlier, this money would not be refunded if the worker decided to withdraw their application. An informant said that he could not get a refund even when his father was dying during his application.

This cost was for the first model (the Chain Model) of recruitment. If there had been more agencies involved, the commission would have been higher. The 23 cases from Hai'an County in this study declared that the commission fee was 83,000 RMB. Workers from other regions paid even more: up to 100,000 RMB. With commission fees ranging from 80,000 RMB to 100,000 RMB for the Chain model, and other technical costs between 4,000 RMB to 5,000 RMB, the total fee amounted to between 85,000 RMB to 105,000 RMB.

Minhuan Li, listed the agency fees in 2008 as follows:

Table 6.2 Commission fees in 2008

Target Country	Work Type	Commission fees (in RMB)
America	Chinese restaurant workers	500,000-700,000
Israel	Construction workers	80,000-170,000
Europe	Textile Companies or restaurants	200,000-400,000
Japan	Workers in Construction or Agricultural sectors	45,000-49,000
Singapore, Korea or Japan	Workers in the field of computer or IT	300,000-400,000
Japan or America	Drivers	400,000-500,000

Managers from different labour agencies reported that commission fees differed between agencies and regions. Since agencies that are legally authorised to send workers abroad will sub-contract to lower level agencies paying commission from their share and small agencies tend to add a new commission based on their own regional situation. Generally speaking, a big

agency gets a commission between 3,000 RMB -100,000 RMB from this business, which means if there are more stages during the process, the workers will have to pay more.

Based on the findings of the interviews, it appeared that when there was only one sub-agent between the big agency, the commission fee was around 83,000 RMB; if there were two, the fees rose to around 95,000 RMB.

When there is no sub-agent, which is known as the Sub-Contractor model, the cost involved would be much lower, approximately 65,000 RMB in the cases studied in this research where the workers came mostly from the Anhui Province.

In the case of the Sub-Contractor model, a worker paid a commission ranging from 65,000 RMB to 100,000 RMB. A manager of a labour agency in Beijing explained that 30-40 per cent of the commission would be sent to foreign agencies, 10-20 per cent would be taken by small agencies, and a certain amount is for the ticket, visa, and other expenses, while the remaining 10 per cent was taken by the big agency its commission. However, as shown in the contract examined, there were still more service fees required after the workers' arrival in Romania which totaled between 5-10 Euros per person per month.

In summary, once a worker went to a labour agency and signed on the waiting list, he must pay a certain amount of money as a deposit. If he changed his mind later on and did not want to go anymore, he would not get the deposit back. The commission was often paid in several installments by way of deposit. The worker could pay 20,000 RMB the first time, and 30,000 RMB three months later, and then another 30,000 RMB later on. Whatever happened or whatever the worker discovered later, he had no other choice but to pay all the expenses and go forward.

Otherwise, all the money he paid earlier would be kept by the agency.

6.2 The Cost of Borrowing – Interests on Loan

For most of the workers, such a large amount of money was unaffordable and they had to borrow it from relatives, friends, or even usurers (loan sharks). According to the workers, the interest rate charged by usurers would normally be around 20% per annum. Once this large sum of money was paid, the worker went to Romania carrying with him or her the hope of their whole family. Under this high pressure, when they were not able to earn enough money as expected or as they were promised, these workers lost not only their hope, but also the courage to return to their families.

Among all the interviewees, around 80 percent of the Chinese immigrant workers raised debts to pay for the expenses needed to acquire their job. The costs in the following table are based on their declarations and were confirmed with their relatives and agents.

Table 6.3

Case No.	All costs (RMB)	Debts in total (RMB)	Debts in percentage
1	81,500	80,000	98.16%
2	85,000	65,000	76.47%
3	87,280	80,000	91.66%
4	83,000	30,000	36.14%
5	83,000	40,000	48.19%
6	94,000	90,000	95.74%
7	94,000	28,000	29.79%
8	94,000	45,000	47.87%
9	94,000	65,000	69.15%
10	87,000	30,000	34.48%
11	87,000	65,000	74.71%
12	87,280	10,000	11.46%

13	87,280	60,000	68.74%
14	87,280	50,000	57.29%
15	85,000	50,000	58.82%
16	85,000	85,000	100.00%
17	87,000	35,000	40.23%
18	85,000	80,000	94.12%
19	87,280	20,000	22.91%
20	87,280	60,000	68.74%
21	87,700	60,000	68.42%
22	87,000	60,000	68.97%
Average	87,404		

More than 36% of these interviewees owed more than 70% of the commission fees in debts to relatives, and nearly 65% owed more than 50% of the commission fees in debts.

Although some of them borrowed from their relatives, they had to pay interests as well. Suppose a worker has paid 87,404 RMB for his agency fees, half of the sum in debt. If he was lucky enough to get a bank loan in China, the interest rate would be around 0.6% per month, which would amount to 3,146 RMB per year, and 15,732 RMB over five years; if he took a private loan, the interest rate would be around 1% per month, which amounts to 5,244 RMB for a year and 26,221 RMB for five years; if he borrowed from an usurer, the interest rate would be at least 20%, which meant the interest would be as high as 10,488 RMB for a year, 52,442 RMB or even more for five years. It would be a huge debt for these workers to pay off.

6.3 High Fees for Romanian Governmental Procedures

Normally, when the brokers send Chinese workers out to

Romania, they need the following documents: notarisation of the four certificates (certificate of work type, education certificate, certificate of non-criminal record, and health certificate), double authentication of all four notarised certificates, and visas. The notarisation is done in the local government office of the worker's hometown. Double authentication means one authentication from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, and the other from the Romanian Embassy or Consulates in China. The visas are also issued by the Romanian Embassy or Consulates in China. The key problem appears that a lot of back room arrangements have to be made before the application reaches the Romanian side.

When asked why a high fee of 40% was charged, the Israel agency manager claimed that, their cost for each work permit alone was 100 Euros to 300 Euros in additional to other costs. This study was unable to obtain written corroboration or other documentary proofs to confirm to the declared costs.

A manager at one Chinese broker alleged that officers from the Romanian Embassy and Consulates in China requested fees to facilitate the issuance of work permits and that this practice pervades the entire permit issuance cycle. The informant claimed that this practice was most prevalent with group applications and to a lesser degree with individual applications. It was claimed that without payment of the facilitation fees, delays would occur

The manager informant alleged that in one application in early 2009, document authentication took over one year and was finally resolved after payment of money. It was not clear if this payment was requested from the applicant or offered by the applicant unprompted. The alleged facilitation fee per work visa was 600 Euros each, reduced from the requested 1,000 Euros after bargaining and negotiation and the payment had to be in

Euros and neither in Romanian leu or Chinese renminbi.

This study was not able to obtain written corroboration from the informant and no documentary proof was available to substantiate these allegations.

It should be noted that the Romanian visa office in Shanghai, which used to cover Jiangsu, Anhui, Fujian and other southeastern provinces in China was closed by the Romanian government several months after protests by Chinese workers in Romania in 2008.

Requests for telephone interviews with the Romanian Consulate in Shanghai were declined without explanations.

The same manager informant further reported that through his personal contact with a Romanian visa officer who used to work in Beijing, he understood that the level of facilitation fees was high because it was shared with colleagues in Bucharest. Again, no corroboration was provided and no documentary evidence was available to substantiate the above serious allegation.

All seven Chinese brokers interviewed indicated that “extreme” facilitation fees were required for Romanian visa application. To put this into perspective, the university researcher, a Chinese national, who conducted this research paid 60 Euros to the Romanian Embassy in Berlin, 40 RMB to the Romanian Consulate in Shanghai and 27 RMB to the Romanian Embassy in Beijing. For every payment made, a payment receipt was provided to the applicant in this case while it was alleged that none of the brokers received any receipts for their payments.

From the figures indicated by the interviewees, the total cost related to work permit and visa applications but excluding authorisation costs, added up to around 700 to 1,300 Euros.

These costs accounted for around 8% to 15% of the average commission paid by the 22 workers above.

6.4 The Invisible Cost

While fees related to governmental procedures were at least visible, there were other additional invisible costs. The nature of construction work, which is largely seasonal, means that the workers have to find themselves a project where work starts before the spring. Construction workers are always searching for projects in different places and cities. Normally, a construction project begins in spring so as to finish before winter arrives. Thus competition among workers will already have started in the winter before. In China, contractors and workers are used to calculating date using traditional lunar calendar. The start of the Chinese New Year occurs between mid January to mid February. Workers are generally able to find a job shortly before or after the Spring Festival (Chinese New Year); when projects start after the Spring Festival, workers leave their home for work. However, 76% of informants reported that their planned dates of departure were postponed again and again and in some cases, they were postponed for nearly one year.

An example is provided here to illustrate the problems experienced by the workers. A worker saw an advertisement on local TV on 10 November 2007. The agency at that time was searching for workers to go to Guam, U.S.A urgently. This worker signed up and was placed on the waiting list. At the beginning of December, the agency told him it could be faster to go to Romania and asked if he wanted to go there instead. The agency told him the salary would be the same. This worker agreed. In the following months, the worker called the agency several times, and every time the same response was received, namely that he might be leaving within a few days. Since he was told every time that he might be going any time soon, he

left the project he had found and waited at home, ready to leave at any moment. However, it was not until 5 September that he finally left by plane for Romania. That is to say, from December 2007 to September 2008, he was not able to take on any work and had no income and wasted nine months waiting at home.

As mentioned before, in China, the average salary of these workers is around 2,000-3,000 RMB. That means in 9 months, the loss of income could be potentially at least 20,000 RMB that they could have earned. This case is typical. This particular worker reported that there were 44 people going together with him to Romania, and all 44 people had experienced exactly the same thing.

To sum up, for a construction worker to going to Romania, the average commission fee was 87,404 RMB, of which more than 8%-15% went on Romanian governmental procedures. Assuming a worker obtained half this sum through private loans, he would have to pay 26,221 RMB in interests over 5 years. Assuming that the average waiting time would be 9 months, he could lose an additional 20,000 RMB through a loss of income.

7. Salary, working conditions and visa issues

7.1 Salary

Most of the dissatisfactions of the workers were associated with remuneration, working conditions and salary deductions. Apart from the reported alteration from 12,000-18,000 RMB per month in the advertisement to 800 Euros or 690 Euros per month in the contract with the Chinese broker, while in reality the actual salary was between 690 Euros and 635 USD per month (or from 3 Euros per hour to US\$ 3 per hour with their Romanian employer), the workers felt the reduction in salary deduction unreasonable.

The worst case experienced was that of the workers interviewed for this study who received less than 1,500 Lei every month at the end of 2008. Some of the workers had stolen the payroll sheet from the Romanian company since they were not allowed to keep a pay slip of their own. On the sheet, it showed that nearly every worker received 10% to 30% of what they expected. At first the workers did not understand the information displayed on the pay roll sheet (9, 8. 7) so they requested to ask the “boss” via an interpreter what the figures meant. The response they received via the interpreter was that this was the boss’s decision and if they were not satisfied with it, they could leave.

One of the workers made the correlation that the workers who always gave the Romanians cigarettes usually received a ‘9’ (meaning only 10 percent of their salary was deducted), and the ones who gave nothing would get a ‘7’.” Some Chinese brokers told me that Romanian employers complained that Chinese workers were lazy, and they always worked slowly, trying to stretch out their hours to earn more pay. However information received from a supervisor of a Romanian construction

company indicated otherwise.

In his view, Chinese workers were very diligent and excellent workers. Most Romanian brokers and construction companies did not communicate directly with Chinese workers. When they were not satisfied with them, the companies chose not to say anything but to reduce their salaries, and the workers were not able to defend themselves.

During the period under analysis in Romania, some workers were told by their employers that their salaries would be reduced by an additional 12.5 percent due to the global financial crisis. The vice president and lawyer of Romania BNS (National Trade Union Bloc) were consulted on this practice and he said that that according to the Romanian Labour Code, it should be the company who should pay for the losses during financial crises and not the employees. He went on to say that a company has the right to fire an employee in a crisis but not to cut his or her salary.

In all 88 workers working for Company N in Iasi were interviewed. Most of them were from Jiangsu Province and some from Fujian or Hebei Province. Below is a summary of the findings.

The workers considered the contracts signed with Chinese brokers to be seriously fraudulent in failing to pay the promised on the salary. At the very beginning, in the advertisements posted by domestic intermediaries, the monthly income per workers would be between 9000 to 12,000 RMB per month. When the workers arrived in Romania, their employer, Company N wanted to sign a new contract. Compared with the contract signed in China, there were serious discrepancies (i.e. the contracted salary offered in the Chinese contract³ euros per hour and minimum monthly income were 690 Euros with extra

pay for overtime work. But Company N only agreed to pay US\$ 635 per month and US\$3 per hour).

The big Chinese labour agency that brought them to Romania persuaded them to sign the contract, explaining that the US\$ 635 contract was a fake contract that would enable Company N to evade taxes in Romania. The agency told them that this contract was not linked to their actual income and did not contradict the contract in China. Everything would follow the domestic contract and Company N would pay their wages in accordance with the remuneration of 3 euros per hour and that they need not worry about it. However, it turned out Company N paid them US\$ 635 per month.

From the payroll in October we can see how this employer took deductions out of the workers' wages. Deductions were made to almost all workers' wages by varying degrees. The workers could only get a maximum of 60% ~ 90 % of monthly salaries. Wages were deducted even for changing dormitories and moving their own baggage at the request of the employers.

1-101 15 -

TAT PLATĂ LUNA OCTOMBRIE 2008

NR.	Legit.	Meserie	Salar	Nr. total on	Nr. zile lucrat	Nr. zile N	Ind. aprob.	Salar realizat	Tichete masa	Total realizat	Avans	Total plata	Semnatura
NUME			USD										
AN	102	electrician	635	251	27	0,70	507	77	554	50	534	Poziția I.	
SYNG		electrician	635	251	27	0,80	580	77	657	50	607	Poziția I.	
N	105	finisor	635	241	28	0,00	626	74	700	50	650	Poziția I.	
							1.713	228	1.841	150	1.791		

NUME	Legit.	Meserie	Salar	Nr. total on	Nr. zile lucr.	Ind. aprob.	Salar realizat	Tichete m.	Total realizat	Avans	Total plata	Pct. lcr. plat	Semnatura
PRENUME			USD										Val
		dulgher	635	251	27	0,90	652	77	729	100	629	Negresti	
		dulgher	635	232	26	0,90	603	74	677	100	577	Negresti	
		fierar	635	222	26	0,70	449	74	523	100	423	Negresti	
		dulgher	635	232	26	0,70	469	74	543	100	443	Negresti	
		dulgher	635	239	26	0,70	483	74	557	100	457	Negresti	
TOTAL							2.655	374	3.028	500	2.528		

It was written in the contract that the employer would pay extra money to people who worked overtime on weekdays and Sundays. The problem can be illustrated by the experience of the worker below. Worker A started work on 18 September, 2008 and altogether had worked for 102 hours, of which regular work hours was 72, with an additional 30 hours of overtime and extra work on Sunday. According to the contract, the salaries should have been calculated as 72 hours at 3 euros per hour plus 30 hours over time. According to the minimum exchange rate at the time, it equated to 3,351.6 RMB. However, workers A only received 714 RON plus 520 RMB, which in total was 2162. RMB. It differed significantly from what the workers should have received.

7.2 Working conditions and health care

For most workers in Iasi and Bucharest, the employers put them in dormitories that had been abandoned for many years. These were surrounded by overgrown grass and had been used as pigsties or cattle pen before being converted for use as workers dormitories. Pictures of Company N's dormitory are provided below.

There was only one large dormitory and providing accommodation for as many as 45 people. There was only one small window for ventilation and due to overcrowding, the smell inside the dormitory was terrible.



The workers in Iasi will be used as an example again to illustrate the everyday life of these workers. Every morning at six o'clock, a truck came to bring the workers to a distant work site. The journey took about an hour. The workers went back to the dormitory after work, usually when it became dark. They quickly finished dinner and prepared their lunch for the next day (every day they were given only baked bread at work). They had half an hour rest at noon. Every day they only had access to cold water from the toilet tap at the work site to drink. This may not appear to be a serious issue but Chinese generally drink hot water and the workers found it uncomfortable to drink cold water.

There was also no health care available. Worker B from Hebei Province had an extreme pain in the abdomen when he was on the way back to the dormitory after going off duty at night. He had to put up with the pain all the way back. He called the manager for help, but the manager told him that he had no way to help him. This worker took all the antibiotics and painkillers had brought from China during the night but it did not help. The next morning at about ten o'clock he fainted in pain and was driven to the hospital. The diagnosis was a ruptured duodenum but he was sent to the hospital too late and needed five operations just to save his life.

Neither the Romanian employer nor the labour broker appointed any person to look after him. After sending him to the hospital, they simply left. The worker didn't have food for a whole week. It should be noted that in Romanian hospitals it is customary and necessary for family members of the patients to provide supplementary food and care during their stay.

7.3 Visa Issues

According to the Chinese Embassy in Romania, the number of Chinese people travelling to Romania to work by various means has been increasing dramatically compared to that of previous years. At the time of writing, there were more than 3,000 Chinese workers in Romania. Approximately half of them had visa problems.

According to the quota for foreign labour allocated by the European Union to Romania and regulations on migrant workers in Romania, companies in Romania employing migrant workers should apply for work permits for them in their local immigration bureau. Only after work permits have been obtained legally can visas and other administrative procedures related to the residence and employment in Romania be dealt with and only after the administrative process has been completed can the workers take up their jobs in Romania. There is one point to note: Romania's overseas agencies sign and issue D/AM visa to applicants who have obtained the work permits in advance and D/AS visa to those who have failed to do so.

Judging from recent labour issues in Romania and the types of visa that some of the Chinese workers have acquired, it is useful to analyze the types of visa available. According to item (1)、(5)、(6) in Clause 44 in the current edition of Romania's Foreigners Act of Romania, long term work visa can be issued to foreigners in accordance with the Work Permits authorized by the Romanian Immigration Office. Foreigners can apply for Long Stay Labour Permits (Gray Card) 30 days after obtaining the Work Permits. The following documents should be submitted at the time of application:

Work Permit issued by the Romanian Immigration Office; the related pass-through certificate guaranteeing minimum living

expenses for the whole validity of the visa; the worker's domicile or Police certificate in the country of residence and a medical insurance for the whole validity of the visa.

In general, type D Visa permits the holder to stay for 90 days. When it expires, the holder should apply for the Residence Permit. Workers holding D/AM may apply for Residence Permits and extend their term of residence; however, it is much more difficult for workers who arrived in Romania with D/AS to take up other jobs with visa that are not marked as "Labour Service". Even if the companies try hard to help these workers to solve the problems, these workers would still have difficulties applying for Residence Permits. It means, therefore, they could eventually become illegal migrants, facing deadline for departure or forced repatriation. Half of the interviewees complained that their Romanian employers did not make enough efforts to help them with their visa extension while two thirds of the workers said that their employers used the visa extension problem to force them into signing new contracts.

Most workers from Jilin province held D/AS visas, which meant Romanian employers would have to make great efforts to extend their visas. However, while the employer may be able to solve the administrative issues, they generally do not want to pay out consultancy fees to facilitate the process. The local Romanian practice in resolving administrative issues is not the topic of this study but it has direct relevance on visa extension and residence permit application of the workers.

If the process of authentication, visa application and renewal, work permit application and residence permit application could be streamlined and made more transparent in Romania and their representatives in China, large sections of the existing difficulties experienced by the migrant workers could be avoided.

Among the 88 laid-off workers from Jiangsu, only six have obtained personal identity cards issued by the Romanian Immigration Office. Another 14 people's applications to obtain residence permit extension were rejected and 68 people still did not have personal identification numbers (a personal identification number is issued by the Immigration Office for the extension of the residence permit if the applicant is in possession of a work permit in Romania.)

8. Conflicts

8.1 Workers' Protests in Romania

As mentioned in the beginning of this report, construction workers from China hit the headlines in 2008 and 2009 in both the Chinese and Romanian media. In November 2008, 88 workers from Jiangsu, 69 workers from Hebei and 140 workers from Jilin went on strike. The 88 workers from Jiangsu worked in Iasi, while the others worked in Bucharest. The two groups did not know each other. They gathered around the Chinese Embassy in Romania from November 2008 to February 2009 on weekdays and weekends. There were 100 to 200 protesters which sometimes rose as high as 400 in front of the Chinese Embassy. They came to Romania hoping for better pay and better living conditions and they felt they had been deceived. After negotiating with the employers in vain, the 88 workers bought train tickets with their remaining money to come to the Chinese Embassy in Bucharest, which they made their last hope.

Below is a list of the frauds and grievances alleged by the workers:

- Salary issue: different between the two labour contracts (the one signed in China and the one signed) in Romania, reduction in working hours, lack of overtime payment and so on. Details see above.
- Project description issue: labour agencies claimed that the projects were to build the biggest hotel in the EU and a supermarket in Romania and that the projects would take five years to complete, but there were only some small decoration or construction projects.
- Working and living conditions: working and living conditions differed greatly from what the Chinese labour agencies promised when the workers applied for jobs; there was no

health care at all, which was also in violation of the terms in the contracts.

- Visa issue: two types of residence permit were given to the workers, D/AM and D/AS which generally could not be extended even if a worker's contract was for four or five years work in Romania. Only Romanian employers can apply for an extension of their worker's visas, but some of them did not apply or applied too late for the workers.

The 88 workers intended to ask for protection from the Chinese Embassy, as some of their resident permits had expired. They demanded a refund of the agency fees and payment of their salaries; they wanted to be sent back to China. Some workers said that they did not speak Romanian or English, and they could not afford to pay for the procedures to renew their expired visa. The only way left was to ask for the Chinese Embassy for help.

8.2 Conflicts Resolution

Below is a description of how the incident was resolved based on an interview with the Chinese Embassy. The Chinese Embassy first found accommodation for these workers. Then they contacted the Romanian Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Protection, and at the same time reported to the Chinese Ministry of Commerce. The Labour Inspection Bureau of the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Protection investigated and finally reprimanded Company N (see below for more details). The Chinese Ministry of Commerce organised and sent several teams composed of governmental officers and labour agents of different ranks or levels to Romania.

With the help of the Chinese Embassy and the Chinese government teams, and ZQ Company, i.e. the big agency in China, the workers complained officially that the discrepancies

between their contracts and the Romanian employment contracts had led to disputes on salaries. At this point, some of the workers required the strike to be dealt with, but several factors rendered ZQ Company incapable of action, which made the strike situation even more serious. ZQ Company made the following proposals to solve these problems in Jan. 2009:

- Both employers and employees should act strictly in accordance with the contract signed in China; the implementation of the “Romanian Employment Overseas Employment Service Agreement” would begin immediately and the work stoppage would be dealt with at once.
- ZQ Company would take responsibility and pay the workers in accordance with the contract, i.e. 3 Euros per hour times 230 work hours per month, and would compensate them for their loss during the strike period.
- The agency commission fees were refunded at the request of individual workers. The ones who were willing to continue working in Romania would still need to pay. ZQ Company would be responsible for sending back those who were not willing to continue their work in Romania.
- Unpaid wages would be paid to settle with the workers.
- Whether the workers stayed or not, the companies they have worked for would pay for their return tickets.
- Award 100 Euros to those who had stayed at work during the strike period.
- Those who continue to live and work in Romania would be subject to the unified management of the company and the unified Dispatch. As far as the Overseas Employment Contract was concerned, both employers and employees had the right to modify the original agreement in order to ensure the legitimate rights and interests of both parties, but amendments should not be made in violation of the original agreement.

In February 2009, the agency signed an agreement with the workers witnessed by the governmental teams, see below.

<p style="text-align: center;">The Agreement</p> <p>Party A: The labour agent Party B: The workers</p> <p>In order to deal with disputes and make sure that those who have come to Romania legally and reasonably maintain the legitimate rights and interests to a maximum degree, the Team on the Romanian Labour Disputes of Jiangsu Province have coordinated with Party A and Party B many a time, and the two abovementioned parties have reached the following agreement:</p> <p>I -Party B returns to the homeland voluntarily and terminates the labour contracts in Romania. Party A is responsible for completing relative procedures and pays for the return tickets.</p> <p>II -when Party B returns to the homeland, Party A is responsible for returning the intermediary fee of 50,000 RMB, which Party A has paid before going abroad. The rest of the fee shall be paid back to Party B by Party A no later than 30th, April, 2009.</p> <p>III-If Party B continues to work in Romania, everything happens afterwards there will be of his own responsibilities and he should obey the laws and regulations of Romania and safeguard his rights according to the law; meanwhile, Party B shall not conduct any behavior detrimental to the country's image.</p> <p>IV-If Party B does not act in accordance with Term III during his stay in Romania, he should be responsible for all consequences.</p> <p>V -This agreement shall be the ultimate solution and the two parties shall comply together.</p> <p>VI-This Agreement is in triplicate. All copies shall take effect upon both parties signing their signatures.</p> <p>Party A: The labor agent Party B: The workers Witness: Team on the Romanian Labor Disputes of Jiangsu Province</p>
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Meanwhile, under the request of the Chinese Embassy, labour inspectors from the Department of Employment Relations, Labour Safety at Work and Health at Work of the Employment Inspection Bureau conducted a survey of Company N in

Iasi. At the company's construction site in Iasi City (located in CUG Exhibition Center in Victoria), the labour inspectors found 18 Chinese workers at work. The company had another construction site in Negresti, Vaslui. The labour inspectors pointed out that Company N had registered 147 Individual labour contracts altogether for its Chinese workers with the Labour Inspectorate of Iasi. Of the 147 Chinese workers, 25 of them had gone on strike according to the provisions of the Labour Law, Section 2 (i.e. "Violation of labour discipline or violations of individual labour contracts is applicable to the provisions of the collective labour contract or internal rules and regulations as a disciplinary punishment.") There are still 122 effective (i.e. not terminated) individual labour contracts signed by Chinese workers that Company N recorded at the Labour Inspectorate of Iasi. Among those 122 workers, 34 were still on the pay roll while 88 had stopped work unilaterally (the Labour Inspectorate of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China.) Their employer had taken measures to terminate the individual labour contracts after the strike (the agreement to terminate the contract has been drafted but all the 88 workers refuse to sign their names.)

Labour inspectors conducted a survey and obtained the following information:

1. From the records of the hours worked by each employee engaged in work and the written statements of the staff, the labour inspectors found that the employers had infringed Article 132, Section 1 of Labour Legislation No.53, 2003 which is about guarantees of workers' rest (Saturdays and Sundays).

Since such actions violated the law, the labour inspectors ordered the employers to take the following compulsory measures before 12 September , 2008: to regulate working

hours and ensure that workers had rest times in accordance with Law No. 53, which was revised and improved in 2003 – “Labour Law Article “132 Section 1 stipulated the hour of rest. In addition to Saturdays and Sundays, the workers should have other rest times in accordance with Law No. 53 - “Labor Law Article “132 Section 3 stipulated extra wage subsidies.

The measures have since been implemented. The employees now enjoyed the rights stipulated in the 2003 Law No. 53 - “Labour Law Article “132 Section 1, and workers who took weekdays off instead will be an given additional 1.5% wage subsidies.

2. The Iasi Regional Labour Inspectorate was to submit proof of payment (inclusive) to workers in June 2008.

Labour Supervision urged them to take the following compulsory measures:

- Employers must submit proof of payment of wages between July and October, 2008 to the Iasi Regional Labour Inspectorate before 15 December, 2008.

The measure was implemented, the proof of payment of wages from July to October, 2008 has been submitted to the Iasi Regional Labour Inspectorate, under registration number is No.264,396, 9 December, 2008.

On 18 December, 2008, a letter from the Labour Inspectorate in response to file No. 264, 396 and its compulsory measures stated that all the Chinese workers in the region of Iasi were paid the appropriate salaries in October, and only the 88 workers who went to Bucharest did not receive corresponding wages in November. Received wages in the November 2008 payroll were confirmed by the workers’ personal signatures.

According to provisions in individual labour contracts□ the Chinese citizens who continued to work would had worked for 25 month since they arrived, but had only received 11 months of salary.

Payment of wages shown on the certificate with Chinese workers' signatures should be the same as what was negotiated, which was 1,508 lei. This amount was also mentioned in the individual labour contracts

3. The employers produced documents to demonstrate the labour quota. Although they obtained the consent of each employee, there was no consent from the trade unions or employee representatives. It is a legal obligation to sign such an agreement. It is clearly stipulated in Article 129 Section 1 of the 2003 Law No. 53 that signatures of trade unions or employee representatives are necessary for such a document to be valid .

Labour inspectors demanded implementation of the aforementioned measures no later than 29 December, 2008 and to ensure the workload was in line with Article 129 Section 1 of the 2003 Law No. 53.

In response to the instructions, Company N informed the Labour Inspectorate that they should follow the fixed targets used by construction industry calculations to determine labour quota signed by employee representatives before December 29, 2008.

4. In addition, the Labour Inspectorates requested other measures to be taken before 29 December, 2008: employers must amend, with the employees' consent, valid terms of the annex to the individual labour contracts, complying with all laws and applicable collective labour contracts, and to pay all

employees for their work in accordance with individual labour contracts, complying with Article 129 Section 1 of the 2003 Law No. 53.

For the violations of legal provisions regarding work time, submission of false certificate of wage payment, and the substandard construction sites, the inspectors issued Company N with a total fine of 19,000 Leu.

8.3. Repatriated victims

The term “repatriation” could be considered the end of the whole business, however, not all of the repatriated workers agreed. As mentioned above, these workers were told that they would get a refund of their commission fee and their unpaid wages. In the follow up interviews conducted in Hai’an County, it was found that most workers did receive their money though there were some exceptions.

The 88 workers from Jiangsu Province were composed of two groups of workers from different labour agencies. The larger group with 74 workers was given refunds with the help of the government. The labour agency should have been the one to give the refunds. The other group of 14 workers belonged to another agency that claimed to have no money. Local government officials interviewed staff at the agency, which argued that the agency had no responsibility for giving refunds and that they did not have the money for it. The local government had the power to freeze the agency’s money or assets to force it to refund the workers. According to the local government officials, the agency should pay 3,000,000 RMB. For this 14-people group, all agencies involved in this case could easily have been located and assembled by the government

within a few days. The Chinese government, especially local government needed to take the responsibility for solving the problem. In this case, it appeared to be an administrative problem instead of a systemic one, since applicable rules and regulations already exist. However, in China, anomalies in administrative procedures could be caused by corruption within the local government. Members of the group reported that the agency was on very good terms with the director of the local labour bureau.

As they had not been refunded, these 14 workers went to their labour agency to protest in February 2009. After half a day's negotiation, young gangsters allegedly hired by the agency beat up the workers. This indicates that there may have been mafia or criminal problem in this particular local society. One of the workers was badly hurt and was sent to the hospital. His head was seriously injured. In the end, he only received a compensation of 10,000 RMB for medical expenses.

Another notable observation is that 80% of these repatriated workers were treated as community villains. Most local governments asked the police or justice bureaus to control or monitor these returned workers. All the workers were sent to correction offices weekly or even more often to report their daily life and to listen to lectures on harmonious society. Nearly all of the repatriated workers declared that the whole experience has had a negative impact on their lives, and all of them had resolved never to work abroad again.

9. Textile workers and shipyard workers

9.1 Textile workers

Romania's first clothing factory was founded by Italian capital. It used female workers from China, who went on strike in 2006. More than 350 female workers in the factory came from Fujian Province and had expressed dissatisfaction with the factory's unilateral increase in workload and reduction to overtime pay. Since the two sides had failed to reach any agreement, the workers went on strike. After 10 days of negotiations, they entered into an agreement and the female workers returned to work; the factory made compromises and concessions to satisfy the workers' requirements on salaries, overtime pay, and so on. Most of the Chinese female workers participated in the ongoing strike, but a small number of them wanted to go back to China.

According to "Deutsche Welle", the owner of the factory described how the Chinese female workers rushed into the management office, holding a spoon, and demanded a doubling of the 350 dollars monthly salary. Their reason was that they had to pay 25% of their salaries to the Chinese company that had introduced them to the job. The factory refused, threatening to call the police. It wanted to send these female workers back to China. The factory owner also said that another Chinese company had trained 1,000 workers who could replace them at any time.

The walkout was caused by the new workload imposed by the factory. Not long before, the Romanian manager, Sorin Nikolaus had announced: first, that the amount of work would increase and the workers would not get full pay unless they finished at least 60% of the fixed workload; second, that as a result of joining the European Union, according to the provision of the European Union the weekly work hours (including overtime) must not

exceed 48 hours, hence from then on the workers' overtime pay would be greatly reduced. In the future voluntary overtime work would not be paid. Under the original agreement overtime was paid at 1.75 times of the ordinary rate.

Chinese workers refused to go to work after that. After Romania implemented the new rules of the European Union, overtime work was set to decline rapidly. Under such circumstances the factory fixed a high workload and decreased overtime pay. Moreover, the management team was reportedly arrogant and paid no attention to the requests of the Chinese workers. They simply told the Chinese workers either to accept the requirement or to wait to be sent back to China.

According to the contracts signed before these workers came to Romania and the agreements signed after their arrival in Romania, they were contracted to work 5 days per week and 8 hours per day. The salary after tax was about US\$300, which was the Romanian national average in 2006. It was also the minimum wage local companies offered foreign workers. Romanian definitions of average wage and minimum wage are different; according to Romanian law, foreign workers' minimum wage shall not be less than the average national wage, in order to encourage companies to hire Romanian workers first.

The workers worked and lived in the factory and they did not have other entertainments except watching TV, playing table tennis or having a rest, and they accepted overtime work straightway. After all, they went to work abroad to make as much money as possible; also the factory received plenty of orders and the workers worked overtime almost everyday. Some not only worked overtime during weekdays but also at weekends. According to the survey conducted in this study, some workers' overtime pay was about the same as their regular salaries, while for some it was even more.

The first batch of Chinese women workers came to Romanian clothing factories in July 2006; the number reached 350 in early 2007. Their contracts were agreed by labour agencies in Fujian Province in China and the clothing factories. At first, almost everybody was satisfied with the living and working conditions offered by the factories; some women workers who had work experiences in South Asia and Africa said that, in comparison, conditions in Romania were better. Although there had been two or three disputes during the previous six months, the disputes had been settled quickly. Overall, till the end of 2006, Chinese women workers considered the job and income in Romania acceptable, and the factories were satisfied with these workers. In interviews, factory owners described these Chinese women as “disciplined”, “fast workers”, “one Chinese woman worker does more than several Romanians.”

However, it may be said that these Chinese workers worked too fast and the investors too aggressively in pursuit of maximum profits shortly after the arrival of the first batch of workers, the factory began to make a fuss over the work quota. The factory proposed a higher quota in late August, said one woman, and the wage was to be linked to the new quota, but the proposal failed because of resistance from the workers. Then, Director Niculescu announced that, in accordance with the Romanian national regulations regarding wage increase, a new higher work quota was now permitted, and he stressed that if the workers could not finish 60% of the quota, they would not get full payment. The factory’s unilateral modification of the original contract enraged the workers.

However, what made the workers even angrier was the alleged arrogant attitude of the factory management team: they refused to negotiate with the workers on the quota problem or anything else, and even threatened to send the workers back to China.

In an interview with the local press, Director Niculescu stated that he wanted to send back those workers who made trouble, and then he would hire 1000 new workers. What's more, during the strike, he once tried to turn off the heating supply in order to force the workers back to work.

A woman worker from Jiangsu Province said that the director was very cruel. Once some Chinese cooks were driven out of the factory, when the female workers tried to stop it, he immediately called the factory security.

It was understood that the new rules of the factory and the rude attitude of some managers had directly led to the strike. But Chinese labour agencies were also to blame since there were problems in the contract they signed with Romanian factories. The agencies made empty promises to the workers and charged high commission fees from them, which was also one of the major reasons for many disputes after these Chinese women arrived in Romania.

The first dispute between the Chinese workers and the factory was about the salary difference between what was written in the contract and what was paid in reality. Chinese workers pointed out that the salary defined in the contract was US\$ 360. But the factory insisted that US\$ 360 was the pre-tax salary. According to Romanian law, personal income tax should be deducted from the salary. So the workers only received net salary of US\$ 280. As a result, the workers refused to sign the new contract. With mediation by representatives of the Chinese Embassy, both employers and employees agreed on net salary of 300 dollars.

It was reported that these women were unaware of their rights and circumstances before coming to Romania, and they had unreasonably high expectations of working in Romania. It

was the fault of Chinese labour brokers because they had not performed their obligations properly. Some labour brokers make false promises to the workers by saying that when working abroad, the salary would be very high and they would get Green Cards and so on. Naturally the workers felt deceived after realising the actual situation, which they were less enthusiastic about living and working in a foreign country.

What enraged the workers even more was that they had paid an average of 20,000 RMB for commission fees to the labour agencies in order to go to work in Romania. Some had even paid 29,000 RMB, which was more than half a year's hard-earned salary. They were willing to pay such a large amount of money because they had been told that they would be working in Romania for at least three years. However, they arrived in Romania only to find that Romanian authorities only issue one-year work visa to foreigners, and that the employer must apply for each extension. Therefore, the factories ultimately had the power to decide whether a worker could continue working in the country the following year. Many workers worried that if they worked for only one year and were forced to go home afterwards, the whole year's hard work would be in vain, since one year's salary barely covered all their expenses, including commission fees, passport fee, physical check fee, and so on.

A woman worker from Jiangsu Province said Chinese labour agencies at each level have charged a large sum of money, which had become a significant financial burden. Many workers borrowed the money because they themselves could not afford it. Additionally, the labour agencies charged each of them 7000 RMB for plane ticket to Romania, despite the fact that they had previously been told plane tickets would be paid for by the Romanian factories.

9.2 Workers in Shipyards

The European Union and the Romanian government are now building a new Rotterdam in Eastern Europe by the Black Sea. The city of Constanta and its neighbouring region have become hot spots for shipbuilding. Starting from the end of 2007, some Chinese workers have come to this region to work in the shipyards. At the time of this study there were 86 workers working at Romanian 1HConstanta Shipyard Group and 45 workers working at Daewoo Mangalia Heavy Industries SA (DMHI) Shipyard.

Mangalia is a coastal city by the Black Sea, 44 Kilometres south of 2HConstanta, and has been one of the most important ports on the west coast of the Black Sea since the 7th century. Starting in 1997, Daewoo-Mangalia Heavy Industries, a joint venture between global shipbuilding leader Daewoo Shipbuilding & Marine Engineering of Korea and "2 Mai" Mangalia Shipyard in Romania, has become one of the most competitive shipbuilding, conversion & repair shipyards in the Black Sea area. Because of the shortage of workers in the local labour market and following the emigration of a number of qualified workers over the last few years, and the fact that it costs 20% to 30% less to employ Asians rather than Romanians, the shipyards have started to bring in many Asian workers from Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Southeastern Asia and China.

Kim Tae Hyun, Director of the Department of Public Relations of DSME announced that in the past 18 months DMHI has faced many difficulties. Last year, up to 30% of its engineers and workers left for Western Europe to seek their fortune. However, as a result of the global economic downturn, these engineers and workers have changed their mind and have started to return. However, the company has already employed some Asian workers including Chinese ones. It seems there have

been problems between the company and employees, such as poor communication, employees' skills and so on. Besides, lack of new orders has also caused cash flow problems, which could force the company to stop its shipbuilding.

Due to the reasons listed above, a number of difficulties were experienced in the beginning of 2009. The company could not afford to pay wages to all its workers. Like the construction and textile workers, these shipyard workers have also paid a large sum of money around 60,000 RMB - for this work. They received a monthly salary of 700 Euros. So they went on strike in January 2009, demanding a raise, compensatory payments and a balanced system of incentives and bonuses. Almost all these workers have since returned to China, following the same solution found for the construction workers at the time of writing. One point to note is that the skills of workers was also a problem with this labour business. The labour agencies usually described Romanian employers as the best when in discussion with the workers, while praising Chinese workers to the skies to the employers.

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Case No. 1 : Worker 1; Worker 2			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	29/41
Family status	Married	No. of Children	1/1
Original Prov.	Fujian	Occupation	Carpenter, handyman
Time Of Arriving	Mar. 26	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	80000 RMB	Debts	
Work hours per week (in Contract)	55	Average Wage(in contract)	12000-14000 RMB
Work hours per week	60	Average Wage	5000 RMB
Income in China (before)	2000 RMB per month		

W1和W2因到罗马尼亚工作一个月后拿到工资发现与先前在出国前与中介公司承诺的差距之大，而且都是东平西凑借齐劳务费给了中介，在交涉没有结果的情况下开始罢工。

你们为什么罢工的呢？

W1：在国内报名时，中介公司给我们的承诺是很高的，到了这里发现太低了，只有承诺的一半。所以我们来了一个多月就开始罢工。3月26日到罗马尼亚，罢工罢工了16天。效果甚微，只在原有的工资上加了一点点。后来我们想算了，马上到旺季了，出来就是为了打工挣钱的，时间做了长一点，可能回报就会多一点。结果也就这样，最高的时候6000人民币，没有生活补贴。生活费在我们工资中扣的，400列伊。像这个月4000不到。

你们在国内工作时工资一般多少？

W1：我在国内做装璜的每天100到120人民币。我们过来前老板承诺在试用期内是每月9000，转为正式工后是每月是12000到13000、14000人民币。然而我们来了十个月，从每月没拿到9000人民币。

W2：我们工资不管高低，就目前而言平均下来每月5000元人民币。现在最关键的问题是我们来这里前交了80000元中介费。

那你们怎么找到的这个中介公司？

W1：通过朋友介绍的，当初我们交8万元，也是因为他们承诺了很高的回报，所以我们来了，而且是工作4年，我们想这样一算能赚不少，现在来了情况完全不一样，略微低一点，我们也能接受，比如说原来承诺10000，现在要是拿8000、9000，这也行了，但是现在每月只有5000。相差太大了。

请你讲讲，从你个人一开始为什么会有出国打工这样的想法，这个事情怎么发展的，怎么过来的到现在这个样子，往前推半年的你们的工作情况，就是从07年9月到08年12月一年四个多月的经历，情况变化都讲一讲。

W1：当时在家是做车工，机械工。一个月大概2000块。通过朋友介绍有招工到罗马尼亚去，而且每月收入很高。抱着每月能拿到一万的想法，我们就出来了。

那当时你那个同乡既然自己也出来工作了，已经了解了这个情况为什么还叫你们出来？那个同乡是在哪里工作的？

W1：我的那个同乡六年前以色列打工的，收入很可观，3年回来探亲一次，回来后就在国内的欧亚公司做专门办理出口劳务的中介。当初，我们办签证不是来罗马尼亚，是到以色列。后来以色列封关，中介公司说罗马尼亚也差不多，比以色列稍微低一点，我们想比10000低一点也可以接受就交了八万。结果就来到了罗马尼亚。第一个月发了4000多工资后，我们一看相差很大，闹情绪，后来就开始罢工，罢工了十几天，雇主就把我们搬走。他们觉得闹情绪，让我们住到最偏僻的地方。于是，我们就去了大使馆想通过使馆出面帮我们解决。出国前，我们也不知道这个情况，接触不到，我们就想说到大使馆看看，我们只是来反映一下情况，诉诉苦衷，不想闹事的。

你这个朋友多大年纪？

W1：不超过45岁。

他什么时候告诉你的这个出来打工的事情？

W1：9月中旬通知我办护照，交了1300元。护照办好后，叫我们等消息，然后在9月底十月初交了3000多元。再快过年的时候有让我们交1万，再交500块钱体检。体检之后我们的8万块钱全部缴清。就是我们交80000万块钱有发票，上飞机之前还要把发票交出来。现在我们手上什么凭证也没有。我觉得肯定有猫腻的，凭证每类，回来以后没得告。

你知道的你们这一批有多少人？

W1：我们第一批7、80人吧，上周公司又来了一批而且交9万，说是干5年。

那你们看到签证了吗？就只是让你们把钱打过去？

W1：钱没交齐不可能给我们护照的，就只给了我们复印件。

那当时有没有人跟他们理论？为什么要收8万元

W1：当时我们也没说。当时因为我们同行在以色列的他们回报太好了，一个月1万到1万5千人民币。他们的合同都是5年的。所以我们也没多问。

你们之前交了8万，那8万块钱都是哪来的？

W1：都是借的，向自己家里亲戚借的。

你们今年多大

W1：我才29。

W2：41。

有孩子吗？孩子多大了？

W1：4岁。

W2：18岁。

陈：借的8万块钱怎么算利息呢？

W1：一年利息5千。

你们几号的飞机来罗马尼亚的？

W1：3月26号早上两点的飞机。

机票钱谁出的？

W1：机票的钱在8万元里面。我们是先到北京，然后乘飞机过来的。

从家里到北京花了多少钱？

W1：500元，坐火车过去的。

当时中介有带队的人吗？

W1：有的。送到机场。

那你3月份到这里之后，4月份就开始工作了。那4月份应该发工资了？

W1：公司说是每月的15号发工资的，

就是做一个月到下一个月发，扣了15天的工资。那就是从五月份开始拿正式工资？

W1：第一个月拿四千多。刚来的时候说是2.7欧元一个小时。

什么时候开始工作的呢？

W1：3月28日开始工作的。

你过来做什么呢？

W1：做木工

W2：杂工

那中介有给你们过什么证明吗？因为罗马尼亚这边需要做工的证明。

W1：在家里的话就是自己报工种。

中介过来看过吗？

W1：看过一次

三月底开工，给你们做的什么木工呢？

W1：墙板，平台等基础的框架，做模子

你们做的是什么工程？

W1：住宅楼还有办公楼。2栋8层，一栋7层。

从五月中旬开始拿钱拿了多少钱？

W1：拿了5000多块吧，他们打回去人民币是5000多元。

那六月份呢？

W1：六月份我们开始罢工了，拿了300欧。

那这样说，你们当时六月份发的是五月份的工资，五月份发的是4月份的工资？

W1：对。

六月份罢工，5月工资没给，等于只给你300欧元在这边发的，那时的汇率算3100多人民币？

W1：对，6月罢工就是因为钱少了。

你们第一个月每天工作多少小时？

W1：一天10个小时

当时你们跟罗马尼亚人在一起工作，他们的工资怎么样呢？

W1：他们跟我们不一样的，每小时5到6欧。他们扫扫垃圾的4欧元一小时，短工的话5欧元一小时，另外还有午餐费，我们没有。当时第一次罢工的时候，来时大使馆的人跟我们说了，每小时两个欧元的补贴。

你们六月就到大使馆去了吗？

W1：对，为了工资5月就去了。

7月份呢？

W1：7月份搬到现在的工地。

有没有换老板和公司？

W1：换公司，没换老板，老板是以色列人。

6月份搬的工地，7月份拿到多少钱呢？

W1：5700多吧

罢工的第二个月拿到5700多，那8月份呢？

W1：6000多一点。

那你6，7，8月的工作有什么区别？

W1：有，时间加上去了，一天10到11个小时。现在每小时3欧，刚来的时候说2.7欧。

列伊还是欧元？

W1：欧元。

现在是一天11个小时，一周五天半吗？

W1：一周工作六天。

一周65个小时左右，一个月就是260小时，就是700欧元，现在的汇率算7000人民币。跟中介当时的差距是2000元，那四年下来差的不得了。

W1：对，后面又不一样了，后面8月份一周做5天。

为什么？

W1：工地上活不多了，罗马尼亚人他们包工的，我们是按点工，做一个小时是一个小时。

那8月份具体工作的情况如何？

W1：一个星期只做五天，一周55小时，四星期220小时，再加两天，240小时。有的地方一个月是五个星期，差了3500元，最多时139欧，到现在总共不算成本5万块，人民币的话5000到6000。

那8月份打到国内账上是多少钱？

W1：400列伊。

现在是每个人平均拿到5万元？

W1：10个月差不多，按原来的计划9万元，现在只拿了一半差不多，一半多点。

那你们罢工老板害怕吗？

W1：害怕，罢工后他叫我们回中国。我们现在只想把当初付的8万元中介费拿回来。

你们不想把钱赚回来再回去吗？

W1：这样转要转到何年何月？一年半才赚回自己的钱。

W2：平均五千一个月，两年三万块，还不如回去。呆在这两年就赚三万元回去。

W1：我们在家打工两年也不止三万。

W2：我们离开老婆孩子，父母亲，心里多心酸，能赚到钱也心甘情愿，我心里还有点平衡。

W1：我们在这里打工有成本的，两年摊下来每天要一百多块钱，就是说我今天赚了2百多，其实只赚了一百多，现在一天只有9个小时，这样做了将近一个月了。

你们平时一天生活的情况如何？

W1：早上五点起来做早饭，吃完饭大概不到六点，基本上六点肯定出发了，到工地上的话大概是六点四十到四十五分。这个是早上不堵车的话。在工地上我们说好的七点半开工。

那你们去的早了呢？

W1：做在那里等，没办法，时间就这样浪费掉了。七点半开工，做到十二点。

你们午饭呢？

W1：自己解决，自己带的。我们十二点半又开始开工了，一直到5点下班。

那你前面说一天十一小时怎么工作的呢？

W1：曾经的是一个小时是夏天的时候，中午休息一个小时，早晨也是六点走，七点上班，做到十二点，一点上班做到晚上七点再回去，晚上10点睡觉，第二天也是五点起来。

你们觉得工作强度如何？

W1：强度倒是不算大，但是夏天挺辛苦的。

有没有人因为夏天做工的时候身体上面出现一些意外？

W1：中暑。

那你们是如何处理的呢？

W1：刮痧。

雇主对此怎么处理的呢？有什么医生在现场吗？

W1：没有的。

就让你们自己挺过去吗？

W1：我们自己过来都带好药的。

他们就是都不管的。你们见过真正老板吗？他是大老板吗？

W1：就见过包工头。以色列老板是我们发工资

那这两个男的一个女的跟你们平常见的频繁吗？

W1：不太频繁，没事的话他么根本不会过来

那什么时候见呢？

W1：没事他们也不过来。中间就是有个罗马尼亚人每个月过来给我们发生活费。

平时你想找他怎么办？

W1：他们就不管你。

W2：当时发生过一件事情，一个大木箱掉下来把中国人砸伤了，好长好长时间救护车来把他救走，过了一两天、两三天回来了。有个女的还经常打电话来问问身体怎么样，但是今天不知道明天，他们也不过来。

W1：就是那个矮矮的，和我们一起的

W2：还有一个就是在罗马尼亚最大的高速瘫下来，压了受伤。

W1：我们找了他好久，到最后报纸上都登了，你们可能没见，我们都拿到了那份报纸，也是我们海虹的，

哪里的报纸？

W1：就是罗马尼亚当地的报纸

W2：那个事情之后给了他16万块钱，就是赔了8万，觉得在这里没什么保障的。

那你觉得在这里跟在国内有什么区别。

W1：在这里一点都不安全。国内室外干活都有防护网，但在这里都光溜溜的。

那他们万一摔下去之后怎么办？

W1：我们有一个工人就摔坏了，就在医院躺了几天。

Case No. 2 : Worker			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	
Family status		No. of Children	
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	Capenter, handyman
Time Of Arriving	3 September	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	83000 RMB	Debts	
Work hours per week (in Contract)	55	Average Wage(in contract)	635\$(R) 690€(C)
Work hours per week	60-66	Average Wage	4000 RMB
Income in China (before)	N/A		

您能不能说一说你来罗马尼亚之前怎么知道这个招工信息的？

W：2007年11月10日，我在江苏南通如东地区的中介公司，所谓的中远国际公司的分公司的招工简章，当时说是到美国的关岛。

他是把这个信息放到电视台的还是贴出来的？

W：放到电视台做过广告的，他是急招。就是我们大概11月15日去考试去了，当时去了两个人考试最终有一个人去，我们没有去成关岛。然后我们问他什么时候可以去，他说改去罗马尼亚可以快点那时候大约是12月初，说去罗马尼亚工资跟这关岛差不多，而且还快，我们也没有了解就答应去罗马尼亚了。

那你们当时也是急着想走吗？

W：对，是急着想走。

是什么原因呢？

W：赚钱，这次也不是第一次出去了，以前去过日本，阿尔及利亚。

那您以前去过的两个国家跟这次的情况比有什么区别呢？之前您满意吗？

W：满意。以前我们在国内签的合同跟过外的合同都是一致的。

就是您有过两次在国外做工的经历了。

W：对对。

您觉得去国外做工可以改善家里的条件？

W：不是说给我个人带点什么，也给国家做了点贡献。

12月初说更快您就答应了？

W：对12月底就来了。是个以色列的雇主，工资在招工简章上说是3欧元一小时，加班的话每个月最低8000-12000人民币。要求我们再签一份合同，跟国内的合同上是每个月不低于230小时。每月就是690欧元吧。

但是这个数字其实跟招工简章上已经有出入。

W：当时我们就是太相信他了。说12月底就走了，我想哪有这么快，后来没走就让我们等，等到3月份，交了3万块钱。

什么时候交的？

W：好像是2月份的时候吧。他们说如果在这个过程中你不想去的话，就说你违约的话就扣你的钱，要给两万块钱的违约金，那个我们就不谈了我们当时就是想快点出去。后来说到4月20日就走，又没走成，这个当中又过了一个月，我们只要一打电话他就说马上要走了。后来说如果在7月20日之前走不了，他就给我们一天100块钱。到8月10日的时候。补了我们2000块钱。

一直到8月10日的话，你们交了多少钱？

W：那个钱我们全交了。一开始交了3万。走的前一天我才交齐。9月3日，在这个之前我交了两次，共6万多。总共交了8万三千元。

包括护照跟签证的费用吗？

W：护照，技能证书等，护照1500，技能证200，双语证书650。还有什么三证认证450，国内体检380。我们还是少的。我本身有护照的。

签证费给了多少钱？就是你们有护照的

W：一起加起来4000块钱吧。

那8月10日之后呢？

W：他们7月20日-8月10日给我们补了2000元。他们说8月10日给我们开会的。我们给他们下了最后的通牒，我们跟他们说如果去不了，把我们付的钱退给我们，给我们个承诺，如果8月24号起9月6号之前如果走不了，他给我们一天300块钱。这是他们自己跟我们说的。

像你们做出的退本钱的话他们有没有作出回应呢？

W：没有，他们根本就没作出反应。他们点头是点头了。

就是含糊的答应了

W：我们中介公司的人说7月20日到罗马尼亚来过一次，说这里上夜班不好好干活，被老板抓住了。其实以色列雇主根本不存在的。6月份他来处理事情的，他其实知道的，我们签的合同根本不对的。后来还跟我们签名字了，写了个字据，8月24日起每天300元补偿，9月6日前没走就全额退款，没盖章，就他自己签的名。9月3日通知我们说签证出来了。说5号从家里出来。

这个签证的意思是说4号可以离境了。你这个签证是08年9月4号到09年3月3号的。

W：然后我就问他哪有这么急的，签证刚一出来马上就通知我们，以前我也出去过两次，都是签证出来后过个十天半个月的，这次这么急的干什么去。他说反正你别管了你能出去就行了。让我们把钱交全了。5号从家里走的，7号到这里。这里不是有个熊猫旅行社吗，就是他们来接我的，还有就是诺瓦公司的两个经理过来接我们，我们来上课的时候问我们在国内合同怎么签的。3欧元一小时，每个月不少于260小时。我们就按上面如实说了，人家也没怎么说。过了两天，诺瓦公司拿了个635美金的合同，那是9月10日吧，说你们就是没活干，635美元是底薪。在工地上放假都不会少于这个价钱的。

635加上77美金是餐饮补助是不是？

W：那个不是欧元是美元。这个是菜金。他说这个是底薪。比如说工地上材料供应不上，刮风下雨，没得做的时候，放假也有这个钱。我们给他们算过了这个要差1000多块钱了。我们是抱着8个月赚回本钱来的心理。我们不签这个合同。这样一拖拖了一个礼拜。国内中介公司打电话来说你们签啊，他们罗马尼亚公司是为了避税，避税跟你签这个，就是我们拿的钱不止这些，他们这个合同是为了在当地政府避税，减轻他们的税务。

就是说罗马尼亚公司对你们的工资要缴税的，那他们在书面合同上少些的可以少交点税。但实际上是想负给你比这个更多的钱。国内的中介怎么讲？

W：这是罗马尼亚的人跟我讲的，因为他带了个翻译过来。国内打电话过来也这么说的。两边都这么讲的。国内中介打电话过来恐吓我们说再不签，就给你们机票，让你们明天就回来。我们到使馆去问问看这合同到底能不能签。我们咨询他，说了这个问题。在国内签的合同和在罗马尼亚签的合同相差太大，他们说为了避税。邵淮南说这个你们要自己看着办。我们商量到最后还是没有签。这里的人力公司说如果你们不签就马上回国。我们说行啊回国就回国。反正还没做事。我在家里签的合同好好的，到这里又要签一份，而且钱变少了，这个我怎么能签呢。有位工作人员9月24日过来帮我们解决问题的，那天上午我们去了大使馆，他也去了，他说我们去大使馆干吗，大使馆无法帮我们解决问题，我们说我们不是来闹事，我们是来咨询，他叫我们放心，叫我们都回去，过两天他给我们答复。那天是星期五，他说周一给我们解决。正好到9月27日，他叫我们过去了，我们当时来了40几个人，住在两边。他那天打电

话叫我们到那个宾馆去签合同，人力公司的人都来了。一共两份合同，国内的合同又加了一条说如果在这里拿不到690欧元，由国内公司跟中介公司补上这个钱，就给了我们这个担保。中介还说他说然后就签了反正你们也看不懂，我保证你们拿到690欧就可以了。我还问宋总了，你跟这个诺瓦公司认识吗？他说不认识，第一次打交道。我们一想这个心就不安宁了，你这么大的一个中企的老总跟他们人力公司所谓第一次打交道，你不是把我们卖过来的，这个话我们又跟他说，我就是这么想的。他说你们放心好了，两个月以后你跟着我们发财了。所以这个话我也不要听了。签了合同就没办法了，就这样过去了。到了那边又是个星期五，星期六星期天人家不上班，然后星期一又体检一次，然后就上班了。那边宿舍情况跟你说一下，原来是人家养牛的牛棚，经过稍微改造一下，我们这次是40几个人住一间，空气呢就是个80公分长，40公分高的一个小窗户，塑料窗。里面都是封闭的。床就是铁床，坐在上面头还要低着。

其他的洗澡各方面的条件呢？

W：洗澡回来早的人有点热水，回来晚的人就用凉水，但是人是越来越多，他们开始去的时候说装潢，还没有装潢好呢，后来我们去的时候弄好了，水啊什么的都供应不上，做饭就是小煤气灶，当时我们有60多个人，那个灶台也就10个吧。

这么恶劣的环境跟你以前在日本还有阿尔及利亚有什么不同吗？

W：简直不能想像。

就是说你们在日本环境还是挺好的。

W：我在日本宿舍里都是光脚进屋，地上地毯，差距太大了。

罗马尼亚的环境很恶劣哦

W：恩，太恶劣了，我们没有想到，那天我们开车过去的时候，我说不会到了吧，他说没有还在里面呢，结果进去一看，都是什么养牛的养猪的还有猪圈，所谓的诺瓦公司，没有一个正规工程，都是在学校维修，我没看到过一个正规的机械设备，那个搅拌的都是人工手动的。

您来了之后发现无论工作环境还是居住环境，您都不是非常满意，那您跟雇主有过什么交涉吗？表达过你们的不满吗？

W：我们跟雇主反应过，最大的问题做饭，没人给我们做饭，我们晚上回来就要做三顿饭，当天的晚饭，还有第二天的早饭，和带去的午饭。全部做的饼。来不及啊，煤气灶供应不上，煤气也供应不上。做的晚的人要做到9点半才能做好，洗澡有没有水，做饭人多。最多的时候我们100多个人在做饭，跟他反应过，他说牛棚大了，再扩大。同时他人又在调动，后来也没有装。我们做了两个月之后才发给我们第一个月的钱。

你们是从几月开始做的

W：10月。

就是11月底发给了你们10月份的工资，就是说他们拖欠了你们将近两个月的工资，那在10月，11月这两个月你们的生活是怎么解决的？

W：我们的生活就是他们发给我们两个月的生活费，餐补50美金一个月，发了两次。但是不够啊，我们问他们要的，还有就是相互之间借的。11月28日发了第一个月的工资。

发了多少钱？

W：我是打了九五折，我是251个小时，拿了1982列伊，不到500欧元。

跟你们两份合同上相差太大。

W：本来就230个小时，就是690欧元。

就是你们多干了21个小时，少拿了200欧元

W：其实不止了，这21个小时是我们加班的，按比例应该是1.5，这个算下来就多了。我这个拿的还是多的，他们还有打7折的，最少的拿了1300多，我这个他们没有扣小时。

就是每个人都打了折吗？

W：我那时候拿工资就发现只有四个人没有打折，一百多人就四个没打折一个叫王浩哲，韩世蓝，陈宝林还有个叫刘什么的。

那你们有没有去问这个公司为什么你们要打折？

W：我们问公司他们听不懂，就找了个翻译，我们当时一直有这个怀疑，我担心两个月拿不到这么多钱。老外说你就这么多钱，他不解释，态度很硬的，然后我们大家就打电话找中介（宋玉平，圆通公司的），他不承认给我们付钱。

你们手上不是有个承诺吗？

W：但是他不承认的，后来派了个部门经理来的，说是补钱，还有几个人是提前签的，公司就补给他们了，打了七折，根据被扣了多少补得。但是我们这批人发了工资后就不补给我们了，我们就说不干了，我们就把行李准备好，12月20日到大使馆。

他们这个钱给了你们以后就没有给老家寄钱？

W：没有。这个前面还有13个人，说是他们都有病，买了机票送他们回去，他们只拿了一个月的工资，他们觉得不对劲，也赶紧过来了，他们13个人等于是被遣送回去了，就是当地移民局跟他们签了离境的手续，然后用警察押送到机场。

那他们回去之后你有没有了解到他们的钱有没有补给他们？

W：那个他跟我们的合同还不一样，他是另外一家中介公司，他们跟他签的就是这个合同，他们是因为拖欠工资还有扣的小时跟他们产生的纠纷，然后被弄回去的，

我听说他们回去的人到公司去要钱去，钱没要到被打伤了，送进了医院，然后我们一想我们就不能回去了，我们回去了要不到钱，马上要过年了，闹出什么不愉快，我拿不到钱我也不回去，我们就到这边来了。我们就这样想的。

从12月开始你们就罢工罢到现在？

W：我们不能叫罢工，宋玉明也不承认我们这个叫罢工，我们是停工，按照单子上给我们按停工处理，不是罢工处理。他12月8日跑到我们这边来，要给我们开会，还说能给我们解决，我们肯定不相信他了，我们立刻就表决了，宋总你不要再骗我们了，这里的情况，根据人工收入我们都了解，我们拿的工资就是被扣了小时打了折，还比他们当地的人工工资还要高，罗马尼亚跟我们签合同上的那个工资是不可能的。

你们工地上有罗马尼亚人吗？

W：有啊。

你们了解过了，他们那的比你们还低。

W：他们拿了少的只有1600多，比我少。他们老外只有1500，1400多，后来他们算计了一下都走了。这个工地剩下的只有中国人。

为什么你们不能走？为什么不能像罗马尼亚人那样自由。

W：我们没有地方走，走就只有回去。我们打了很多次电话给中介公司，他们都不接。我们不能冒这个险。希望大使馆能帮我们处理这个问题。宋玉明还在忽悠我们，他说他帮我们再找到每小时3欧元的雇主。他还是想我们留在这里。在此之前，3月10日来的那批人，也是老板扣工资，而且护照也不是劳务签证。我跟宋总说你把我们的费用换给我们，我们就回去，但是他没说什么，他的意思说我能帮你们找到雇主。他说他的签证必须要回国签了再回来。电话一打他已经回国了。我们就等，等到最后，宋玉明把大使馆的人也蒙骗了，大使馆的人问他能不能把这批工人的事情解决，他说能，说有这个能力。这样就一拖再拖。到12月29日我在大使馆门口站了一天很冷，他给我们找一个公司的老总一起来处理，他们可能跟中江公司有什么瓜葛，他们就承认他们中企公司要承担95%的责任，是他们操作失误。如果你们回去钱一分不少给你们，该补的补给你们。我们听了这个也合理。那什么时候给拿出个方案，书面的，他说两天。两天后那个人就没出面。

两天之后那个人就没有露面了。

W：就那天和宋玉明一起过来，说代表中江公司。他们说的挺好，那时候还有点相信。我们不是有个协约嘛，无论去留，如果你们还在这里干，那个停工的钱都给你们，如果你们回去钱也都推给你们，我们看看挺合理，过了两天说我们承认，但是上面老总不同意，你们没决定前，你怎么能起草这个协议。谁给你这个权力，既然你上头没答应。我说你这不是等于说了没说吗？

你们这个书面协议起草完了，双方签字了吗？

W：没有签字。

只是把协议给你们看一下。

W：对的。他们那时只是想稳定我们，想把我们继续留在这里，不是要让我们回去。过了几天我们去大使馆，一夜都没有回去。让宋玉明过来她死活不过来。他说有批人连住的地方都没有被赶出来的，大使馆也了解了这个事实，去华人协会借的钱，把那批人先安顿好。那天他整晚都没出来，没来。第二天早上他过来的，有承认说今天解决好这个方案。当着王参赞、宋秘书的面，当时谈妥了，但是我们不相信了。果然什么回应都没有，说上面不承认。后来又找大使馆。大使馆说你们不要跟他讲了他说话没有用的，等国内工作组来处理。就一直拖到现在了。每个工人都不开心。我们身上钱也不多，家里人也不放心，我们不能隐瞒家里。这个事情国内也知道这个情况，但是政府没有人来解决。我们每次都处理但没有等到任何回应，上次那个工作组问你你们有什么条件。我们就要回国，把交的钱给我们，把拖欠的工资给我们。我现在只想拿回我自己的钱。当时在家里少交100元他都不让我们出来。我现在的损失都得不到一个合理的解决。太让我们失望。当初我在家里交3万块钱的时候，人家就说罗马尼亚是个社会主义国家，条件也不是很好。当时我不过来，但已经交了五六万。如果我不来，他们说就说我们违约，扣我们钱。现在公司也有责任负给我们违约金。现在是他负95%的责任，按道理那应该付违约金。

Case No. 3 : Worker			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	47
Family status	Married	No. of Children	2
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	
Time Of Arriving	Sep. 7	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	83000 RMB	Debts	0
Work hours per week (in Contract)	230 per month (C)220 per month (R)	Average Wage(in contract)	690€
Work hours per week	60-66	Average Wage	4000 RMB
Income in China (before)	N/A		

您老家也是南通的吗？从哪里看到招工信息的？

W：南通海安的。刚开始就是在家里看那个广告诱惑很大。

在电视台还是？

W：路边的广告，就是到这边收入很高。

有没有说工资高到什么程度呢？

W：说试用期后能达到一万多人民币，后来看了广告就报了名。然后就交押金。

多少钱？

W：1万元。

这个所谓的押金就是还给你的？

W：不还了，就是佣金不是押金了。就是我不去的话这个钱就拿不到了。我是07年报的。

那当时是说去哪里呢？

W：当时就是说到罗马尼亚。招工简章上写每个月干230个小时，工资690欧元。

什么时候报名的？

W：说搞不好去罗马尼亚过春节，因为是年前报的名。

那你当时报名的时候高兴吗？

W：那肯定的，肯定想来的，去以色列的佣金都要17、8万。但收入说的跟罗马尼亚差不多。

交了1万块钱，当时是07年，他说很快就会走，他说有可能春节都在罗马尼亚过，那紧接着发生了什么呢？

W：大概到了08年2月份，他就催着我们交钱，很快就办那些相关手续，后来就体检了。体检以后到3月份，我报名的中介把我的证明弄得让我没赶上17日去罗马尼亚，他讲4月份，15天以后可能能过来。四月份也没过来。又定了个5月份。

反正就是说一直下个月就是没有实现。那交了多少钱？

W：8万3，都交清了。在家的时间拖了很久。我们就一直去找他们。

您什么时候过来的

W：08年9月7日。

那就是从07年底到08年9月一直拖着，干等着

W：基本上就在家等着。干活也不等去远的地方，就在附近找活干，不能长期干，干一天算一天，我们也只能这样。2008年在家打零工赚了4000块钱。我们一般在家一你啊可以赚30000块钱。损失很大的。很多人都落泪。9月7日过来后合同都不一样，叫我们签合同，我们不签合同，中介公司派工作组过来让我们签，我们说你退。扬州过来的也在这里打工的，在这里交了六万多元，其中两万是押金，说押金回去就给的，就是交了四万多，我们交了八万多。我们说你退费我们就签字。他说不行，我还是执行不退费，执行我那个三欧元。后来我们就找人咨询，找懂一点的人，有的工友就找亲戚，家里搞什么法律的，打电话咨询懂法的人。他们说不能签，我们就没签，你们签我给你们一个书面协议。后来弄了个书面协议，肯定给我们补助。每个月220个小时。跟外方签的那个是为了避税，叫我们放心签，让我们先签，后来我们就签了，然后回到工地干活。干了也没补给我们。第二个月发工资，也没补。

你跟刚才的那个情况是一样的，10月开工，11月底发的工资。第一次发工资是什么时候发的

W：11月25日。

刚他说当地罗马尼亚本地人赚的钱还没有你们多，你有这方面信息吗？

W：后来我们到工地就分开了，33个人分了3各组。刚到罗马尼亚是很高兴的，我们来能赚大钱了。后来看这个合同就不行了，到了工地就非常关注这个工资问题。就问罗马尼亚人，他们有的人1200，按这样讲也没有我们高。就是一般做手艺活的也没1200。

他们满意吗？

W：他们也罢工了。但是时间跟我们不一样。有天跟我们一起干的那些工人不来了。领班的也不来了。他们发工资的时候，有个工人——罗马尼亚人，拿了工资就掉眼泪的。

那他们怎么处理的呢？

W：老板补助给他们的。看到拿着工资单，掉了眼泪就跑回宿舍了。和我们是对门的，但也不知道具体是什么事情。到后一天上班才知道，是工资低了。来了个带班人，本来两个人，只来了一个。到第三天罗马尼亚人的人才来的，我们估计他们有口头协议吧，给了现金，他们继续干了。那个小伙子刚开始发的700，这个太低了，后来补了500。

那你们停工之后他们还干吗？

W：还在的。他们本国的起薪就低，看到我们的工资他们很惊讶的。

就这个工资的事你跟他们交流过吗？

W：交流过，用笔比划，有的1000，有的1100。

那他们知道这些钱是其实你们自己的钱，八万多，九万多？

W：他们不知道，用笔比划也不懂。

有没有干了一半觉得钱少就不做的？

W：有的，干了两天，拿着钱（装在信封里），我就问他拿了多少钱，1000多一点，干了第二天就不干了。他跟我们讲，去别的公司，别的公司工资比这里高。

您当初为什么要过来？

W：家里有困难吧，家里有两个小孩，家里负担也很大。

您多大了？

W：今年47了

当初8、9万块钱是哪里的？

W：都是家里的，全部家当。

你们当初还是比较信任中介的，现在有什么打算？

W：想要回本金，来了那么长时间，要有个说法。然后回去。

如果达到每小时三欧元，你还留在这里干吗？

W：现在不行了，签证不行，干不了。

Case No. 4 : Worker			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	Iasi
Gender	Male	Age	
Family status		No. of Children	
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	
Time Of Arriving	Sep. 7	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	83000 RMB	Debts	
Work hours per week (in Contract)	230 per month (C)	Average Wage(in contract)	10000-12000RMB
Work hours per week	60-66	Average Wage	
Income in China (before)	4000 RMB		

您是和他们一起的吗？

W：我是南通圆通过来的，通过中企经贸公司过来的，我从海安恒昌劳务公司过来的，那个经理叫谢易盛，我当时报名过来的原因是，他跟我讲罗马尼亚工程缺少一个保健医生，他就打电话找我，说给我留了个名额，12月份交了2万块的押金，到了4月份一次性全部缴清，交了6万3，一共8万3.当时报名中介跟我讲在罗马尼亚不可以以医生报名，所以我报了个钢筋工，在中介公司我还做了公证是保健医生的证明。9月7日过来，9月8日到得。后来去了之后，先过去暂时不需要医生，又一个中介公司跟我说需要医生，我给国内打电话，他们让我先签，3个月之后给我调，让我先签了合同。我在布加勒斯特呆了十几天，我们是15个人先过去的，到了亚希，也就安排我们做钢筋工，大概做了十来天。

那就是你去了之后做的是钢筋工的工作，没有做医生？

W：对，我到现在都没有做医生，我打电话过去，他说给我调雇主，做三个月把我调过来，而且我的工资在那是最低的，做了10天拿了629列伊，第二个月10月份，拿了1481，第一个月说是给我们补300欧元，从家里卡打过来只有400多人民币。当时08年9月份的工资，也值2700块了，现在只补了400多人民币，他这叫什么补。12月开头，他们停工了我们还没停，1号是罗马尼亚的节日，2号雇主过来，翻译说你们不可以干活了，让我们回国，给我们订了飞机票，到现在也不知道什么原因，没有一个理由，11月的工资也没有发。他们停工的人都有工资，我们为什么没有。我跟大使馆汇报了但是到现在都没有答复。

我对您的这个职业比较好奇，您是作为医生过来的，负责工友的保障问题。您当时在海安是在医院做的嘛？

W：我是乡村医生，他当时打电话给我，说缺一个保健医生。我在家里最多一个月3、4000块钱，到这里10000到12000，我们乡村医生的待遇在国内越来越高，而且我把医院的工作都辞了，这个问题就大了。南通过来的让我把我的大问题先解决，把8万3拿回来。我想不通，我这个事小问题吗？我也不知道。我为了顾全大局，到现在都没跟别人说过这个事情。我自己想先承担下来，我先把工友的事情先解决了，再自己解决我自己的问题。我要从大局出发，因为工友们的事，我不能一个人拖后腿，国内先把这个大问题解决了，我自己的问题自己解决，我跟国内小中介肯定有官司打的。我自己生活都没有了，怎么办？

您就是准备回去打官司？

W：对。我什么目的呢，给我们个好的交代就算了。

您心中的好的交代是什么呢？

W：先把我们的辛苦钱8万3给我们，我们的误工费，违约金给我们，中企违约了就要承担这个责任。

在罗马尼亚工友们都去大使馆讨个说法，您是什么想法呢？

W：我们在罗马尼亚没有亲人了，就只有大使馆，大使馆对我们帮助太大了，虽然大年三十在大使馆吃了饺子过年，很舒服，但是心里还是很难过，我们是为了挣钱出来，钱没挣到，还天天在这里受罪，中介公司就这样对待我们，虽然他们也是为了挣钱，但这个操作绝对有问题，我们现在大家一条心就是想早点解决我们早点回去。就希望他们能帮我们讨个公道。

Case No. 5 : Worker			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	46
Family status	Living with parents, wife and the kid	No. of Children	1
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	
Time Of Arriving	Sep. 7	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	83000 RMB	Debts	
Work hours per week (in Contract)	230 per month (C)	Average Wage(in contract)	635\$
Work hours per week	60-66	Average Wage	
Income in China (before)			

问一下您今年多大了？

W：46，属龙的。

你是南通人？

W：南通海安的。

说说您的情况吧

W：一开始我是在恒昌公司报名去关岛的，结果没有的去，我有个同事就打电话给我，说去立陶宛，要交12万5，我说哪有这么多钱，他说还有个说去罗马尼亚。

你以前做什么的

W：在家里做木工，还有做过水电工。

那介绍你的那个同事呢？

W：他也来了，他就是看了这个广告，叫8万3，自己有点钱，也借了点，说是每个月能赚个万把块钱。我孩子大了上大学了，在南京上大学，过年22了。正好没有钱了。问亲戚朋友借了6万多，自己拿了2万多，当时报名时父亲不同意我出去，说不准我出去家里又没钱用，但是不出去家里赚不到钱。叫完钱后来检查出父亲的身体又不好，在海安县医院检查出来时癌症。我当时在上海干活，听到这个消息就回去了。我就去那个中介（恒昌）公司，我问我父亲现在有病了，我可以不去吗，他说你不

去你钱拿不到，那时候8万3千块钱全都交了。

就是说这种情况他都不给你退钱

W：恩，没有。我跟我老婆一起去的。不去没办法，他不给我退。后来她不退嘛我就只好到罗马尼亚来，我们报名的时候是12月11日左右报名的，本来6月15日就去罗马尼亚的，我们东西都准备好了，但是到后来拖到9月5日才到罗马尼亚来，拖了好几个月。

你在清明节之前就把8万3都交上了？

W：大约4月20日左右吧就全都缴清了，但我们借的钱要还给人家的，又建房子，孩子又上大学。

借的钱有利息吗？

W：有的，虽然是借人家的，这个人情也不得了啊。父亲现在已经去世了。我儿子给我发消息说爷爷不行了，本想去年年底想把这个事情解决掉回国，但是拖到现在都没有解决。我出国借了一部分钱，给父亲治病还借了一部分钱，我走了以后，老婆为了生活还问别人借钱过的日子。到现在我都没一分钱寄回家。现在最起码把我们出国的费用跟自立的费用先给我们。自理费用就三四千。他给我们签的那个合同为了避税，少了很多。

你跟刚刚那个人谁拿的高

W：我稍微高一点。我拿里715类吧，100多小时。

多少天？

W：18号开工的，十几天，100多个小时，到罗马尼亚时就去布加勒斯特，叫我们签那个合同，我们就不肯签，就在那个宾馆住了11天，结果他就发了个函，叫我们赶快签字，说是罗马尼亚为了避税，你们没什么理由就签，保证每小时3欧元，圆通公司叫我们签的，然后我们签了，18号上班。

有没有给你们保证，如果给不了就补上。

W：对的，有的。然后就给了我补了500多人民币。完全就是骗人，但是哪有公司在外边干活国内补钱的。

但是你们补的好像都不一样的。

W：他是按小时补的，有的7折，有的9折。像我11月实际做了261小时，结果扣了7个小时的薪水，我表现还是可以的，打了9折。

那他有没有跟你们说打折的原因呢？

W：我们12月去大使馆的，那个老板说不打折扣的话也扣钱，不扣钱也打折扣。

你们有没有问什么道理吗？

W：我们怎么问，我们去问谁？语言都不通的。

不是有个翻译吗？

W：翻译不会问你的，翻译拿的是老板的钱，他不可能帮你说话的。

翻译不是帮谁说话，是把你们的话翻译过来，这个翻译是中国人吗？

W：是中国人，21、2岁，男的，在这边读书。

你们还能联系到这个翻译吗？

W：联系不到。

他是罗马尼亚老板雇来的作为一个翻译。

W：对。老板说了给你们中国人的钱够多了，带工的也只有2000多类，说给我们的不少了。

那你们有没有通过翻译跟老板讲这个合同呢？

W：讲了。

那这个合同还有什么作用？

W：他们不讲这个合同的。就按635来的，假如当时签了，就发635，就没话说了。家里中介叫你签是必须的。海安有人没签，就是不放心这个。结果都没拿到。我们交了8、9万都是自己的本钱，又照顾了父母。这钱又不是送给你的，不容易的。

那您一共拿了几个月的薪水？

W：拿了两个月多一点吧。

就十月、十一月的。什么时候拿的？

W：每月25日发的，9月的工资10月底拿，外后类推。11月份的工资当时我们走了，去布加勒斯特，就是去亚希的当地政府，亚希的老板把11月份的工资发给我们的，发了635的7折，扣了6、7个小时，这是扣得少的，扣的多的扣2、30个小时。我跟你说实话，我十月份拿了1657，做了241个小时，结果扣了7个小时，就是234个小时，再打了7折。

有没有其他罗马尼亚的人跟你们一起做？他们的待遇怎么样

W：有的，一二十个。有的待遇还没有我们高。

那他们怎么样？

W：他们本来的起薪就很低。我们看报纸的也知道，他们的底薪很低的。

那罗马尼亚人拿这么低的薪水有没有觉得低呢？

W：他们也觉得低。他们就不干了。一拿就回家了。我们这批人很惨的。

你们现在想回去吗？

W：反正像这样的情况不相干了，就是白干。

那继续留下来要什么条件

W：现在我不敢想了，这个世道我们不敢想了。

如果按照合同上签的那样你们愿意留下来吗？

W：目前就是我们不相信。

我们最后还是想通过我们的努力，给你们高一点的待遇，你们最初是想出来的，现在不想在这里是因为一次又一次的失望。如果按合同，工资没打折，你们愿意留下来吗？

W：如果按合同的话我们肯定愿意的，但是现在他一下欠3个月的，我们怎么做。

那你们罗马尼亚的雇主愿意你们回去吗？

W：这个很难讲，我们不知道。

你们在国内都是干这一行的，是不是感觉有猫腻？

W：这个公司太小了，我们都感觉这个诺瓦公司有点猫腻的。全部都是维修学校，根本不像建筑公司。就说诺瓦公司把，就像我们六十年代搞的公司，都没有自己的设施。好多都是租的人家的。如果说诺瓦公司让我们去干我们都不去。我们10月拿的工资每小时1.8。

你们工友有没有私下讨论过这个公司，为什么还要中国工人来这里工作？

W：可能是中介公司有猫腻。每次发工资都是中介公司有出面，什么活动都参与。如果早上他班车来晚了，到时是扣我们的工资。当时走之前，一直骗我们，叫我们去交钱，说罗马尼亚的雇主在北京等我们。一直拖啊拖，误了工。骗了我们几个月。搞得我们去年一年没赚到钱。一年在家最少好赚到3万元。

其实这个八万多是看得见的，看不见的还要更多。

W2：我如果在家里不到罗马尼亚来的话，我一年能赚1万5块钱。这是最少的。当时我最早交钱的，说交了就走，一个月捏，然后又说老护照的先走，然后就拖啊拖。交了两万后又说不行，拖。我是四月底交钱的，说五月份走，然后就拖。本来要是晚点都么，我还可以赚几个月的钱，他说很快就走，外面的工就不能打。然后那天下大雨，我们只有打车去，说下大雨去不了，然后就拖。下面有个小中介告诉我们，我们的签证还没办下来，说去不了，6月份签证没，机票根本没定。

你们当时一再拖的时候你们还想来吗？

W2：也不想来，但是钱扣在那里了。但有没办法，8月份一会说走，都没走。我就去了上海，然后是8月底通知我没几天就走了，我就又回来。后来说9月10日前肯定走，不走就退钱。

W：像我们后面一家人，人家在以色列工作的，提前一个月通知的。

W2：我是9月4日下午的时候通知我的，5号就走了，哪有公司这样的，还有的就是下午都没打晚上的时候通知的。当时心里也有点怀疑。

W：我就歇在家，父亲又要看病，儿子上大学，都要钱。我只有在海安打工，到9月4日才停下来的。

那你们乡里人都知道伐？

W2：不说他们也知道了。

那他们去以色列什么的都很好的。

W2：对的，人家到以色列，到英国的都很好的。一个月9000块钱。到了那钱打给中介公司的，家里人可以到中介公司取钱。他们签合同说9000，就9000。

都是不同的中介公司是伐？

W：他们都是不同的中介公司。你赚钱可以但是不要骗人。你承诺兑现，我们没有怨言的。635都拿不到，你这样扣，我们还算扣了少的，扣了多的还不止，你说能干吗？我要几年才能把本金赚回去，家里还担心。白干三年，又不能帮家里干事。

Case No. 6 : Worker1

Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	46
Family status	Living with parents	No. of Children	1
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	Electrician
Time Of Arriving	Sep. 7	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	83000 RMB	Debts	70000 RMB
Work hours per week (in Contract)	230 per month (C)	Average Wage(in contract)	690€(C) 635\$(R)
Work hours per week	60-66	Average Wage	4000 RMB
Income in China (before)			

您把您的情况给我介绍一下？

W：12月2日在来布加勒斯特路上我写了篇文章，当初来的起冤书。是给宋玉平先生的一封信。就是要求解除劳动合同，把钱拿回来。我们2008年正月就报名出国，招工广告上说到罗马尼亚来，要交8万块钱。每个月可以赚1万到1万2人民币。三月份这里工人工资表给我们看能拿到9千6到1万出头。然后我们就相信了。我们交了钱他们就拖，包括我本人。腊月22日就辞职了。

原来你是做什么的？

W：我做电工的，中介跟我说可能在正月初八到十五左右就要走了，接着就把工作辞了。他们拖到正月底。又说下个月初就走，叫我们安心在家里等。就这样一直等到9月4日接到通知。我说这次是不是骗我的，他说是真的。大半年的时间等过去了。我们是9月5日坐汽车去北京。9月6日到德国，转机到罗马尼亚。到了罗马尼亚第三天，来了雇主（诺瓦公司的）给我们签合同，我们说签过了，他们说不行，到我们这要签我们这里的合同。带了一个罗马尼亚什么人民公司的翻译过来的。他说要我们同意签合同。在国内签的690欧元的合同是肯定有效的。相差太大了。我们打电话给国内，国内的中介包括圆通公司说你们照签，在你们出国前我们和罗马尼亚的诺瓦公司已经有合同的，是不需要你们跟他们在工资方面打交道的，这不是天大的笑话嘛，这个罗马尼亚635美元的合同是为了逃税。到9月19日就有人签了说你不工作怎么知道是真的呢。你们合同在国内的是生效的。一个是45人的合同，另外是15个人相信了，我们先去干，还有33个人，不相信不同意签，滞留在罗马尼亚。后来就去找大使馆，要

求中介公司来解决。宋玉平就从国内赶过来了，当着大使馆的书面承诺合同跟圆通公司的合同时一样的，你们去干，保证能拿到欧元。他们33个人是第二批过去的。他们的工资是做满两个月拿第一个月的工资，这在国内就属于拖欠。因为具体我们不知道拿了多少工资。结果11月29日他们发工资了，我们15个人第一个月干了13天，我们到10月25日发工资，发的时候的确是以每月635美元发的，还不包括加班的，把工时扣掉了，实际工作了103个小时，但工资单上是90个小时。也没有解释，第一次也没说打折的事情，拿了90%的工资，我拿了629类。罗马尼亚人是1000多一点，中企公司说发现这个问题了，说是与诺瓦公司打交道，协商解决，叫我们先把这个月干下来，他们说差额的部门国内来补，就是635美金和690欧元的差额。有些人说补了，后来打电话回去问了，只补了人民币400多。就说我干了半个月，拿了不到2000元。后面的人听说之后就心慌了，宋玉平也说在协商解决，包括还有一个项目经理一起在协商处理，我们工人认为已经上当受骗了。到11月25日应该发工资了，罗马尼亚说没钱拖到11月29日，所有人拿到第一个月工资了，我们做了250多个小时，在工资表上只写230个小时，还打了7折、8折、9折，翻译跟我们说，老板说发给中国人70%的工资已经相当仁慈了，这是他的原话。我们交了9万元，按现在这样3年就是白做的，这样下去我们是肯定不再做的。我们既然被你们骗了就要求中企公司来解决，第二天是礼拜六大家都不干了，等国内人来处理。到12月2日早上，他们把我们这批人分了很多个工地。我们在国内报名的时候，说这次帮我们找的雇主是非常非常好的。说工程很大的，说是欧盟在罗马尼亚建的房子、宾馆，最好的。我们到这里看到之后是就学校改造的，还有一批人分去挖土。在国内都是有点工资制的人去报名来做工的。交了那么多钱过来挖土。生活方面，先把我们安排的猪圈，养猪场改造的，在亚希，现在去看的话看不到当初的景象了，那时候我们100多个人，床铺是上下铺的，三个房间，最多的一个房间是46个人，只有一个小窗户。我们在国内的时候中介跟我们讲雇主好，还管吃，管住，四五个人一个房间。来了之后诺瓦公司说不管吃的，每天上下班以后我们自己烙饼，然后带过去，我们要点开水，他说没有，我们到厕所喝的冷水，我们早上5点多起来6点走，车里带我们去。分了好几个工地，最远的要40公里，我么晕车，每天靠晕车药，早上开过去7点，每天天不亮就去，伸手不见五指，晚上6点左右回来，有时候干到10个11个小时，罗马尼亚的老板开始每天帮我们记录是10个小时工作，以后10个小时都改成8，说是老板的老板要求的。有的在展览馆工作每天干11个小时，中途扣掉1个小时吃饭时间。因为超过8小时要付加班工资的，所以他就不计超过8小时的部分。11月份的工资表，拿了1500来，11月份95%的人，全部打的7折，10月份的有的人打8折，9折的，11月份全部都是7折。11月份工资是大使馆敦促罗马尼亚劳动部给我们发的。12月2日早上，在旅馆等国内与罗马尼亚打交道，我们工地上人多，另外一个就十几个人。然后就像希特勒点名一样，点了一批，说他们老弱病残有病的，诺瓦公司不要你们干了，叫你们回国。说到移民局签字回国。2号中午都没吃饭，把行李什么都搬出来了，乘火车到大使馆来了，想请大使馆帮忙解决问题。他们这批人是8月份通过中介从国内过来的，中远公司呢是两批人，回去了一批13个人，老外说他们有病啦什么的，说回去后解决，事实上回去后，中介没有很好的解决。顶多说你交了8万5，退你2万元，其他的一分钱都不退的。还把打人打伤了，就过年的时候给了200元，我们就是想与其被那个诺瓦公司把我们那个遣返回国，我们还不如说到

大使馆去，寻求大使馆的解决。我们就是回国以后呢，我们没办法拿到这个钱，还有一个什么原因呢，因为我们这些人都比较善良，比较老实，我们在临出国之前的那几天，国内那个中介就把我们大部分人的中介费收款收据都收回去了。然后把那个收据改成了一个某某某某人出国费用的那个东西，所以说我们回国要想跟他打官司，你没证据，你只能证明你出了国，你没有证据能证明你交了多少钱，所以找大使馆帮我们解决这件事情。因为我们不是一块两块钱，我们是八万五，我们有好多人都是借的，有好多人都是银行贷款过来的。

现在我们做个调查，我们就是了解下实际情况，有多少人是贷款过来的，我们这里有22个人，基本上都在的吧。你看我们这里有多少人是借过钱的？

W：我们都借的。我说了我们要是家里条件比较好，就不到这里来了。

陈：我就是随便调查下，你这8万块钱哪里来的？

W：我八万块钱是，由一个是我的那个朋友，叫张晓明的，他家里本身买了一个房子，还欠了人家十几万块钱，他听说我要出国的事情，他就是说欠人家的钱不还，因为他是在外面做生意的，收入还可以。他说我先拿四万块钱给你，我的钱你以后再慢慢还我让你先出国。我借了他的四万块钱。还有一个朋友，我借了他那个一万多块钱，还有父母，那个拿了两万多块钱给我的。当初我中介叫裴玉霞啊，就是圆通公司的老板，他当时我那个朋友，是我那个朋友，他当初跟我讲，你先去往外借，要是借不到，我帮你借高利贷，我一定让你能如愿以偿，能让你回来，帮你挣到这个钱。他说我是84年在海安县邮局同事。十来年的同事。所以说当初那个时候，其他人跟我讲，怎么拖拖拖到现在也不肯走，她是不是骗你的，我说不可能嘛，她再骗其他人，也不可能骗我。因为我以前跟她关系处的还蛮好的，按照道理她不肯能骗我的。农场很多朋友劝我，不要被她骗了。

你这个八万块钱，4万，2万，1万这些都是多少利息呢？

W：这个都是当初跟我朋友借的，还有父母的。父母的肯定不算，那个朋友的，因为跟我处的那两个朋友跟我处的相当好。所以没有算利息。都没讲，但是回去肯定要有，都是面子上的事情。

那么这样就是第一批，还有7个人在我们这里。就是海安中介办过来的。你们当时的中介费多少？9万块钱是吗？

W3：8万5

还交了什么钱呢？

W3：费用自理啊。加起来大概有8万8

这是第一批，那么第2批呢？

W：大部分都是缴的8万3。

我们按时间来说就是8月14号之后，下一批什么时候来的呢？

W：9月6号

9月6号来了多少人呢？

W：45个。就是主要的那批

这2批是住在一起吗？

W：10月7号又来了44个。

那么我听说我们江苏留在这里有88个？

W：88个，其实他是这样子的。当时从诺瓦过来的时候是88个，88个其中有三利公司的，有山东的，河北的，跟他们一批合同是一样的。

9月6号45个人现在都在哪里呢？

W：现在大部分都在解晓东

那么解晓东那里有27个人，我们这里有多少个人呢？

W：这里是25个人。

那么9月6号这45个人全在这宾馆里？

W：恩，还有一个河南人没过来。还在那里相信。中介还在忽悠他，满足他3欧元，帮他换雇主，其实国内那个合同我们为什么要找大使馆呢，其实我们已经发现了，不单单合同上面违约了，说夸张一点是巨额欺诈。他口口声声跟我们讲，说诺瓦公司跟他有合同在那里，实际上中起公司和诺瓦公司宋玉平过来的。那时候是12月初，宋玉明还在国内，我们过来的时候，诺瓦公司也把中介找回来了，然后问宋玉平认不认识诺瓦公司的老板，宋玉平说不认识。然后王参赞就问诺瓦公司，你既然不认识中起公司，你是通过什么途径把这么多工人骗到亚希做工的，说了半天NoNoNo，也没说出来所以然出来。包括这次大使馆督促罗马尼亚劳动监察局对诺瓦公司拖欠工资，给他的罚款上面讲的很明确，就是说诺瓦公司和中起公司根本就没有交道，所以说他口口声声跟我们讲说有合同，有什么东西，事实上他没有合同，一直都在骗我们。我们过来了以后就要求中起公司帮我们解决。其实我们工人的要求很简单，就是把我们的中介费用，因为我们这里有好多人来了5个月了，只拿了一个月的1千2、3百，就是不到3千块钱。我们到罗马尼亚来了5个月不到拿了不到3000块钱，所以说我们要求很低，包括大使馆的工作人员都说你们这帮人太善良了，说你们想不想回国跟他打官司，说我们只要拿到这钱，过去的事就算了。只要能我们出国的中介费用退给我们，误工的损失至少拿点钱回去，对得起妻儿老少，我小孩23了，最好拿了3、5千回家对得起家人，是吧。后来那个宋玉平跟我们说元月1号我们在大使馆等他，国内中起公司工作组来了，来了结果呢我们当初不知道怎么样的工作组，有个姓彭的，他们中起公司的领导，然后我们就把这个情况跟他讲，所有的一切的一切，包括那姓陈的老总还有宋玉平，当我们大家的面，告诉我们错不在工人，是中起公司的责任，

你们大家放心，我会妥善给你们解决好的。有录像的。我们都可以帮你们解决好，让你们高高兴兴的回家。这是元月一号的事情。2号来了一个处理意见，我们工人一看基本还是比较满意的。有一条缴的费用以收据为准，因为我们80—90%的人收据都没有了，那么我们就要求把它重新修改下。就是如果你还想在这里干这笔费用就没了，就是忽悠我们的。就是骗我们的。然后是到了1月6号，告诉我们：我们中起公司正在开会，研究处理的方案。然后1月7号早上打点话给我说告诉你个好消息。一月6号是这样的，我们这些人全部都到大使馆去，请王参赞、赵秘书把宋玉平请到大使馆里去，我们又当面谈了下处理的意见，结果不以这里处理意见为准了。就是说出国的中介费用，我们有些人有复印件，就是偷偷把原件复印了，然后我们也不以国内的每个月3千块算，也不以这里的6千块的费用算，让你们多少挣一点钱回家，也对得起个妻儿老少。不能说让你们风风光光的回家，但是多少能拿点钱，让家里的亲人多少得到点安慰，他当时是这样跟我们讲的。在那以后大家都同意了，比较满意，是宋玉平在王参赞面前跟我们承诺的。我们当时派了6、7个代表进去的，我们用录像录下来的。第2天，我说宋总怎么说的，他说正在开会。到了8号早上我打电话给他的，他说王建告诉你个好消息，你那个处理方案已经通过了。我说通过了么就好了，总算春节前能回家了。结果拖拖拖，一直拖到现在，宋玉平也不出面了，今天来个工作组，明天来个工作组，到春节前几天来了个工作组，来了个人调查，还是调查了解，姓胡的那个人还是比较会办事实，比较老实的。他说你们反应的这个情况跟宋玉平反应的情况完全反的，宋玉平说你们工人的要求太过分了，没办法满足我们。所以说才拖到现在没办法。我们跟那个姓胡的说这个处理的方案，退多少钱的中介费，每个月退多少钱都是宋玉平先说出来，我们大家认为可以，因为要过春节了，我们大家都想回家，王参赞和赵秘书跟我们讲大家往中间走一走，把事情能处理圆满了，也不要说想你们期望的那么高，宋玉平也不要什么都不退，责任在你宋玉平。宋玉平说好好好，退多少钱，补偿我们多少钱，这些东西都不是我们工人提出来的，都是宋玉平先提出来，我们工人说行吧，就这样子算。结果拖到现在他反过来说我们工人要求太过分，所以迟迟没办法解决。这次大年30晚上我们到使馆，王参赞和赵秘书把我们叫过去，就是团圆，吃水饺。说句良心话，从我们到罗马尼亚来，一直给使馆添了不少麻烦。他们也的确还可以的，尽管事情拖到现在，但是他们没办法，我们很能理解。他们有时也一整个晚上陪着我们。大年30的那天晚上，凤凰卫视也采访了我，我也跟凤凰卫视的讲了几句，我也要求他们就是说尽快让我们回家。因为2008年我们已经耽搁了一年，说实话2008年我也就挣了2个月工资，就是不到6000块钱，我说我希望中起公司拿出一点诚意出来，说让我们尽快回家，因为我说了一年之际在于春，对于我们建筑工人来讲，一年之计在于春节的前几天。我们每个人腊月二十几回国以后还要找明年的工作。一般出远门到上海，建筑行业可能初10就要出发了，出的晚的可能到月半，顶多18一定要走了。如果我们回去晚了，工人都走了，2009年的工作又要耽搁了。所以现在确实特别的着急。很着急。

Case No. 7 : Worker1; Workers2			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	
Family status	Father, brother and sister-in-law, sister	No. of Children	
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	
Time Of Arriving	Sep. 7	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	83000 RMB	Debts	80000 RMB
Work hours per week (in Contract)	230 per month (C)	Average Wage(in contract)	
Work hours per week	60-66	Average Wage	
Income in China (before)	Almost 50000(2007)		

那你贵姓？

W1：我姓吴。

那你这八万块钱哪里来的？

W1：我这个八万块钱全部都是借的。其中四万块钱贷款，8厘的利息。

你怎么贷的？

W1：还有我借的我哥哥姐姐的。

哥哥姐姐的？

W1：4万块钱是那边借的利息带过来，4万块钱亲戚带过来。

你这8万块钱怎么来的？

W2：我姓崔，我姐姐借给我3万，我嫂子那借到一万，我爸爸又得了癌症，现在又赚不到钱，他在家每天看病还需要钱。我本来不想出来的。

这里是你的姐姐给你3万？

W2：姐姐被车子撞了，过年都在医院里过的。出车祸了。

姐姐给你3万，你嫂子拿了1万，还有4万呢？

W2：还有1万是村里邻居的，还有3万我爸爸拿了一点，剩下就是自己拿出来的

2007年你收入多少钱？
W2：2007年我在家接近5万。

Case No. 8 : Worker			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	32
Family status	Parents, aunts, brothers, sister, wife	No. of Children	
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	
Time Of Arriving	Sep. 7	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	85000 RMB	Debts	80000 RMB
Work hours per week (in Contract)	230 per month (C)	Average Wage(in contract)	
Work hours per week	60-66	Average Wage	
Income in China (before)			

你贵姓啊？
W：我姓张。8万块全问朋友借的。

你今年多大？
W：32。

你什么时候开始做工的？
W：98年

98年开始，那么做到今年是10年，那你这8万块钱怎么来的呢？
W：8万5千

我知道，办个护照要1000多
W：本身就交了8万5千。（他是第一批的，南通中远的）

那你这8万是怎么借的呢？
W：没借高利贷，全问亲戚朋友借的，我借了我2个阿姨，一个借了17000，一个借了14000，借了我姐姐5000，借了我朋友5000，还有个朋友借了4000，借了我4个兄弟，每个人拿了3000给我，父母拿了两万多，凑起来的。

你结婚了吗？小孩几岁？

W：八岁

Case No. 9 : Worker1-6

Time	Feb. 2009	City	Iasi
Gender	Male	Age	43
Family status		No. of Children	
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	Plumber and carpenter
Time Of Arriving	Oct. 7/ Aug. 2008	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	85000 RMB	Debts	
Work hours per week (in Contract)	230 per month (C)	Average Wage(in contract)	
Work hours per week	60-66	Average Wage	
Income in China (before)	30000-5/60000(2007)		

师傅你今年多少了？

W6：43。我南通如皋的，叫钱之华。

我们这儿是几批了现在？

W6：我们是10月7日到

W：2批。我这里有7个人，8月份过来的，但不是通过中起公司过来的。他们是海安中远公司过来的。

海安中远公司是没资质的，他挂靠在哪里？

W：说的是北京三利，他们这7个人还比较麻烦，我们总共是24个人。

还有4个人在哪里呢？

W3：无缘无故回国3个，钱肯定也没退回来。

那么还有1个人呢？

W3：还在亚希做水电工。

W：他有肝炎病，他写的东西压在劳务公司，到罗马尼亚出了任何事情，他说不找公司承担责任。他写了保证书。他前年到这里来了找了劳务公司的老板，老板给了他一个文件，退2块钱给他。就是说年底之前退2万块钱给他，据说是南通哪个局长担

保的。

那他不去？

W3：他们就达成这个协议，退2万块钱中介费，继续在这干。

你呢？2007年收入多少？你2007年是在哪里做？

W2：我在天津。自己包装璜，自己带一批人。我姓钱

你呢，2007年收入多少？你是做什么的？

W3：2007年3万多，我是做水电的

你07年在哪呢？

W4：我是海安的，07年在在海南，赚了5、6万左右

做什么呢？

W4：外墙粉刷

后面那位叔叔呢？你贵姓啊？

W6：姓谢

谢师傅 07年你收入多少钱？

W6：3万多块钱

3万多啊，你做什么的呢？

W6：木工，海安二建

W：他是这样的，在国内打工啊，一般式一百块钱一个工，他是按工记的，不管是木工还是其他的工，都是一百块钱一工。2008年我们已经是白白浪费了一年，不希望09年再浪费。今天是初六，初六又过去了。初一的时候湖南来了一个所谓的工作组，然后初二时跟我们见了几分钟的面，每个人见了几分钟，就是把我们的名字还有几时来的写下来，到现在为止，人也没有啦，什么都没有啦。我今天打电话到给王参赞和赵秘书，他们说他们也没办法，这个工作组就是来帮你们解决问题的，他们解决不了，我们也没办法。我听到国内报道说，北京市政府要派来人，怎么到现在还没来人。也没说什么具体的时间来，所以说，现在我们这些工人心情特别的着急，如果说再过一点时间，工程队出发了，我们回去了以后，又是2009年浪费了，这个问题。

吉林你们这一批到时回去了。

W：听说去年腊月二十七、八已经拿到钱了，

他是说3月底？

W：对，3月底全部拿回去。就是三立公司这批人，有河北的、山东的，和我们一起来的总共是15个人，后来他们回去了，然后打电话给我说，8万6他们已经拿到手了，就是之前拿了5万，回国之后拿了3万，国内的中介拿了6千块钱。反倒是我们这什么大公司，500强企业的什么，一直拖到现在，也没有个处理的方案。

Case No. 10 : Worker			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	
Family status		No. of Children	
Original Prov.		Occupation	Welder
Time Of Arriving	August 15	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees		Debts	
Work hours per week (in Contract)		Average Wage(in contract)	
Work hours per week		Average Wage	1640 leu
Income in China (before)			

你们是什么时候看到招工广告？

W：2007年腊月，2008年正月我们就去报名，报名的时候叫3000元押金，然后到2月29日去考试。考试当天，我们一早去的，等7点，考焊接，我们十几个人考到9点，看我们都合格，就让我们签合同，当时签的合同都是空白，我们一看就感觉不对劲，不是正规的合同。合同上写工作每小时3美元，跟原先我们看到的广告上是不一样的。我们问老总，他说可能是翻译错误，说是3美元不是3欧元。当时有些人签了，但是我们还是不敢，回去想了几天，我还打电话给一个亲戚问问，他跟我说你要看下他的这个项目是不是合法，还有那个国家的经济情况？我不可能为了了解这些情况去那个国家跑一趟，我只能凭借这个广告，我觉得我们县的外经委肯定知道，但是又不知道是不是真实，我就认定他写的最低每月8000元的工资，这样算下，一年12个月可以把本金赚回来，就因为这个我就报了名。然后总经理告诉我们说我们不能走，就让我们等到5月份，这期间我们又交了两万元，到了5月份，说不行，等签证，大约到7月15日就让我们交500元去体检，体检的项目有体表，视力，B超，血液，心电图，都要的。在出国之前，给我们体检合格证，到了8月14日出国，晚上到亚希，第二天来了个老总（诺瓦公司），把我们分成两部分，一部分搞主建，一部分搞装修，装修的就是我们自己住的宿舍，搞主建的就是展览馆，他说我们去工地乘车过去，但是晚到超过15分钟就要扣钱。8月18日我们又在罗马尼亚体检，体检之后又要我们签合同，

我再体检之后就发现有高血糖，然后签合同，发现没有英文，只有罗文，有人问要不要签，我说不要签，当时他们说这个合同是根据国内的合同过来的，我们说我们看不懂，翻成中文我们再签。对方说不签就把我们送移民局，遣送回国，我们想这样更划不来。不签不能上班，我们去了以后把我们的护照收了，要办居留证，答应办完了还给我们。然后就去上班了，去了那个让我们重新改造的地方，像猪圈一样，说是我们的宿舍。早上6点25分我们下去等车，45分上车，可能他们为了省钱，就只有一辆车。展览馆那边有个工程师看不懂图纸，用的工具都是最老式的，我们根本干不了。在干了二十来天的时候，那天干了十一个小时，每个人都扣了六个小时。第二天，我们就停工等待处理。打电话给我们，说老板没扣我们钱，老板说即使这样也要一天扣一个小时。后来诺瓦公司没车送我们回宿舍，我们走回去的，走了两个多小时。期间，我们停了11天。和诺瓦公司达成的协议是，每天的水电不要我们钱，其实，我们拿了工资这些水电、交通费用都扣了，合同上写了不扣的。然后我们就要求达成协议，这些我们不付，而且要按时发我们工资。他们说压25天的工资，就是说每月的25日发工资。原来合同上写的是按月发工资。这11天停工期间，我们还有3个工人被遣返。他们停水停煤气卫生间锁起来，我们认为在罗马尼亚没有一点人权，我体会到就是身不由己。叫天天不应，叫地地不灵。签了协议以后就安排到那个学校，然后挪了宿舍。

他们原来给你们的承诺是什么，如果停工的话，工资是怎么算的？

W：停工后我们一点工钱都没有，他们也没有解释，也不给护照，一直扣到12月10日左右。我们后来到一个学校去干活，全是挖土的活。我们在国内考的是水电工，我们休息一会就说减工资，一个纸盒子掉地上扣两个小时。我接了两个电话扣了我两个小时，我们干的没什么技术活，都是苦力活，到10月8日就挪到别的地方。

有多少人是有技术的？

W：我们都有技术的，但是干的全都是苦力活。

一共多少人？把你们的各方面情况告诉我行吗？

W：我们一共有7个人，手续都齐的。10月8日换了工地以后，打电话问他怎么处理，他说到这里来的要么体弱，要么年纪大。10月25日拿了9月份工资，我们一看不得了，每个人够扣了工时，而且工资打了8折。还赶紧叫我们签字领钱，不让我们看工资单，而且工资单我们都是抢过来的，不抢拿不到的那些工资单。出现这种情况后，到11月25日，17个在展览馆工作的，走了4个还剩13个。发现这个情况以后，感觉不对劲，一直在扣工资，有人就问下个月还扣不扣，老板说不扣钱也会打折。反正不扣这个就扣那个。然后我们想再做一个月看，到头来还是扣了工资，于是我们就在发工资的时候等最后一个人领完工资把工资单抢回来去复印的。本来说好25日发工资，又拖到29日，他说我们的工资是罗马尼亚人的三倍，加工资是不可能的，不干的话要么回家，要么上飞机，要么大使馆。问他们要护照，护照也不给。我们没办法只能去大使馆。我们在领他发美金给我们，我们还有去兑换，他们发的时候汇率是2.98，等我们去换的时候就变成了3.07，他们赚差价。

当时在国内也体检过，当时没体检出来高血压吗？

其实，我本身就有高血压的，当时为了出来打工赚钱，就瞒过去的。在罢工后，当时11月3日叫我等通知，说我血糖高要叫我回去，罗马尼亚不是人，他们知道我血糖这么高不让我回去，还让我干两个月，等我说罢工不干才找理由叫我回去，把我拉到医院签字，我不签，不签就把我送到移民局了，无缘无故关了4个多小时。被手铐铐住的。说我触犯了移民法。翻译后来说明天叫我去查，上午进去查下午快下班才拿到报告，若确实这种情况要签字。当时发完11月份工资，12月29日发完工资，30号送12个人回国，如果发现有病要多给一个月的工资，这个合同上有，给了张工资单，上面写了1640，拿这个工资给我们买飞机票，我们说这个机票我们不要不要，然后我们就去了大使馆。大使馆说对我们这种情况很同情，帮我们安排了住宿。一直到了12月底，大使馆发了很多函给他，他一直不理，跟我们家属说如果干三年拿不到钱，回国也拿不到钱。在国内的体检表上有问题，很多指标为0，这不可能的，这个证明在罗马尼亚老板手里。然后我自己出钱在罗马尼亚检查，这个证明有的。话说回来，作为中介公司你发布虚假广告，你必须对此负责任。我们作为打工者肯定相信招工简章，我们不可能来罗马尼亚看一下再决定的。前几天我老婆打电话来说没钱花，在电话里哭，我只有问其他人借了点钱汇回家。好不容易把这个难关度了。我们都被他们忽悠晕了，一心想出来改善一下家里条件。两回一忽悠就是1万元。我们临走的时候又多收了我們1万多块钱。

Case No. 11 : Worker1-10			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	21-48
Family status	Wife, uncle, brother-in-law	No. of Children	1\2\2\1
Original Prov.	Anhui	Occupation	Carpenter, reinforcing iron worker, brakelayer
Time Of Arriving	2008	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	6、70000 RMB	Debts	
Work hours per week (in Contract)		Average Wage(in contract)	
Work hours per week	50-60	Average Wage	Over 10000 RMB
Income in China (before)			

当时怎么想着出来工作的呢？

W：想多赚点钱

从哪里听说的？

W：电视上，安徽电视台。

以前有朋友来过吗？

W：以前有去以色列的。

他们当时的评价如何？

W：没有坏的评价

你什么时候开始报名的呢

W：去年，具体几月份记不清了

那报名之后呢？

W：在家等待，等了几个月，之后就交钱，然后就过来了

中间有什么环节吗？有需要要考试吗？

W：考试，就现场考钢筋工。

考完了后有什么培训吗？

W：有英语培训。

你多大了？

W：40

交了多少费用？

W：6万多块钱吧，分两次交，第一次2万多，都是借的，从亲戚朋友那里借的。
1分多的利息。

现在感觉如何？

W：挺好的

家中还有谁？

W：老婆孩子，小孩14岁

是去年8月份过来的吗？

W：8月底

干了9个月的时间，如果以后你小孩也想到这边来工作，你同意吗？

W：有钱出来干就可以了，只要有本事

准备在这里干过久？

W：最起码两年，协议是两年

你估计可以赚多少？

W：按现在的情况，至少有二十万，现在金融危机，欧元都贬值了

每天都几点起来？

W：六点

在哪吃早饭？

W：就在这里

几点走呢？

W：吃完早饭就走，六点半左右

这边怎么过去呢？

W：坐大巴，是沃尔沃的

一天平均干几个小时？

W：反正下午五点就回来了

如何计算工资？

W：按工程量，老板计算，按量来

第一个月工资什么领到的？

W：年前领到的，寄回去的

拿到多少？

W：12月没算，拿了人民币三万四不到，在这边开支另外的

其他开支呢？

W：每月500列伊，人民币1000多元，都用在伙食上。

会多花光吗？

W：都花光，还买了电脑

这间房几个人住？

W：六个人

几台电脑啊？

W：两台

你们出来前认识吗？

W：都是合肥的，以前不认识的。

你出来前是做什么的呢？在哪里做呢？

W2：在合肥做钢筋工

从哪里得知到这里来工作的消息的呢？

W2：亲戚朋友介绍的，我的舅父，他是在这里工作的

像你的话是交了多少钱？

W2：六七万

钱从哪儿来的呢？

W2：都是自己存起来的

你今年多大啦？

W2：31

以后准备在这里干多久呢？

W2：看情况吧

您贵姓啊？

W3：曾

那你交了多少钱啊？

W3：也是六七万

那这钱从哪里来的呢？

W3：都是自己的

原来是做什么的呢？

W3：开车的

到这里来做什么的呢？

W3：钢筋工

后学的嘛？

W3：在这里培训的

和开车比哪个辛苦呢？习惯吗？

W3：不好说，有时开车通宵都有的

那你每天在这里工作多少小时

W3：六点半出门，下午五点回来

那在工地干是干多少时间？

W3：大概10个小时

有时浇钢筋的话是不是晚上要加班的呢？

W3：反正晚上有车子送我们回来的

你也是交六七万？

W4：是的，钱都是自己的

你呢？

W5：也是的，钱是自己的

你原来是干什么的

W5：厨师，在一个大学上班上了16年，2000年回来买车从商，然后就听说来罗马尼亚赚钱，自从来了之后，生活还是很好的，很和睦的。老板也很少。过年一起吃的，16个菜，酒水公司买的，白酒，干红。大年三十中午吃饭，就是不能放爆竹，禁放的。气氛很融洽，今年这个春节是按老家的风俗过的。在这里住的很好，每个房间都有冰箱彩电，卫生间，洗澡都有。都是公司提供的，以色列人弄的。厨房还有冰柜。

像你现在46了，小孩也要毕业了，那为什么还要出来做呢？

W5：想买房子。在南京呆了三十年，现在没有50万别想买房子。抱着梦想出来赚钱。就中国，一个普通家庭培养一个孩子到上大学，要13万。

你呢？小孩14岁了，赚了个钱有什么想法呢？40了

W4：为了小孩

您多大了？

W6：34，小孩8岁，赚钱为了小孩，给小孩上学。去年国庆节出来的，交了8万，七个兄弟姐妹，从大姐那借了八千，二姐三姐1万，还从高利贷那借了4万，利息1

分，现在这样半年就可以还清。

W4：两个小孩，大的12，小的10岁，大的女孩，小的男孩，赚了钱想回去投资，也带批人出来。

你原来是做什么的啊

W4：木工，都是朋友亲戚告诉我的，小舅子在以色列做，他去了早，前年，交的钱比我少，现在赚的比我多。

现在看罗马尼亚好还是以色列好？

W4：以色列好

那边安全吗？

W4：挺安全的

那你现在一般每天做木工，是换工地还是怎么做的？

W4：因为公司是以色列的人力公司，哪个工地工程比较紧我们就先去哪

那你现在做了几个工地？

W4：从我来到现在换过两个工地

主要是搭框架，还是细活？

W4：刚来的时候是搭框架，现在是搞装潢

那你现在觉得工作强度怎么样？跟国内相比

W4：应该讲比国内强度稍微强一点

比国内要强一点，怎么个强呢？

W4：感觉效率比较低，整个过程拖得时间长

那你们现在工资如何算？

W4：计件

这边111个工人在这，都是什么工种

W5：木工40人，钢筋工30多人，瓦工20、30，还有小部分小工

那你们不同工种收入有区别吗？

W5：基本上没什么区别

那厨师呢？

W5：也一样的

W3：罗马尼亚这个地方如果不是金融危机，这个人力市场是很好的。从欧洲商贸看，有很大个缺口。

你多大啊？

W7：26

那你们这里最小的多大？

W2：21

那这里最大的几岁？

W2：48

你当时怎么知道这个招工信息的呢？

W7：亲戚

钱哪里来的？

W7：家里拿的

什么工种？

W7：钢筋工

在国内做什么？

W7：在合肥也做这个

哪边轻松？

W7：都差不多

你多大了？

W8：38

小孩多大？

W8：14，初一，两个小孩，小的11，都儿子

在国内做什么的？

W8：什么都干，在企业做过领导

花多少费用？

W8：6、7万

钱都哪里来？

W8：自己家里的。

来这里适应吗？

W8：适应

现在干哪个工种？

W8：钢筋工

以前做过吗？

W8：第一次，就过年的时候特别想家里人，老婆孩子

你今年多大？

W9：46

安徽什么地方人？

W9：合肥

原来做什么的？

W9：木工

小孩多大？

W9：24

什么时候有这个想法呢？

W9：2004年，06年开始的

什么时候报名的？

W9：06年报名

什么时候出来的？

W9：去年出国的

有培训吗？

W9：也没有，因为都干这个的，比较熟悉，不会

家里有几个小孩？

W9：2

小孩多大？

W9：大的22

读书吗？

W9：大三

赚了钱给谁用？

W9：赚钱给自己用

用在谁身上？

W9：用在小孩身上

还适应吗？

W9：还可以

要是你要你留下来你留吗？就从现在的情况看

W9：叫我留的就留

合同签了几年？

W9：现在是两年

到现在干了几个月？

W9：四个月

一共赚了多少钱？

W9：两万不到寄回去了，等于是两个月不到的工资

要是你小孩也想出来呢？你同意吗？

W9：同意，小孩也好，我本人也好，志在四方，都应该出来跑一跑

什么时候能回家呢？

W9：两年到期就可以回去了

Case No. 12 : Worker			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	43
Family status	Brothers and sisters, wife	No. of Children	1
Original Prov.	Anhui	Occupation	Carpenter
Time Of Arriving	Jul. 17	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	90000 RMB	Debts	90000 RMB
Work hours per week (in Contract)		Average Wage(in contract)	
Work hours per week	60	Average Wage	10000 RMB
Income in China (before)			

中介费都是从哪里借的？

W：兄弟们

都借了多少？

W：老大3万，弟兄6万

你呢？

W1：找哥，娘家的哥，堂哥

什么时候能还清？

W1：头十个月

现在还满意吗？

W2：满意，人的欲望是没尽头的，给你两万也可以

以前在哪里做的呢？

W2：合肥市建

原来是做什么的呢？

W2：木工

现在做什么的呢

W2：什么都能做

现在多久了

W2：半年了，4个月打回国4万多块钱。就是3、4个月打一次钱。

你呢？钱从哪里借的

W3、4：亲戚朋友，兄弟姐妹，借了三万

W5：自己的钱，原来出过国，借了六万出去的，1分利息。去阿联酋，在家具厂做，将近干了四年，工资比这里少，一年三万，01年。那时国内工资更低了，回国花了差不多。

你孩子多大了？

W5：9岁

来到罗马尼亚的感觉如何？

W5：一开始看第一眼觉得很伤感，布加勒斯特还不如我们县城。

你觉得罗马尼亚以后发展如何？

W5：从我们的眼光也不是很长远

你对西方人的感觉，印象怎么样？

W5：很多外国人素质比我们高，像我去过阿联酋，可能是经济情况原因，素质比我们高。

如何你的孩子未来也要走这条路，你同意吗？

W5：我肯定同意，但有个前提。

签证怎么弄的，有签协议吗？

W5：都是中介公司，对公司不太了解，通过亲戚过来的。有的，但是全英语的，不懂。我们出来过几次都知道的，每个公司的合同都是有偏向的，那个合同签和不签都差不多的。

为什么这么说呢？

W5：因为现在出国的人多了，你不来总归会有人来的，对他们不会有什么损失，在来之前我了解过其他国家，在这里工资高一点。

你们出发前有被集中过吗

W5：有啊，最后一次去开个会，说具体走得时间。

你什么时候听说这个事情的呢？

W5：前年8月份，9月报名的，那时我在杭州本来要去新加坡，后来没去成。我的亲戚也是中天公司的，从以色列工作了五年回来的，然后告诉我的。

交了多少钱？

W5：2个月，2万多，是劳务费用。

考试吗？

W5：考得，考技术，去当地的技校，然后就在家等消息，从前年34月份就在忙出国打工的事。后面就陆陆续续把钱交完。7月份出来。

什么时候知道你确切知道上飞机了呢？

W5：7月17日，7月20日到这里，休息了一天开工的。

工作强度跟国内比呢？

W5：应该比国内强一点，

你现在一天工作几个小时？

W5：早上7、8点到晚上6点。周六半天，周日休息。11个小时肯定有的

给你工资怎么算的呢

W5：我们不是老板我们也不清楚，4个月纯收入3万7吧，这个情况在这边已经算差不多最好了。

你们这边环境很好，而且人际关系处的很好。你在这边保险有吗？

W5：有，这里一份国内一份。

这里有人生病了怎么办？

W5：去看呀。由后勤专门负责的，罗马尼亚人会带你去的。

费用怎么算？

W5：药是免费的。打针要钱的，十几个列伊。

谁出的钱呢？

W5：保险公司出钱。

你平常业余在这里干什么？

W5：买了个电脑玩玩。

Case No. 13: Worker1; Worker2			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	43
Family status	Brother, uncle, wife	No. of Children	1
Original Prov.		Occupation	
Time Of Arriving		Permit valid till	Feb. 17
Agency Fees	Above 80000 RMB	Debts	58000 RMB
Work hours per week (in Contract)	230 per month (C)	Average Wage(in contract)	8000-10000RMB
Work hours per week	72	Average Wage	4000RMB
Income in China (before)			

你怎么知道这个消息的呢？就是你当时是怎么想着去出来做工的呢？

W：出来做工啊，出来做工么上次我们那里中介公司各个工资都8000-10000。

那原来有没有朋友出来过呢？

W：没有。当时我来的时候也是不知道这个罗马尼亚，我们是报纸报道去以色列。钱也交了，等了将近要八九个月了。

你几月份开始交钱的？

W：几月份？早就早就交了，已经交了将近要一年了。那时候到以色列，后来他说到罗马尼亚很好。

中介介绍的吗？哪个中介公司？有资质吗？

W：恒顺公司，这也不大清楚，我们也不知道。公司开在如皋。

你们都是从如皋过来的。就你这个事情，你是几月份看到公告的呢？

W：不是

一开始是去找中介的吗？

W：不是，一开始就是从家里面出来，出来了之后这里的中介到机场接人，到机场来接以后，到了这个罗马尼亚来，到了之后就是安排我们住宿，安排好了以后他就又拿了一张合同单子过来。

又拿了一份？

W：恩，对，就是再签一份。他们再拿一张合同出来，他就是说你签也好，不签也好，你不签，反正你就回去，回去就没有钱给你。我们是什么意思，我们就是当时来的时候你退给我们8万3我们现在就可以回去，签这份合同反正也没有说，在家里说的是在三个月以后“分包”，到这里就没有了，这个就谈不上了。

这个“分包”就是有多少可以赚多少？

W：恩，就是说凭你的能力，你有技术干多少就拿多少。

在广东代办的是什么人呢？

W：罗马尼亚人

你们几个人在一起做呢？

W：十四个人。

十四个人，都一批的么？

W：恩，对，我们就是十四个人，还有是中远的，8个是中远的，就我们六个是恒生的。

当时他们有没有提每个月多少钱？

W：当时他就说8000-10000人民币。

有合同吗？

W：家里的合同是德文的，就你签个字。就合同来说，我们应该有一份，但我们又没有。这什么合同不合同。

那你这个8万多元是分几次交的呢？

W：一次性交清的。

你是几月份交的呢？

W：出来之前，一开始交了两万块钱，押金押在那面，这个很早就交了。一开始是报的以色列的。当时交了2万元，要是你觉得不好了不去了，这两万元也不退给你的，就没了。

你这8万元都自己的吗？

W：都是贷款借的，我们农村，哪有那么多钱啊。借了5万8。

这个都向谁借的呢？

W：向我亲戚借的，哥哥啊什么的。哥哥借给我3万多。还有么就舅舅什么的借给我。还有到我丈母娘那里拿了点，拼拼凑凑6万不到点。

你的钱从哪里接过来的？

W2：亲戚朋友。出去前他说的好好的嘛，一个月八九千，我想一两年就能把钱还掉。人家都不借，你出去不是挣大钱，谁肯借给你。

W：现在到这个地方，一干活，比家里的工资还要低。

问亲戚借的钱要利息吗？

W2：有，现在钱都不好借了，哪像以前，总要给点利息的。人家从银行里把钱取回来了，你肯定要给人家一点利息。还有人去借贷款的，还几个人都是贷款过来的。我们干了将近六个月，只拿了两万多。

工资怎么给你的呢？

W：每个月都发清的。每个月30、31号。

他是怎么给你的呢？打到国内？

W：这里的钱给现款，给列伊给我们的。

那你们这些钱怎么办呢？始终存在这里？

W：不，汇款汇回家

那你汇费要多少钱啊？

W：也挺贵的，要50美金。

几个月汇一次啊？

W：两个月，因为贷款的嘛，所以一直要汇回去

那你们今天想干嘛呢？找你们领导？

W：有一个人今天下午已经到过这里了，他们说好了我们今天晚上回过来

想跟他怎么表达你们的意思和想法？

W：反正我们现在要问问他我们这个事情现在怎么解决。

你的意思是工资太低了？

W：对，和原来说的差距太大

那你现在每天工作多少小时啊

W：十二个小时

他们现在按什么来付钱啊？

W：我也不知道，按小时吧

你们有工资单吗？

W：没有什么工资单，就按列伊给我们

按列伊的话，每个月有两千多列伊，1：2四千多

W：去掉1500的费用，比国内多一点点，主要是当初交的费用太高

那你们现在每个月要开销多少

W：向我们现在这个样子，节约一点，大概开销掉300多列伊

很节约，烟都不抽了啊？

W：不抽了，都戒掉了

W2：小孩要上学，没办法，还要还钱

住的条件怎么样？

W2：住得还可以，六个人一个房间，上下铺

有配什么设施吗？电视机有吗？

W2：没有，什么都没有，就一个床铺

W：周末没事只有打打扑克

工作一周五天半还是五天啊

W2：六天

六天啊，那他2000列伊怎么算出来的

W2：不知道

就六百多美金是吧，那他们有底薪？好像是压着他们的最低底薪。但是你们一天十二个小时，是按小时来算的啊。那管你们的是罗马尼亚人，中介管不管呢？

W2：不管。反正他们现在就一个带班的，我们就听他的

那你们现在手里是什么签证呢？

W2：一年，到7月18日

那结束后还可以续的咯？

W：我们也不是很清楚的，但护照2月17日到期

签证在你们身边吗？让我看一下你们过来签证的类型。过来是做工的签证。那你们现在4000元的工资，觉得怎么样呢？

W2：太少了，交8万多，现在每月只拿4000，等于两年要白干

中介本身跟你们说做几年啊

W2：五年。两年白干，你说三年能赚多少钱，还不如在家干活。

如果你下面还有个弟弟要来，你还让他来伐？

W2：肯定不让，我们都想回去了。他现在什么时候退给我钱，我什么时候就走。真的，现在是没有办法。

就是不想做了

W2：对，实在没办法。你说我借了那么多钱，什么时候能还清。

现在还在做是吧

W2：没办法，没做一分钱都没有，否则也没得吃。我们很省的，一个一块钱的面包分几天吃。

那他们管饭吗？有补贴吗？

W2：没有，午饭都是自己带的

那其他有什么补贴吗？

W2：有的，发小票，可以买吃的，做一天发一天的，3.31列伊，就是政府补贴的那个

你们在做的是什么项目呢？

W2：装修五星级宾馆

你说中国人14个在做？

W2：就我们14人，剩下的全是罗马尼亚人。罗马尼亚人的工资比我们的高。做小工的还比我们高

知不知道他们有没有给你们买过保险？有没有去看过病呢？

W2：不清楚，看病的是领导带去的，有没有付钱不清楚。他们也没有说，语言不通，有个什么还要叫翻译来。我们工资低跟他们说等于对牛弹琴，他也听不懂。

那你来的时候跟以色列那个合同签了吗？

W2：签了，不签就回去。我们当时也说了，把8万3还给我们，他们不肯。

想家吗？小孩几岁了

W2：想啊，小孩过年7岁

你们有没有认识朋友在这里做感觉挺好的？

W2：没有，打听一个都没有。每个都想回家，都叫没钱

罗马尼亚人做几个小时？

W2：8个小时

你们有没有跟罗马尼亚人说过呢？

W2：说了没用

他们8个小时就下班啦？

W2：没办法呀，为了赚钱，否则没钱啊。你做8个小时也可以，不加班也行，没钱啊。不要说8个小时，为了赚钱，按小时来算的，到月底就给你这些钱。

你们有人做过8个小时的吗？

W2：第一个月就是正常的，做8个小时。我们第一个月拿了1600，少了400列伊。

有没有看过工资条，他们是怎么算的

W2：看也看不懂，只有数据，都是罗文。

那就是到现在一直是糊里糊涂的？

W2：所以我们知道我们领导来了快点找他们，找解决办法。

你们希望你们领导怎么来处理？跟你们老板商量？还是想让他们把你们带回去？

W2：回去也好。

如果你们领导肯出面跟你们老板商量，工资补一点啊，工时减少一点啊，你们愿不愿意？

W2：只要有保证的我们都可以。根据罗马尼亚法律是不可能的，他们就说根据他们法律是不可能的。否则罗马尼亚本公司的人要叫了。这是不可能的。当时我们来的时候跟他们说过，他们说如果想在他们工地上做的就听他们的。做就是这样，不想做也没关系。我们来的那个时候，干了9天，那时发过一次钱，发了400列伊，那时我们就停下来了，做不下去了。就跟他们说，他们叫说，你们愿意在这里干的就这样，不愿意干的就回去。说退钱跟他们没关系。

你认识你们工作组的人吗？

W2：不认识

是谁过来的？

W2：说是如皋市副市长也不知道是秘书长，我不是很清楚。

Case No. 14: Worker			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	43
Family status		No. of Children	
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	
Time Of Arriving	Sep. 7	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	83000 RMB	Debts	80000 RMB
Work hours per week (in Contract)	230 per month (C)	Average Wage(in contract)	
Work hours per week	60-66	Average Wage	
Income in China (before)			

你来之之前有没有听说这边的事情呢？

W：听到了，他们欧亚公司还叫我们出来，说这里天天有活

那他不知道这边出事了？

W：不知道他知道不知道，12月份他应该知道了，报纸上都有了。

对，12月份的时候很多工人都已经没有工作了，都已经停工了。

W：12月份我们那边又出来20多个人。

又出来20多个人，听说这次罗马尼亚整个是税是减了25%是吧？

W：老板讲现在讲工资降了25%，工人降了12.5%。

那你们又少啦？那你们现在一个月拿多少钱

W：对，上个月拿了3600RMB

3600RMB，那再去掉是360，400，去掉400块钱

W：那就挣不到钱了，出国出国，说的根本不一样

那你们刚来的时候工资怎么样？

W：九月份刚来半个月罗，10月份稍微好一点，大概搞了5000 RMB多一点

那跟你们当初承诺的还是差很多

W：还是差很多，当初说要10000，10000多列伊

那干活强度怎么样？

W：强的干的时间长么肯定累的罗，怎么会不累呢？

那么时间多长呢？

W：现在好一点，大概9个小时。夏天的时候他们新来的要干14个小时，一个小时是3欧元，14个小时的话一个月干400多个小时，现在干这么多小时也没有用

觉得这边的机械化程度怎么样？觉得他们的工具啊？工具跟国内比怎么样？

W：这个都一样的。工具基本上差不多。

Case No. 15: Worker1; Workers2			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	43
Family status		No. of Children	
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	
Time Of Arriving	Jan. 10 2009	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	90000 RMB	Debts	80000 RMB
Work hours per week (in Contract)	230 per month (C)	Average Wage(in contract)	
Work hours per week	60-66	Average Wage	
Income in China (before)			

你是哪里人

W：江苏海门

什么时候来的？

W：我们来了。刚来，二十天还不到，1月10日出来的

那你们中介为什么放你们出来呢？

W：中介，我跟他讲了，我们报纸都看到了。那边中介他讲了，我们的公司正常运转。你放心大胆去好了。

那你们有没有跟你们老乡过来了已经在这边的人联系呢？

W：这里我一个都不认识。

中介费交了多少？

W：我交了9万。他说你放心大胆去好了。所以假如回去我们拿不到钱的话，他也别想活了，我们也无法活了，我们回去无法交代。这个老板心太黑了。

W2：要回去肯定钱要还给我们。

女：你们都是瓦工？

W：我们是一行10个人（1月10日过来的）

那你在这边做了一个月了是吧？

W：没有，没有，还不到一个月

那还没有拿工资是吧？也不知道薪水怎么样

W：没有没有，就垫了生活费，450列伊

住的条件怎么样？

W：不好，我们11个人住在一个大屋里。

卫生间有没有？

W：有

取暖机有没有？

W：取暖机有

W2：主要问题是什么呢？前两天一个老外开了会跟我们讲，我们的工资要降25%，我们的中介费也要降，这个问题要跟中原的老板讲，跟我们讲是没用的。这个你跟办事处的人讲这个问题还可以，你跟我们讲没有用的，这个问题我们不懂的。

你们知道他们降工资的原因吗？

W：他们讲金融危机啊。像我们几个人就是金融危机以后出来的。

W2：就是罗马尼亚大使馆对伐？向我们国内发回报纸，他讲我们公司正常运转，你放心。

你们当地的海门中介说的？

W：我们是欧亚。欧亚公司

那你们来了之后老板对你们态度怎么样？

W：没有直接接触过。

那都是谁跟你们接洽的？
W：就是我们这边的负责总管

是罗马尼亚人吗？
W：中国人。负责我们打工的。

那他们是怎么出来的，中介出来的，跟你们工人还不一样？出来就没有人管了？
W2：不一样的，公司也不一样的

灰卡有没有？
W2：没有

那保险有吗？
W：在国内办的，好像人身保险什么的是一个半月
W2：上次我们这里有个受伤的，老板跟他私了的。一般都是私了。

老板给了他多少钱？
W2：老板好像给了他8万块钱，后来回去治疗的。被砸伤的，趴在地上半天没起来。

Case No. 16: Worker1-6			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	Over 40
Family status		No. of Children	
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	
Time Of Arriving	May 2008	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	90000-100000 RMB	Debts	40000-50000 RMB
Work hours per week (in Contract)		Average Wage(in contract)	10000-12000RMB
Work hours per week	45-55	Average Wage	4000-5000RMB
Income in China (before)			

祝师傅你在这里多久了？

W：来了6个多月了，5月份来的。我来了以后你们就过来额

您是哪儿人？

W：海安的

您怎么过来的？那你跟他们是一起过来的？

W：对，跟他们一起过来的。

你怎么会想到要出来打工呢？

W：我在以色列干过5年

在以色列干过5年。那在以色列的情况怎么样？听说跟罗马尼亚比以色列还蛮好的。

W：跟罗马尼亚比还好的，现在也不好。那边以色列到期了必须回家

但这边不到期大家都要回家吗？

W：这是罗马尼亚的政策，谁都无法改变

您每天的工作是什么情况的？

W：就是工作安排给他们，所有的事都要管的

那你是跟罗马尼亚雇主那边有接触吗？

W：跟以色列老板，罗马尼亚的那个劳工一般都是以色列人，很多的

那你每次见到他们之后，财务问题？还是工人如果有什么抱怨的话跟他们都说吗？

W：都会说的，

那他们什么反应？

W：就是不能保证工人工资，就保证有活干

那个这次降工资啊，说这次要降25%

W：那个跟工人没有关系

没有关系？

W：恩，罗马尼亚很多人没有工作干，要竞争

竞争？就是说这次金融危机。

W：就是你不做我做，我不做他做。

W2：家里交的钱太多了，9万、10万，在这里的工资太少

W3：来之前讲的和现在不一样。

你们现在普遍这个情况？

W2：我们现在金融危机请我们出来，现在这个少了。他请我们出来的，我把报纸都给他们看了。

报纸给他看了是吧？

W2：给我们的钱太少了。这个是赚自己的钱

你们都住在一起吗？

W4：中介费高了，工资低了。就是这个东西。

W3：他还我5万差不多

这些意思都跟罗马尼亚老板说了么？

W4：老早说过了，我刚来就说了。

罗马尼亚那边怎么说？

W4：他跟罗马尼亚没关系啊以色列老板，他也捐不了多少钱。他也只能保证工作，发工资。

那工人有没有说我不干了？

W4：没有说，不知道

你也没有跟这个罗马尼亚的公司直接接触是么？通过以色列人跟他们交流呀？

W4：罗马尼亚他说了我也听不懂，他也不做主，以色列人做主，以色列老板不在的，一般两个礼拜来一次，有时候一个月来一次。那个合同还没有签好。

签什么合同？

W4：就是那个工资降12%，金融危机打下来的。

昨天好像有很多工友在那个使馆那边哦。是不是啊，你们都听说了吧，有没有去啊？你们都在这边干活，没有去是吧？

W4：我们没去，是另一批去的，就在隔壁工地，另外一个工地，前面隔壁小工地。现在回去无法面对自己的亲人，他们两个月说要回去了，9千块，我们9万块

钱都是怎么借的？

W4：亲戚借的，还有贷款的，好多人都贷款的。

你们有谁都是借了高利贷的，让我看一下

W4：有一半的人都是借了钱出来的，否则谁还来这边打工啊。自己的只有10%

W5：我也借了，都是高利贷的，借了5万还有4万

W4：一年利息是100块钱，给他20块

都借了高利贷了？利息是多少？就是一年100块钱，给他20块，就是两分钱的利息啊。两分钱很高了

W5：真的很高啊，但是没办法啊，本来我们想好大概一年可以还清了啊，大概8.9千一个月，我们一年就可以还清了。现在呢？两年都不行了。

你们这边有人生病吗？

W4：生病倒没有，身体都还可以。

W5：没有其他问题，人命不是问题，现在就是钱交的太多。生病他公司给你看的。

就是公司给你们看的吗？

W4：肯定的。

W5：医疗保险。

你们都有保险吗？

W4：这个肯定有的，没有怎么去看病啊。我们每次去看病都不用钱，谁也不用交钱。

那你们这个保单呢？

W4：保单公司里有

W5：想国内一样么，国内这个摔伤啊这个东西啊，病假，额...是工伤，这边怎么样我不知道

W4：这里每个工伤以后都有基本工资的。600吧

W5：1200吧，像那个徐伟军1200列伊

就是这个有人摔伤了，那么他这个月不能干活了，你就可以保证他这个月有1200列伊的收入是么？

W4：还有基本工资

1200列伊是么？那如果说是因为没有项目做，比如说这个月一月份呢天特别冷然后做了两天工没项目做了，或者他材料没有买齐，工人没活干了，这个他们怎么办呢？

W4：这个没有补贴。没有的。一般很少在家休息的

W5：这个没有保障的，以后说不定什么时候没活了。你能保证吗？保证就找你了

W4：这个不能保证，像我们一般的很少在家歇着的，很少的。像那个工地上一

个月都没什么活干，他也在的，他基本上每天都上班的。

有多少人是一月份来的？

W5：我们10个人。

更早来的是哪些？你们几个？

W3：5月份吧

刚一来时候工资还是可以的吧，你们是按小时计算的是吧？

W3：一天9个小时

W4：现在一个月拿了四五千块钱，寄回家里差不多

不如在家里？

W4：两年在这里赚自己的钱，都白干了。两年等于白干。都是离开老婆离开家乡了

W5：我们一行10个人，金融危机后面的，还劝我们出来。这个中国驻罗马尼亚大使馆，可能向国内发回消息了这个建议国内暂缓向罗马尼亚输送工人。还在让我们出来，说工资绝对不会少你的，放心大胆出来。

他说工资绝对不会少你的？

W4：对对，他说不会少的，人民币一个月一万

W5：现在两个月一万

W3：两个月啊？三个月

W4：买点什么啊，这礼拜蔬菜什么价格太高，他们说给我们寄回去一万五

您多大年纪啊？

W6：40多岁

现在在做什么工啊

W6：什么都干

听你口音也是祁东的是吧？

W6：海门的

海门的？

W6：都一个地方。

W5：我们本来就10个人，金融危机后面出来的。看样子我们太傻了，老板太坏了。可能中介的环节太多了，再在我们头上使劲的啃一口

W4：中国肯定也和罗马尼亚签合同的

W5：我们在中介公司都签的什么合同啊，都是英文，把我们卖了。我们都不懂

英文，我要是懂英文我也不到这里来了

那你们签合同的时候怎么办？

W5：中介的说你们放心的签吧，好像这个合同是没用的，你随便签吧

你们签了几份合同

W4：有好几份

都跟谁签的？

W5：中介公司，中介公司老板就说按个字，要么是签字

你们跟这边那个罗马尼亚人签了吗？

W5：没有没有

就跟国内公司签了？

W5：国内中介。

Case No. 17: Worker			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	
Family status		No. of Children	
Original Prov.	Shandong	Occupation	
Time Of Arriving	Sep. 08	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	10000 RMB	Debts	
Work hours per week (in Contract)	40	Average Wage(in contract)	
Work hours per week	60-66	Average Wage	6000RMB
Income in China (before)			

从哪里来的？

W：山东泰安

你们来了多少人，多少兄弟？

W：我们和另一个公司，光我们一个公司就100多人

100多个人？通过一个公司嘛？通过什么中介？

W：中企

中企不是直接到你们那边的吧

W：对，他是下属到小单位。

你们是个小单位一起过来的？

W：我们是三四个吧，但是我们就是泰安么就一个

什么时候来的？

W：九月份来的，他们有七月份来的

九月份刚来的时候工资怎么样？

W：说实在话，现在工资也可以。但是你现在面临着失业，将来工作方面具体落实都在干啊但没有用，现在他们大使馆发来我有个老乡说了现在就这么一个到家的，今天看了账户，到家的就是600块人民币。

几个月的薪水？

W：就一个月的，600块人民币怎么够用，我们在国内也不止，生活费也不够

那你们现在在这边有生活补贴吗？

W：现在没有，什么生活补贴也没有。

最后一次拿薪水是什么时候？

W：就是刚到家，他们刚到家，刚打了钱过去

11月份拿多少？

W：我觉得我们11月份的钱还可以，就是我们面临的下一步怎么办

你们11月份拿多少钱啊。

W：11月份拿6000多

你11月份的拿的是几月份的工资？

W：11月份拿的是10月份的工资；我们现在工资是压两个月

当时是拿了6000多人民币？

W：恩。

11月的工资呢？

W：还没有拿

你现在就是担心你下面降工资或者没活干是不是？

W：对。

你们一起来的7月份来的是哪些啊？

W：都在大使馆，现在都在大使馆，就我们泰安的，加上江苏的什么就是1000多人在那里，不是说我们在闹，现在是国家逼着我们闹，因为不管我们的事情，国家不管中介，不是我们在闹事，我们是拿着10万块钱来的我们不可能闹事。

你们的情况都了解，你们都是借钱出来的是吧？你借了多少钱？

W：最起码80%是借的。

这边有多少人没借钱的啊？

W：哪个没借钱，你说哪个没借钱啊？我要有钱，给我5.6万块钱我都不来。

高利贷还是亲戚朋友借的？

W：现在国家不放贷，不是高利贷哪里去借啊

都借了高利贷啊

W：银行不放贷知道伐？两分的利息，你算一下，你说多少钱

住的怎么样，你住在哪里啊？

W：住的还可以吧，我实话实说，我住的还可以。但这今年两天没有水了，你说可以不可以，我们住的还可以，四个人一个房间。但是我跟你说，下一步，这个地方老板没有什么行动的，我们就不做了

当时来的时候跟谁签的合同的？

W：我现在也不知道他是什么公司

那你跟谁签了合同，来的时候？

W：在家的時候

当时口头说给你多少工资啊

W：我们当时说的是8小时内的一小时3欧

8小时之内的

W：8小时以外的，每小时1.5倍往上翻

那你们就相信了吗？

W：不是我们相信，招工简章上写的。

你在哪里看到这些招工信息？

W：就是招工简章，中远公司，我们在家里都有的，都有。

你当初是怎么到他这报名的？

W：他就是一个劳务中介，然后他上面有到那个国家，到哪个国家的

就是你们自己找过去的？

W：对。

那你们现在情况怎么样，家里有孩子吗？

W：现在我40多了，你说我有没有孩子有没有老婆？现在我们没办法，不是我们闹事昨天我们在大使馆，我听有人讲大使馆有人出来讲，说我们闹事：有这么说的。谁也不要闹事，有什么意思？现在我们是拿了自己的利息来混钱，混不到什么钱，马上饭也吃不饱，说找个说理的地方，现在他说理的地方他不说理，只有找大使馆，大使馆和他们是已获得，没有一个明显的答复。那么现在干什么啊，饿着肚子敲大鼓啊但是完蛋，他们是一伙的。

你们平时和罗马尼亚这边的老板是怎么交流的

W：翻译

每个星期都来跟你们了解一下情况还是怎么样？

W：那是不可能的。那只能说是少。

就是不经常来是吗？

W：现在我们晚上工资，交流工资开会

那你们平时有什么工资不满的地方怎么跟他说？

W：不满你怎么跟他说？跟他说

那他怎么反馈呢？

W：合理的他就答应，不合理就不答应

什么样叫合理的答应你？

W：他觉得合理么。比方说，当时说工资（人民币）是打到家务府，然后再打到我们家里，我们就说这个不合理，后来就发到我们家了，你说发到家务府，没道理的。

他觉得你觉得不合理的呢？你给我举个例子？

W：现在只给我们欧元，现在发给我们列伊，现在我们说工资发到我们手里，我们自己汇回去，他们不肯，这就不合理。

Case No. 18: Worker1;Worker2;Worker3;Worker4			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	24\45\53
Family status		No. of Children	
Original Prov.	Fujian/Jiangsu	Occupation	
Time Of Arriving	Jan. 212009/ Mar. 26 2008	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	71000 RMB	Debts	50%
Work hours per week (in Contract)	8 hours per day	Average Wage(in contract)	2.7euros/hour 1.5 times for overtimes
Work hours per week		Average Wage	5000RMB
Income in China (before)			

你是启东人吗？

W：不，我是福建的

你们是福建的啊，你们福建的是什么情况？什么时候过来的？

W：上个月21日一起过来的

你们是什么几月份过来的？

W2：08年3月底吧

你是哪里的？

W3：我是江苏的启东的

咱们几位工友都是3月份过来的哦，当时过来是通过什么中介啊？

W：都是当地的中介

你们是一个县城的吗？

W：不是的，有的是一个县城的。

您今年多大？

W3：我今年24

那你有多大年纪？

W5：我53

W6：我45岁

中介是亲戚朋友介绍的还是看见他们的广告了？

W：朋友，是朋友介绍骗过来的

朋友介绍的？！跟你们说这个地方好？

W：好，他讲这里一个月会赚1万多

那你朋友是什么人啊？他是在国外干过还是？

W2：就是本地的中介

那他有在国外干过吗？

W：有，有干过

他以前是在哪里干的？

W：澳大利亚

他当时跟你们说来罗马尼亚说这边好？

W：好，当时在这边一个月赚了1万多，还有1.5倍的加班费

那你们那个跟中介当时签合同了没有？

W：合同当然有签的

W2：当时我们在飞机场的时候签的，他说要签好合同才能拿到飞机票

是跟中介签的还是跟谁签的？

W2：跟中介签的

跟你们当时找的中介签的，当时签的是多少钱？工资是怎么结算的？

W2：工资在合同写的是1小时2.7欧，加班就1.5倍，日常工作8小时

您也是这样的吗？合同也是在机场签的？

W：基本上一般的都是在机场签的

W3：他们两个没有签，就是签最后一张，上面都没有看到

那当时交费是交了多少钱？

W：7万1

你交了7万1包括签证和其他认证材料？

W：签证是中介弄的，包括在7万1里面

那你呢？

W2：我那个护照，自己以前就做过

你以前在国外做过？

W2：我以前做流水么，没出去

那交了多少钱呢？

W2：跟他们差不多也是7万1

您是7万1，你是差不多7万1，恩，那个当时都是借的吗还是怎样？自己的？亲戚朋友借的还是？

W：高利贷的

高利贷的？你也是高利贷，你呢？

W2：我差不多一半是自己的，一半时贷的

高利贷多少钱的利息啊？

W：利息是1分5厘

当时跟你们说来罗马尼亚是2.7欧一个小时8个小时，超过8个小时是1.5倍的工资，来了之后呢？

W：还有伙食

到了罗马尼亚之后呢？

W：来了之后没有带水电的

W2：他还有说在飞机场签的合同不算，要到罗马尼亚的时候还有一份合同签。我们在继承那个合同到这边没有用

是跟罗马尼亚的雇主签的？那你们在罗马尼亚这边签的合同是中文还是罗马尼亚文？

W2：我们在这边没有签合同，以前过来我们在这边做了1个月零几天因为没有签合同跟他们闹过，后来他们答应给足够的工时

也就按小时算了？你来了1个多月因为没有合同闹过事，当时有没有拿到工资过？一个月应该是4月份，有没有拿到工资？

W2：拿到的是第一个月的工资

3月几号到的？

W2：3月26，27号

那就是拿3月26日到4月26日的工资，多少钱？

W2：工资不是那个时候拿到的，他要压你几天，是5月20日拿到的，现在更久了

那你当时就是5月份拿到了3月26日到4月26日的工资，拿多少钱？

W2：拿了543欧吧

543欧，这个是一个月的工资？

W2：这是一个月再加3天的工资

再往后呢？

W2：再往后我们就是罢工，5月20日罢工，罢工了19天。我们福建人比较少，所以就是按照江苏人怎样我们就是怎么样。因为我们人比较少，但是要少数服从多数，我们是坚持要签了合同才肯干，江苏人认为可以继续再干么，然后工时答应给你够了就好了，然后他们就换工地，给你足够工时让你干，他们同意了，我们福建人比较少，少数服从多数么就跟着他们过来继续干。

继续换到这边干了，干了之后工资怎么样？工资怎么给的？

W2：工资还是这样的，没什么变化。

5月份的工资是什么时候给的？

W2：5月份的工资是6月20日左右给的，最少要拖半个月

罢工的19天工资一分都没有？

W2：恩，是的。

当时拿了多少钱？

W：311欧吧

311欧是11天的工资吗？还是？

W3：半个月，是16天的

十几天的工资，那就接下来一直在这边做？反正工资差不多平均下来每个月给多少钱？

W2：五千吧，平均500欧元左右

你是哪里人？

W3：我是江苏人，江苏祁东的

那你这钱是达到你福建老家的账户上还是给你的？

W2：他是帮我们直接打到福建老家的

那你在这边他给你生活补贴吗？

W2：没有

那你在这边生活怎么办？

W2：他就是一个礼拜发给你这边的110列伊

那这就是生活补贴？

W2：这不是生活补贴，发给你的要从工资里面扣

那你现在有什么打算呢？有什么想法？希望怎样？

W2：希望他们给份具体合同，我们提出来的要求应该达到，按照合同签的2年我们肯定赚不到，要赚够本钱，就是合同能多做几年。

你还想在这边做吗？

W2：要求达到了

你的要求就是跟原来合同上说的900欧元或者多少欧元一个月是不是，或者是讲定的2.7欧元一个小时？

W2：还有加班费

满足你的要求就可以继续在这边做，他要达不到呢？你现在拿到灰卡了吗？

W2：灰卡拿到了

拿了多久的？

W2：是7月份拿的，7月15日拿的，到09年7月

那到期了以后想回去吗？

W2：回去当然想回去，最好是把中介费退给我？

打个比方如果家里还有亲戚想出来，还让他出来吗？

W2：不让，怎么会让，福建都不会来了

你们老乡都不要来了吗？

W：只有我们第一批过来，没有第二批来了，中介都不敢了

中介还在招人吗？

W：不招，不敢招，福建肯定没有人会来了

W3：福建只有来第一批跟我们3月20日一起来的，没有第二批了，我们都是江苏的，都是山东啊，吉林的人。因为我们福建家乡人相信我们出来的人，第一批过去知道情况讲一下，我们福建人会相信。像他们山东人那边不相信来的老乡说的话，后来就跟过来。我们第一批来的就打电话回去，说这边赚不到钱的，你们不要过来了，我们福建就是我弟弟过来，以后后面都没人来。

女：你现在是什么工种

W4：我是按照工种分配的，其他人不是的。

那你们在国内都是做建筑的吗？你是不是？

W2：我不是，我是临时干的

那你们当初从国门内出来的时候有没有给你们考试啊什么的？

W：有考

那有没有什么资格证书吗？

W：没有

有没有给你们学历啊？

W：没有，当时有应付一下啊，要交了120元。

120块，福建的人除了你们3个其他人在哪里？

W：在飞机场那边的

他们也是跟你们一起过来的吗？

W2：跟我们一起过来的

你们在一家公司做吗？

W2：本来是在一家公司的，然后因为上次闹的事被他们分开了

那你们现在老板不一样吗？

W2：中介老板一样的，这边老板不一样

就是罗马尼亚的老板不一样，公司不一样。他们在飞机场那边做，那工资怎么样呢？有没有跟他们交流过？

W2：他们工资比我们这边更低，3000多

有多少工人在那边？
W：飞机场还有20几个人，他们在那做建筑工人，也是我们福建人

他们就是罗马尼亚工人，就是普通工人是吗？
W3：他们工资比我们高

跟你们工种一样的工资怎么样？
W：工种一样，工资不一样，待遇不一样

那工资比你们高到什么程度呢？
W：他们一小时5欧到6欧

税前税后？知不知道？有税吗？
W2：肯定税纳完了，我们跟罗马尼亚本地人聊天的时候，他们说我们钱很少他们钱很多，肯定是交好税了工资发下去的。

Case No. 19: Worker			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	41
Family status		No. of Children	
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	
Time Of Arriving	Mar. 21	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	81300 RMB	Debts	50%
Work hours per week (in Contract)	8 per day	Average Wage(in contract)	2.7€ per hour
Work hours per week		Average Wage	
Income in China (before)			

你们祁东都是一个情况吗？
W：我们住在一起的。

你有多大年纪了？
W：我41了

您是几月份过来的？

W：就3月21日

你们合同也是上飞机的时候签合同然后给你票还是怎样？

W：我们是先交钱，再签合同的

什么时候签的合同？

W：就是我们临走的时候上飞机了。海门没有和我们签合同。是交了钱过了半个月再签合同的。他们说那个到罗马尼亚还要签的，没有用的，现在我们知道了，都是在骗我们。

当时中介有没有跟你说工资怎么算的？

W：当初说是2.7欧的

那每天干多少小时？

W：一天8小时。

你是交了多少钱？

W：81300

Case No. 20: Worker1;Worker2;Worker3;Worker4;Worker5;Worker6			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	45/43/42/43/39/42
Family status	Brother, sister,wife	No. of Children	1/1/1/1/2/1
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	
Time Of Arriving		Permit valid till	
Agency Fees		Debts	80000 RMB
Work hours per week (in Contract)		Average Wage(in contract)	13000RMB
Work hours per week		Average Wage	
Income in China (before)			

您多大了，有小孩么？

W：45，有一个

小孩多大了？

W：17

您呢？

W2：19，上有老下有小的，现在小孩花钱都是贷款借的。

钱都是贷款的？

W2：哪里有钱，我们都是做泥工的，钱都是借的，没有钱的。

W：都贷款的

W2：说实话。现在是孩子大了，没办法，出来搏一下。哪来钱啊，反正听人家说到外国就是挣大钱嘛，反正就到处借了出来。挣到了还给他们。

您多大年纪了？

W3：43

怎么会想到来罗马尼亚打工的呢

W3：说这里很好能赚到一万三，三个月以前试用期，9000-10000，三个月以后13000到家。

那你们出来怎么找到中介的？

W：我们都是代办的介绍的：

你们熟悉这个人吗？

W：反正都住在一个乡的，他就是住在一起的也有好几个。

您小孩多大了啊？

W3：我小孩19了。没办法了，我们就是靠泥工干干活也赚不到多少钱，他们说去国外挺好的。

你们家里面还有兄弟吗？

W：还有两个哥哥，一个妹妹

那钱跟他们借了吗？

W：当然借了，怎么会不跟他们借，我哥哥基本上也没多少钱，就是这个五千，那个六千这样子借的，还有一部分呢要给他们一点利息，没办法了

多高的利息啊？

W3：都借不到的，人家都要存银行的，我们说好的利息是1分

你们是江苏欧亚公司的是伐？欧亚公司好像1月份又出来一批人？

W：对啊，对啊，也是我们那个带头的都在一起的

那这批人出来之前有没有跟你们联系或者跟你们家人联系？

W：我们都不知道的

都不知道消息的吗？

W2：反正我是不知道他们陪出来

W3：你听我说，说实话，我打过两个电话，打给我一个朋友，朋友是他的小舅子，我打给他跟他说这里的情况不是那么好，不太理想，说了以后呢，中介公司说了9000块钱一个月，但是每个月帮你打600欧回去，他们刚来了一个月，什么情况还不知道。他们就出来了，我叫他们不要出来，出来也没用。

你多大年纪了？

W4：我今年43

小孩多大了？

W4：16岁

您多大了？

W5：39

小孩呢？

W5：两个，一个12岁，还有一个5岁

你们现在到这里感觉怎么样？

W：现在工资差的太大了。你要这样算的，本来说做4年的，我们就是交了8万嘛，要是一年赚了6万，那就有4万块钱进账了是吧，现在两年，你本钱要更加大起来，更加一半了。

您多大年纪了？

W6：42

小孩多大了？

W6：17。我挣不到钱，我怎么回去！

W：现在经济危机，那时11点，现在8点，也不会相差这么多的。不是经济危机，就是经济危机也不会相差这么多的。本来说给我们1万多，现在7千多，差距太大了。

W4：什么经济危机啊，我们本来就赚的够少了。现在更少了。我们过来的时候到现在很难看见老板。现在把我们放在我们住的地方。什么都不管。煤气没了也不

管，洗澡没了也不管。

你们有困难跟谁说？

W4：我们连基本的要求都没有

W：夏天没有空调，现在我们要洗澡的吧，一个星期洗一次吧

W4：根本没有热水，告诉人家我们20个人一起住，走来走去的，将给人家听没人相信

W：现在我们住的就是猪棚，养猪场，我们那边就是没人搞卫生。我们没有时间，早上5点起床，吃饭，吃好饭就过来，晚上回去都看不见了，谁能打扫卫生，你现在什么都不管，也不管一下。就是没人管，什么事情都不管。就星期天搞一下。

W3：我们6点半过来，在这里等一个小时，有10个多小时，每天都这样

W4：早上就坐在那边等一个小时，老板不把我们当人。我们出来的时候说好了汇欧元的，现在说帮我们都打回去了，我们要欧元的时候说没有。

W：越换越低了。

W4：那天打回去的钱是银行是8.85，我们拿到的是8.63

W：他们还在里面赚钱的。他们说星期一到账的，我们拿就星期二了

W4：哪里这样子的啊，上个月这样，20个月不得了，现在我们江苏人加起来，我们大老板大概150多个工人，每个月要多少了，起码30几万。他欧元放在那边不动。就用低的汇率给你。

W：还不如在家里挣钱。

W3：我们那个蛇头就过来了，就那天，罢工了以后过来的。我们就跟他说，我们把罗马尼亚的合同也签一下。他说我马上给你想办法，你等一下，到现在还没有，6、7个月，那不是骗人吗。我们这么多人，我们回去了以后把他肉吃下，把他皮啃下来。

W4：交了那么多钱，他们都不顾的，太狠心了。

Case No. 21: Worker1; Worker2; Worker3			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	29
Family status		No. of Children	
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	
Time Of Arriving		Permit valid till	
Agency Fees		Debts	
Work hours per week (in Contract)		Average Wage(in contract)	
Work hours per week		Average Wage	
Income in China (before)			

你们在这里住得条件怎么样？

W：这里的宿舍环境不太好，我们第一次在宿舍12人一个房间。

你们这里洗澡有没有热水啊？

W：没有，根本没有

那洗澡怎么办？

W：自己烧开水

这个灶头一共就三个吗？

W：一共是四个小灶头，我们没办法就买了电磁炉，都是自己买的，两百多元

W2：买了电磁炉还有有问题的，电！像我们这个冰箱，没有速冻的。冬天，把东西放在外面比放在冰箱里好一点

W：点不能用。给的灶头再多几个，有的晚上回来烧，一个个挨着来，最后一个要到很晚，我们就是从工地上回来，坐大巴，然后就踏进这个大门，我们那么多人老是一起搞卫生，你觉得有劲吗？我一直打扫算多了，十次有八次，遇到节日什么我就去搞卫生，不搞像什么样子。我搞了以后，他们才慢慢搞起来的。你不搞他也不搞，有的人素质差。

W3：在这里真的没意思，热水没有，灶头不够用，冰箱等于没的，什么也没有

W：我有时也发发牢骚，跟他们说，自己家里面不可能搞成这样，肯定比这里搞得好，有的人家比我还搞得干净，我现在看看住得一塌糊涂

W2：我情愿在工地上上班，不想回这个宿舍，说心里话

W：那边现在还有一点臭，特别是夏天。以前我们专门有罗马尼亚人过来，每星期搞两次。每个人帖3欧。20个月就是600欧。我们来的时候这个地贴都没有的，都是我们自己搞的。包括里面现在是隔开的。

你们是山东人跟山东人在一起是吗？

W：他们那边山东人住在那边，他们要什么有什么，他们比我们要宽敞一点，平方是一样的，都是25。他们15个人我们20个人，你算算，只给你0.3的平方给你住。

W2：就像你们里面放衣服的柜子，都是你们自己做的。都是自己做的，包括刚才进去拉的那个门啊，也是我们自己做的。里面就是空的，什么都没有的

W2：说实话。我还长这么大，活了29岁，我还从来没这么过。

Case No. 22: MWorker 1; MWorker 2; MWorker3			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	44
Family status	married	No. of Children	1
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	Plumber and electrician
Time Of Arriving	Aug. 16	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	96000 RMB	Debts	
Work hours per week (in Contract)	55	Average Wage(in contract)	12000-14000 RMB
Work hours per week	60	Average Wage	Over 3000 RMB
Income in China (before)	30000/year		

罢工后，您就你们工作的情况给我讲一下

MMW2：那个老总叫吴某某，他去了，他去了以后，大概25、26去的，1月份，我不清楚了，就是吴某某，他是北京过来的老总。

你们好像是88个人从亚细一起到大使馆？

MMW2：我们是12月3日

12月3日到加勒斯特大使馆，坐火车过来？

MMW2：坐火车过来的。

那么这当中你大概记得有多少工作组和你们一样有关的人过来呢？第一次是谁过来的呢？

MMW2：是这样的，他们来了以后，我们听说了，他们来了，我们也赶到了。其实我们也是XX公司的，其实我们7个人的团，7个人走了，他们死活不承认，他说的，我们名单没有，没有他的，你们不是我们的，你们不要找我了，没办法，找不到，他死活不承认了，他就踢皮球了，死活不承认了，结果呢，到什么时候我们确认了呢？就是可能把他急的不得了了那个时候，以下了命令，就是凡是什么劳务公司的，像我们县的，还有南通像我们公司的，全部一起去中央开会，开了一个会。开的会怎么开的呢，听说没有28个小时不行。他们中午就是方便面，不认识的赶快离开，一定要采取措施把这些人全部找回来，搭飞机在腊月29日把人找回来。我们呢，就南通中远的王爱琴也是开会的，开了28小时。他一回来以后南通的时候又到南通开会了，他也去了，立马飞罗马尼亚。到了腊月28，一个就是我们吴某成，还有那个法人代表王爱琴，他们两个人跟我们见面的，是这样说的，反正就把这个事情解决掉，承认全劝回来。

那你们那批人，第一个是什么时候回来的

MMW2：大概11月14日左右。

当时，这13个人跟你们是一批的。

MMW2：这13个人怎么去的呢？我们过去呢，中远公司一共三批人，我们第三批，那是24人，24个人里面，我们有7个人，他们回来13个，还有几个是先回来的，就是回来之后，总共这批人是24个人。他们是在11月份，大概11月，可能14日左右，他们回来了，就回来问中远公司要钱，我们呢？我们先不回来，他们叫我们回来，一起回来，我们24人一起去的，我们说，我们不回来，我们还在那住，对于这个11月份，那时候，你说的话，他们那个时候要回来，还没有拿一个月的工资，8、9月份，8月份我们是做了十几天，9月份又是不全，只有10月份。10月份的工资呢，按道理说25日发，但是老外一个月压一个月，11月25日，那是11月十几日时我们10月份工资还没拿到手，就不知道拿多少，我们说的，你们回来，我们不回来，我们跟他不是一个工地，我们要回来的时候把10月份工资表交了走，回来了打官司什么的就没证据了，结果我们就禁食，11月25日本来要发工资，结果他拖了几天，到了29日发工资的，就老外啊，29日发工资的时候，我们就把工资表啊当时不给我们，从他们那抢下来了，拿了纸以后我们还想再忍耐，看情况，结果呢，他们的老板中前的，他们说你不发，只好走了，我们跟他们一起走，在走之前，那个就是卢旺公司大老板，也跟我们说了，就是跟我们谈判，就是上海有个杀人案，留学两个人就是到法院，他们3个说，大老板说了，你们要么在这干，你们的工资是罗马尼亚人的双倍了，那个愿意在这开始干，不愿意啊，要么打苦工，要么回国。当时就默认了，因为到最后提出因为人都要走了，我们那个工地从29日，黄金龙那个人多，我们不是一个工地，分开了，大老板就这样说，你们愿意干就干。罗马尼亚的，他们说没办法了只好走了，那时候，我们也跟着一起走。

他们发给了你们多少工资？

MMW2：那时候10月份了，11月份拿10月份的工资。发了1660列伊。如果1：2的话就3000多一点，这个月有什么特殊情况呢？这个月是上班时间最长，那个天气蛮好的，干了最长，天数最多的一个月，这个最多才拿了这么多钱，天气不好，就要少一点，1300多。

你尊姓大名啊？

MMW2：姓卢，卢国良，像我的工资10月份比他们还稍微多一点，1578，这是我的。现在这个事情发生以后呢？你帮我们，我们就好多一个渠道，肯尼亚宾馆，那个大使馆安排我们住那里，这个事情就大使馆叫去了，我们11月份的工资没有拿，好，结果没有办法，就发10月份的工资，也可能工资表给我们，那个十个人一分工资表，就发给我们，就这些工资，这个事情发生以后，现在我们最大的问题出现哪里？就是我们正月初五，大概不是初五就是初六，我们县的常务副县长过去了，正月初五过去以后，他也跟我们谈了，说我们这个事情要把它处理掉，我们也说好了，结果2月6日这天脱管了

那你们有见过南通市的领导吗？

MMW2：南通市外建局的局长，正月初二。

别的领导有见过吗？

MMW2：没有。

就你们每个人都去签字了吗？在哪里签的呢？

MMW2：在罗马尼亚的旅馆里面。当时南通市杨县长和吴局长拍胸口，你们放心好了，海安县副县长说，副局长代表政府说话，如果你们拿不到钱问我拿。按我们现在，既然你这个县长都这样得了，那我们还有什么不相信政府的，这是第一，第二就是那个鉴定局的工作组啊也是这样处理的，就回去以后钱拿多少才拿多少，河北山东的也是这样处理的，他们回去以后钱全部到位了。河北山东是这样处理的，我们江苏人统一这样，我们说这样不行，杨县长说给江苏人统一一个表格格式，后来我们几个人做出了让步，也不能让你们工作不好做。就是经过谈判来合计九万六，回来的后三天内先拿5万，其余部分在4月30日之前基本到位，在这个谈判死后还发生一个事情，发生什么事情呢？就是有一个承诺不在我们这，是个什么谈判书呢，就是王爱琴写的承诺书的承诺书，什么内容呢？就是其中有关键一条，就是在我们回来之前就一个人已经打了5万，先回来这批人就没，反正没事，可以去问我拿，有这个承诺书的，我们看了以后就摆在文件夹里，还有一份我们看了以后也没有盖公章，就看看，也不让我们看，他有一个这个承诺书，现在我们就是回来以后呢？就是拿不到这个钱了，就是到出人员国服务部门。

出国人员服务中心，这个是什么地方？县委的？

MMW2：海安县出国人员服务中心，有这个地址，我就是过去要钱，是那个郑副

局长接待我们的，一下飞机的时候他接我们回家的。

你们杨县长没跟你们一起回来吗？

MMW2：杨县长，还有个事情，就是回来以后叫我们到海安县出国人员服务中拿钱，我们是2月11日晚上到海安的，估计有十多天了，5万元还没拿到，以为还在罗马尼亚没有回来。杨县长肯定回来了，打电话给杨县长手机，刚开始有人接电话，大概这一次有两万到，以后随便哪个打电话，他都不接。我们找外事局郑局长，还有出国人员服务中心，他们有时不在，有时不知道。我们也没办法，就是这个球啊踢来踢去，就是拿不到钱，就是不讲信誉，你懂伐？叫我们实在不行就打官司。

那打官司，你现在问题是你什么都没有？

MMW2：打官司有个问题，就是没有证据。

MMW2：没有证据

MMW2：杨县长吴局长拍过胸脯了，你们放心，我们回去就拿钱，到中远公司要打人了，有这个可能的吧，要时问他要钱，他没钱，要打架闹事了，不去，我们在上飞机前几分钟给了明确要求就是要拿钱，明确一地方就是在飞机的时候，就说给个地方，但他当时跟我说的时，我还没定准，也可能是海安县公安局，也可能是海安县外境委就是钱打在什么地方，我还没定好。我们也要相信他对伐，但这个事情之前已经有东西被扣留了，就是在北京饭店，那个叫张**的反正也不认识，就是哪个都好拿，不好欺的。这个我们也是相信他的，因为他毕竟是县长，我们不相信他相信谁呢？就是回来以后，到现在他口口声声加我们打官司，我们说的不打官司，我们不打官司，而最终的解决方案就是等于闲杂没有最终解决方案。

前面你讲的13个人，现在一起联合起来告了？

MMW2：现在联合起来告了，已经起诉了。中远公司，他是第一被告，第二被告就是北京山地公司，中远公司比较小，就是也一起，但这个官司怎么开庭就是3月19日就在我们海安县开庭，在海安县人民法院。据说山地公司资产冻结130万，海安县信访局办事人员跟我们说的。现在有一个问题啦，有那么多人，按中远公司的话，有40号人，你不知道，10个20个人怎么分，总共就那么多，你也不知道，他说40人，实际上我们没40人，谁也不知道怎么搞，他还有人没回来，他名字也在上面，你也不知道怎么搞，这东西不可能分，我们也不能干涉，明明20个人起诉，他旁边说又加了几个人。

现在等于这个事情我最早听你们说06年开始有想法，对伐？跟他们说了，07年的时候才成型，你们是什么时候到那边的？

MMW2：08年8月16日

07年开始交钱什么的吗？

MMW2：07年11月、12月交钱。

07年11月12月交钱，08年8月走的，以后么就等于08年10月就出事了，11月就开始停工了？

MMW2：12月开始停工

你们说12月份开始停工，他们那边说11月开始停工。那他们当时说想把你们先送回来，你们也不回来？

MMW2：他们本来也叫我们一起回来，我们不回来，然后就一直发展到现在，他们13个人现在去法院起诉了。我们7个人现在就等待他们一个最终的处理。还有一个情况跟你说一下，就是本来我们就是7个人，从亚希过来的，到首都以后，我们以为第二批像罗马尼亚的还有8个人也是中远的，7个跟我们统一个飞机回来的。就是他们7个人跟我们其实有区别，他们工资比我们高一点，我们在亚细最穷的一个地方，更少了。他们听说我们国内组织了以后，反正有机会来了，正好找他。我们也回来，我们的工资太少了，他们7个人也回来了。也是中远公司的，也跟我们活动案有点区别，我们就是8月份，他们7月份，可能比我们早几天，到首都一看不对，活动太大了，要回来，当时我们也没走，已经交了9万，后来我们为什么又去了呢？就是那个中远公司啊，给我们送钱，还没有一个月就能拿到钱，他们去了才做了几天就不干了。就是你们去催他们干，究竟一个月拿多少钱你们也不知道，听说拿不到钱。他们7个人是在首都做的，他们工资要比我们高一点。他们听说我们海安县杨县长去了，还有外事局吴局长去了以后，他们也是找他们。

他们看见你们这样也害怕了吗？

MMW2：不，他们也准备回来，就是没有机会，看到我们这一次人多了，机会来了，也是因为杨县长，好，一天解决。就这样搞的，所以我们7个人最倒霉，最倒霉么？现在政府又不帮我们说话，皮球就你踢你，他踢他。一个事情都没办到，现在最大的问题出在哪里呢？就是中天这批人回来了，分几批回来了，他们一下飞机就拿到钱了，就是到了我们海安以后。

你们有海安的人跟他们一起走吗？

MMW2：多，总共海天有8个。就在隔壁，刚回来，他们钱都拿到手了，就我们7个，不止7个，还有7个，14个从中远公司的那一块拿不到钱。

那么你现在估计下一步，怎么办呢？

MMW2：下一步现在难做了，上访也不行，为什么呢？去年啊，他们回来的人去上访的，一举一动啊，就把人全部叫回来，不许去了，有损政府形象的，他们死要面子的，我们就没办法了。从那边跟我们回来以后，我们7个是中远的，每个人全部是分开的，镇政府，还有村里干部啊，把我们都分开来。

MW2：平时一个普通的老百姓哪有这待遇，我去罗马尼亚哪会有这待遇，带到政府，如果带到派出所，我肯定要起诉他，我又没办法，你为什么要这样对我。

MMW2：现在我们就是回来以后三批人，你也没办法，现在是法治社会，你打啦闹啦都没用，他说就是暗地里上访，不要乱来，不要带头闹事。杨县长现在找不到人

了。说得不好，就没有管了，你也找不到他，哪个来管你？一到信访局，县政府，反正就没有人管了。

MW2：你不要闹事，没人来管。

他们13个人请什么律师呢？

MW2：他们请法律援助中心律师

MMW2：是这样说的，叫我们去打官司，打官司呢，政府肯定重视的，我们打不起官司。他们呢，提供法律援助，海安县政府提供的，如果打官司呢，本来请律师要钱的，也免了。但现在我们不敢打。就怕输赢，就是打赢了以后也拿不到钱，还有就是怕输了更加不要谈了，焦点就在这。

那么像你的话，准备怎么办呢？自己怎么打算呢？

MMW2：没话说了，有什么办法呢？我们老百姓，叫天天不应，叫地地不灵，无人理人，你去告哪个？你说政府关不关心，肯定关心的，没话跟他说。

那现在回来，今年工作呢？

MMW2：还有一个最大问题呢，就是09年又禁止了，我们现在又不敢出去打工，因为我们8、9万又要不到，我们不敢出去，就是现在就是耗着等着。出不去打工，也交不了钱。这个钱都拿不到，我们出去打工又有什么意思呢？

MW2：到了7、8月孩子要交学费了，大三了，一、二万，到时我拿什么给我儿子交啊。

MMW2：可以说谁都不管。

那你回来你媳妇怎么说啊？

MMW2：要钱啊，这个是天大的事啊，8、9万在我们这不简单啊。

那你媳妇回来哭伐？

MMW2：肯定哭啊，都来要钱啊，非常难受啊，这个现实问题摆在这。

他这个房子借出去肯定是为了弄点钱对吧？

MW2：现在就是这个房子卖掉，钱还掉，自己怎么办？

感觉现在回到国内与罗马尼亚比？

MMW2：还是中国好，差十万八千里了。回来以后本身什么吃饭啊都不同了，最起码的大米在。在罗马尼亚他们用面粉，大米在那8、9元一斤，说实话，我们打工的，弄点钱全部吃完了，回来马马虎虎，那些钱还不够享受的，本身我们南通地区人啊，能吃苦，特别是江苏人。一年十几万，什么在阿联酋啊、科威特，多来，后来，都去的，一年可以挣五六万，我们呢，最大教训是发的工资太少了，最大的教训在这，就像我们的招工简章那样，一个月的收入1万二到一万八，对我们来说很舒服，我们不要那么多，一个月一万，到罗马尼亚以后，哪怕7000，哪怕5000，哪怕两千多。

差距太大了，相差一点，也就算了。哪怕8000、5000啊，我都愿意在那干。现在是一个月给我3000，吃多少苦，那个稀饭，大米都吃不起，南方不能没米，北方人以面为主，只有面粉能吃，我每天做饼，要么吃面，面疙瘩，就是我们改革开放当时最穷的东西，你看有这么吃还可以，就是没钱买菜，老这样吃，吃得消伐？我几十年从来没有像现在这样，在罗马尼亚时，大便都下不来，从来没有见到那个苦日子，没办法，回家以后，什么吃的都好吃，全部香的不得了。

回来以后家里人怎么讲呢？

MMW2：只有安慰啊，也不发火，我们心里也痛苦啊，心里有个伤口，再撒把盐就不得了了，一般说到外国见了世面，只能这样编了我们，也有人笑我们，有人表面不说，心里笑的，好多人像我们一个村里3、4个人都是去罗马尼亚的，也不怕哪个笑了。

你家离开这里有多远？

MMW2：有好几公里路了。

小孩多大了？

MMW2：我小孩上大学了

在哪里上？

MMW2：扬州工业技术学院

几年级了？

MMW2：快毕业了

几个小孩

MMW2：一个，生一个好

原来在哪里干过？

MMW2：在厂里干过，生意也做过，一般都跟在人家后面打工的。

那么做了十几年工程队？后来都在哪里的？

MMW2：南京、上海、长春、沈阳

哪年开始出去的。

MMW2：93年，当时在青岛，那时青岛在搞开发。大连都去过了、新疆乌鲁木齐也去过了，去的地方不少，就是为了赚钱。

在哪时间做的时间最长？

MMW2：最长在青岛，青岛呆了三年，在上海呆了3、4年

上海在哪里做？

MMW2：在上海浦东

主要都做装什么行当呢？

MMW2：水泥、安为主，成车、材料进货都是我们做的，搞承包啦，做小老板的。想不到昔日的钱拿不回来，我们又不闹事，又不怎样，又没谁和我们过不去，就是钱解决不了的苦。现在就这样的情况。

你现在就干等着？

MMW2：只有等啊。07年做了一年，08年做了半年，05、06年都在上海黄浦区。

07年做多少钱？

MMW2：07年3万多一点，存了两万。本来想这次会好一点，我们40几岁想最后拼一把，我们怎么想的，就08年正月初五，电视连续剧《金婚》，船长，主角，40几岁就这么大年纪了，最后再拼一把。再不拼就没机会了，人什么都经历了，看见别人都发财了，再不拼一把就没机会了，所以说你看到的40几岁的人最多。他们年轻就是资本。我们海安这地方，建筑、养殖是全国出名的，谁都不否认的。

都养什么呢？

MMW2：养鸡，笼养鸡，都养了好几万只。就是风险太大了，不好的时候亏的很大。我们在海安县养蚕也全国出名。我们海安县里建设什么都挺好的，12层以上的房子建了100多幢，28层有7、8幢，县政府的大楼刚启用的，不比上海市政府办公楼差。那7、8层的你有好多。没有出去就不知道，总听说外面很好。

你现在回来和小孩通过电话，小孩怎么说呢？

MW2：小孩前几天刚走，这些情况他都知道。

你回来见到他了伐？

MW2：见到，昨天见到，还不知道我们没拿到这个钱，现在告诉他了，他说也相信政府，我们也相信政府。就是披着政府的外衣非法的。

MMW2：这个事情出了以后，要等事情搞得很大，听说三个劳务公司，100万备用金放在旁边，否则出了事以后，踢皮球，谁也不管

MW2：海安的劳务中介公司就相当于皮包公司，又没有注册资金，只要申请一下，领了执照，就在这里开公司，有关系搞了后门，招些人弄些费用。

2009年正月要过掉了，工作不好找？

MMW2：难找。现在就是我们这次回来，因为我们09年吃饭还是一个问题。还要找工作，像我们一般工程队呢，只有15之前基本都出发了，人员什么都安排好了，我们去还有问题，问题不管了，事情已经这样了，也不能怪政府，钱搞定，我们才能继续做，只有这样子，其他没什么好办法，我们知道国家现在受金融危机的影响，对

我们国家冲击也挺厉害的。特别是金融行业，都收到影响了，就是我们找工作也有问题，现在也不考虑这个问题，先把钱搞到手，下一步再考虑出去找工作。我们这里总的来说条件还是可以的，如果不发生这个事情的话，什么事情都挺好的，现在这个事情已经发生了。

现在如果周围有朋友要走的话，肯定不让他走？

MMW2：我们这样考虑的，你们要走我们也不反对，情况我们实事求是告诉你们，你们如果还执迷不悟，那我也没办法，这个事情有好多人都干不干的，真的不干的，海安县多少劳务公司，惊人的数字，劳务公司，特别是去年、前年，每个公司都急招。

MW2：这个招工简章到处都贴，电线杆上，墙上到处都贴，你就是不知道的人看了也知道了。

MMW2：现在又没有拿到钱，心里就是愁啊。每个人碰到这个情况就是麻烦事。

那搞到现在你们7个加13个人等于就是最后还没解决的？

MW3：对，就是这个问题了。现在有这样情况，可能是北京有一个地方法院，必须我打官司才可以解冻，但要把这个事情核实一下，是不是值。如果是这个情况，那么就可以去打官司，如果没有这个钱，我们就没有必要打官司。可能我们经过诉讼以后，法院才可能把那个款去解冻，在共产党的体系下，法院只有这个职能去解决这个款。刚是律师跟我讲的。去年是为工人维权封存工资，大概那一次封了130万。律师说要钱就怕人多，我说不可能，我们就只有七个人。我们现在这些人在家里都被他们司法所控制起来了。

MMW2：我们老百姓只是想尽快把这个事情解决掉就可以了，我们就不会闹事情，老百姓只是想把这个钱拿到就可以。我们就是想多赚点钱改善生活。

你出去的时候知道糖尿病吗？

MW3：不知道，一点都不知道。他们在契约上作假的，那上面不是我本人。

在哪里做的？

MW3：泰州体检中心。

MMW2：这跟中远公司有关系，多做一个，他们多拿钱。

像你们三个文化程度都蛮高的？

MW3：我高中，一个初中。我女儿、老婆都在西塘，女儿在那上学，老婆在那工作

MMW2：我们这对小孩都很重视

MW3：这个金融危机孩子出来以后找不到工作的。

那你原来搞过水电吗？

MW3：搞过啊，我们搞过十几年了，海安县安装供电公司干了好多年。

Case No. 23: MWorker 1;Family member1; Family member2;			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	44
Family status	Living with wife, sister-in-law, and an 84-year-old woman	No. of Children	
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	Carpenter
Time Of Arriving	Aug. 24	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	96000 RMB	Debts	
Work hours per week (in Contract)		Average Wage(in contract)	
Work hours per week		Average Wage	
Income in China (before)	3000/year		

那你拿到钱了吗？

MW1：看到了，钱拿回来了，他给的存折，5万元，昨天从银行里取出来了。还有一部分钱，到他回来，4月30日之前，帮我们拿到手。

那么谁做担保呢？

MW1：政府。

觉得女婿出去那么久感觉怎么样？

F1：就是没有拿几个钱回来，工作在那边也很辛苦，结果却弄成这样

出去多久了到现在？

F2：八月份过去的，8月24日。

当时怎么想到让他出去吗？

F2：他自己要出去，家里有个小孩子在上学，家里需要用钱，因为是男孩子，还要钱找老婆。

那你现在干嘛？基本在家？

F2：种田，家里还有个84的老太太。

你今年多大了？

F2：44。

那你一个人一年能收入多少？

F2：卖小麦啊，搞点手工活，养蚕，3000多一年。

这个房子什么时候造的呢？

MW1：2000年砌的。

当时造房子花了多少钱？

MW1：8，9万，现在更贵了。

现在家里有几亩地？

MW1：我是93年买了个户口从公家那里，城镇户口，买了以后啊，就没田了，出去打工。

那你的田呢？

MW1：城镇户口没有田。

那你现在的田哪里来的？

MW1：外公外婆留下来的。原来想买个户口，想找份工作的，现在工作也没有。

那你现在种的有几亩地呢？

F2：3亩多地。

本来想着他可以多挣点钱回来的？

F2：拿不到钱

他什么时候开始跟你联系的，镇里面有联系过吗？

F2：没有

他以前跟你们联系过没？

MW1：没有没有。一直没有，就是在罗马尼亚打工的时候也没有。

镇里面有没有来做工作？

MW1：没有

那现在叫你出去打工，去国外打工，还愿意吗？

MW1：如果他能让政府保证是真的，我就去，问题是，没有担保，有保障我就去。

MW2：协议书写好了，但是没有履行。

MW1：上面答应了，下面没有人执行

今年年也没好好过，这个组有多少户人家？

MW1：80户左右。

多少人在外面的，去国外打工的？

F2：有两户

MW1：我们家不是那边的，但是我在那边上班，那里有户人，专门搞那个的，政府没人管，这个人现在是当地人没人信了，就到阜宁，到我们的苏北去骗人。

你们现在这个5万元钱，当初总数商量的是多少钱呢？

MW1：总数没有说。

你们是几号走的？

MW1：前天，2月21号。

我走了之后，你们跟他接触了几次，和谁？

MW1：工作组，吴局长，有一个姓牛，男的。通川区副市长

他怎么管到你们这边的呢？

MW1：他在南通开公司。

2月几号跟你见面的呢？

MW1：2月16日签的。达成这个协议了，让我们回家了。

之前给你们发的这个5万元钱，什么时候发的？

MW1：下了飞机，到了海安那里，20号晚上10点多种，已经拿到了。他跟我们讲，承认7万1千，到时候他不解决好的话，我们这帮人，肯定去南通去，政府跟他们打官司。

你要给他们打官司，那么你们的付款收据呢？

MW1：付款收据就只有我一个人有，其他人没有，还有个复印件，

F2：我们都没有想到

今年怎么打算？

MW1：还没找到工作呢。

开始找了没？

MW1：人家都走了。

在哪每个月平均发了多少工资？

MW1：4000多人民币

你俩什么时候结婚的？

MW1：2000年。

结婚以后都干嘛了？

MW1：木工，装修啊，在广州，上海，南京都做过。前天，我跟他们讲了，他们回去了没拿到钱，我说，我们不可能回去的，他说，我们性质和他们不一样，他们是海安，我们是南通解决的。

那你这批回来多少人？

MW1：全部回来了。分了2，3批，这批就只有4个人，第2批，8，9个人，我是第三批，大概有6、70个人。

今年怎么打算？

MW1：今找工作，过了就难找了。

Case No. 24: MWorker			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	
Family status		No. of Children	
Original Prov.	Aug.	Occupation	
Time Of Arriving	80000 RMB	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	81300	Debts	
Work hours per week (in Contract)		Average Wage(in contract)	
Work hours per week		Average Wage	2000RMB
Income in China (before)			

在那里工作工资拿了多少？

MMW2：两千多块钱人民币。当初老板跟我们讲，讲了就是你们去，肯定要比家里的工资要高。我们投资了八万块，抛妻弃子。钱都是我们家里借的。现在我们要找那个要钱，他就找痞子过来打！就上一次跟那个姓王那个，他找痞子过来打。

当时你们几个人在场呢？
MMW2：我们十个人都在，把那个姓王的打伤了，挺严重的。

那后来医药费谁赔了？
MMW2：医药费是中介公司给的

Case No. 25: MWorker1;MWorker2; MWorker3			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	
Family status		No. of Children	
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	Reinforcing iron worker
Time Of Arriving	Jan. 08	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	90000 RMB	Debts	35000 RMB
Work hours per week (in Contract)		Average Wage(in contract)	USD812
Work hours per week	60-65	Average Wage	
Income in China (before)			

回来感觉怎么样现在？
MW1：别提了，别人都拿到钱了，和国家说好了，一直跟向政府协调，有人陪着我跑到乡政府去“学习”，开学习班。

那学的怎么样，学了多少习，学了几次习？
MW1：一直到昨天才回来。

你们七个人是一起的？
MW2：对，我们七个人是最惨的，别人多少还拿到一点钱，我们一点都没拿到。

他们那边应该十三个人怎么处理的？
MW2：他们现在拿5万。

你们给县长打电话已经不接？
MW2：对啊，他现在不接了就是躲啊，就是说我们已经交给政府解决了，但是政府部门赖皮。他们说我们参加法轮功，但是我们没有，家里的县政府派我们去海安去

学习，说一定要我们给5000块钱，我们都是打工的，我们县里的干部跟踪我们，把我们当犯人一样。一个是乡里的一个是镇里的。

那接下来怎么办？今年已经开春了。

MW2：家里都完了，要么等他们给钱，要么就完了。别的没办法了。他们以前跟我们一起的全都回去了，就只剩下我们了。我们交给政府解决，但是政府都不确认。

那他们跟你们一批回来的其他人呢？

MW2：启东、启南、如皋的他们都拿到了，就我们海安没有拿到。就我们县政府某些人跟公司有些。但是有个人刘洪奎好的。恩，他很好的，什么事情都愿意做。我们七个人现在就是凭政府良心在做。他们请示也批下来了，也写好了，到哪里去取款，其实政府说把钱拿回来就是一句话很简单的，但是政府偏偏把官司搞得复杂化，拖我们，不给我们钱。

那你们现在官司开始打了没有？

MW2：没有。说是3月5日开庭，但是开不开庭是一回事。他们在利达工作的，我们在崖州工作，他们签了字就可以拿5万块，我们签了字也不一定拿。

他们什么公司？

MW2：也是北京的大力

多少人？

MW2：7个人，也是海安的

从哪里过来，给我讲讲你们的情况

MW3：我们是2008年正月到罗马尼亚，我们报名到罗马尼亚货运公司，跟户主，也是中介公司，我们报的是木工，要考试，先交3000块钱押金，考试不合格就退给你，合格被录取后，就不退，考试不合格就退给你，招工简介上说，一小时3元，考试合格后，告诉我们变美元了，一小时2.89美元。前5个月，试用工，就是在试用期，这样确认后才让我们签字。他们这样算那样算，一个月也有1000多美元了，这是骗我们呢，我们签了，转运公司还让我们按了手印。我们到八月十四日，我们交了八万五千块钱，从家里走的。全部缴清了，他们帮我们分三次缴的这个钱，单子上写了出国费用已清，他们自己写的，就给我们拉到。然后我们就走了，到罗马尼亚之后，劳务按照一天工作10小时，一个月不少于六个小时。刚开始我们还干不到，一天干了八个小时，我们够不到合同上，合同上说礼拜六干半天，礼拜天就没有加班，合同上还说礼拜天按150%的算给我们，这明显就是欺骗我们。罗马尼亚法律根本就不允许礼拜六加班。就是欺骗了我们，我们在那边就觉得这样不行。我们打电话就给我们的中介公司，中介公司就说违反合同，合同上的时间没有，而且我们报的是木工，但是我们在那边干的是钢筋工，专业不对口，这样就像我们在家里一样，本来是木工让你去垒墙，这个速度，这个效率提不上来，人家肯定要扣你钱的，因为这个我们就不

同意，我们就让中介公司去解决。我们跟中介公司讲我们交这个高的费用过来，按这样来看的话，我们八月份过来的，这样算我们一年也就拿3万多块钱，三年等于白干，两年弄个本钱才回来。我们国内工资也可以这么多，还跑到罗马尼亚，而且妻子儿女都在家里，让他们给我们个说法。他们说我们一边商量一边解决，就这样拖我们。我在那边也是个工头，我管钢筋工的还有一个管木工的，我们把工人都带去上班了，做完九月。做完九月我们就可以拿工资了，做了160个小时，发工资的时候，像我们工头就给我算150个小时，剩下的10个小时就苦了我们了。工人更惨了，扣了27个小时，我们就认为一个跨国公司跟一个中介骗子，就是人来了，工资给你减，然后让你自己再回去，就是让我们拿不到这笔钱。我们就是让他们给我们一个说法，我们也就一边要钱一边用一年半时间把本金要回来。他就不肯。9月份拿工资的时候，我们也通知了罗马尼亚公司负责的翻译，我们说你们扣我们的这个工资，在一个礼拜之间要给我们一个说法，那翻译说行，到了礼拜六中午，我就跟翻译说，我们也有困难的，后来雇主让翻译跟我们说，你们的工资就这样，你们该干嘛干嘛，到11月5日，我们就停工了。过几天雇主就过来说我们花的钱也不少。对他们花了3000美金，从中介公司买过去的。你们从我这里干就这样。不干就拉倒。

那他们3000美金不是白花了么？

MW3：没有，他那里还有中介公司。所以我们就不干了，看来我们的目的肯定是大不了。我们跟中介公司调节，调解不了，到11月14日，我们再去总共是3个月，他买飞机票，要送我们回国。

谁买飞机票的呢

MW3：那飞机票的钱是我们11月份的时候押过去的，那时签合同的时候说一个月发两次工资，到了那边，第一个月做了没有，一个月压一个月，两个月发一次，就把10月11月份的钱拿过去了，拿过去买机票，就这样，把我们钱扣过去了。我们投入给了他5000块钱，国内还花的我们自己的钱，这3个月还没工资。我们回来了，找中介公司要个说法怎么解决，中介公司的老板找了个地痞。：我们也没跟他说什么，他说，你们先回去，过去天我们来处理，这个事也不快，你们先回去等处理。我们就回去了，我们希望圆满的解决，给我几万快，我们已经花了这么多费用，凭我的良心，大家把这个事解决好，他就推，一日推一日，一直推到腊月。那时，我们7，8个人去中介公司，要过年了，我们要有个说法。

当时你们回来的时候，他们说这个8万5给你吗？当时你们做这个飞机的时候，有人跟你说吗？

MW3：没有。我们工作确实做了，他迟迟不给解决，一直拖到腊月，我们要过年了，借了亲戚朋友的钱，最起码的，我们要还人家一些吧，我还打了个比方，我问银行借了10万块钱，买了汽车，银行肯定向我要钱，不可能向卖车的要钱吧？他让那个公司的法律代表人，打电话给那个小地痞，打了黄华山，后脑全是血。

为什么打他呢？

MW3：我们就和他说，我们来解决这个出国劳务的事，我们来要钱的。我们不是来打架闹事的。

这个是什么时间？腊月？

MW3：没有到腊月。打了人，我们就报110。110来了，怎么说呢，110的人也跟他们的关系讲不清楚。110问我们，打架的时候，你们都到哪里去了，人家不过6个人，你们7，8个人，你们怎么不打架？这社会的风气怎么这个样子了？我们说了，我们懂法。我们也上过学。你要不了钱了，还把你抓去，他们就采取这种手腕。我们跟他们说了，我们懂法，我们不可能参与斗殴。那个被打的以前当过兵，当时，全是血，别人都说赶快去抢救，他却说了，我就是死也不会还手，就死死拉住那个地痞。黄华山后来就送到医院去了。所以你说说看，一个单位上的地痞，把人打伤了，法律不制裁他，还要你私下解决。给了他1万6，医疗费，营养费。后来，他们说，你们每人回去办张银行的卡，结果，汇了每人5百块钱。他说，到了大年31的晚上，没有到12点的时候。那人打电话给我们说，别去人家公司闹了先。我们就说，你给我们好好解决这事，我们谁也不想闹事。后来，我们一直到15号，一直没去过，15号，他打电话给我们，让我们去法律援助那地方去打官司。

他们公司叫你们去告他自己？

MW3：对。他们关系全买好了，叫我们打不赢官司。打不赢官司的话，他就不赔了，就是这个意思。申爱华又换了个法律代表人。让黄海琴做了替死鬼，那个新的说什么也没用，都是原来的那申爱华在后面指挥。

这么说，黄海琴变成替死鬼了？

MW3：对。他现在就是，你就是判他10年，8年，这钱就是没有。他就是没钱。申爱华就是这儿意思。

他什么时候变更这个代表的呢？

MW3：他就是有预谋的，我们走了以后。

确切是几月？

MW3：2007年。我们也去信访办去了下，他们说这个事情，我们给你们解决，你们要先去外经委去一下，我们打电话去了，他们说，这个公司，现在不管了。哪有开中介公司的，现在不管了呢？这不是在推卸责任吗？第2次，我们又打电话，他们说，你们打电话到县政府去，那里有人现在在管这件事，这个不是在踢皮球吗？他们叫我们起诉他。我们也想过这件事，我们打官司，他们把关系都买好了，我们不一定能赢。我们和北京三立公司啊，根本没有这个合同，申爱华野心大，他就是利用这个关系（外经局不管），就死死的把我们拉住了。

三立公司是属于哪里管的？

MW3：国资委的

三立公司属于国资委的？

MW3：三立公司说和他们没什么关系，一点都没有。

你认为这个责任出在谁身上？

MW3：中远的，申爱华想利用三立公司，挂人家牌，他没有契约权，现在还利用人家三立公司，迷惑我们，现在我们去要钱，他就找社会上的地痞打人，打过一次了。我们没有回来的时候，我们是11月13日从罗马尼亚走的。他聘请了一个海安中远律师事务所，发了个函说谁回来责任谁负，函发给每个家属。这个应该发到罗马尼亚，我们家属还以为我们在罗马尼亚干什么违法的事来，现在不是我们要起诉他们，是他们逼我们起诉他们。

你们现在的律师，找的是法律援助中心的？

MW3：不是我们找的，他们找的，法律援助中心、律师都是他们找的

律师是主动联系你们的，还是你们联系律师的呢？

MW3：不是，也是他们找的。司法局给了我们申请表，都是中远公司安排好的，叫我们去法律援助中心，那里不收费的，你们把我们告倒，我们好帮你们向三立公司要钱。他现在拿着合同，我们一看，那个合同不是我们的，我们和你们中远公司签的，我们都是按责任做的，这合同是假的，我们原来签的是8月14日走的，这合同签的是2月30日，所以他拿的合同是假的。明摆着这个合同是假的。欺骗我们。我们怎么说，他们是串通好了的呢，我们那天在法律援助中心，我们就说了，中远公司是诈骗犯，那法律援助中心的人说了，你们为什么说人家是诈骗犯，他说，我们打官司，必须要有合同，合同按照国家法律文件规定的话，必须是一式三份。我们不懂，没有拿合同。中介公司当时应该懂，一个给罗马尼亚雇主，一个中介公司留着，一个我们自己留着。现在，他们，自家的合同都拿不出来，这不是明摆着欺骗我们吗？我们交了费用就拿了个白条子给我们，盖着南通中远公司的章。具体的收据什么都没有。按国家规定，我们是纳税人，应该有发票给我们，他们没有。所以我们到不好和他打官司了。我们也咨询过法律援助中心，他们说，我们这些复印件不成事实，打官司很难打。但是，这个不是1，2个人的事，是300个人的事，从国家，报纸，媒体，都有，我们这些受害人，一个人说不好的话可能不可行，但不可能是每一个人都说不好吧。年初一到现在我就去过一次中远公司，他们还是打电话叫我们起诉他们。

那你们现在有没有正式起诉？你说3月19日开庭

MW3：那是律师说的

你起诉的话，你们应该有人签字的啊

MW3：签过了

你们几个人签字的？

MW3：10个人

什么时候，起诉状在吗？

MW3：没有发给我们

你们现在什么都没有

MW3：全是律师弄的

那你看过起诉状的？不是签字了吗？

MW3：起诉状没有签字

那你这个怎么算起诉呢？

MW3：他们就是在里面踩皮球

那你现在怎么办呢？

MW3：我们要向他们要钱，300多个人，当时，有些都借了7，8万出去的，有的还是借的高利贷，我就是借了人家3万五，一年要还人家4万4千多。当初，想去国外挣点钱，结果，钱没挣到，还自己借了别人那么多钱。我自己女儿今年高二，马上进大学了，我们需要钱，现在又是金融危机，我们又搞不到钱，只有问他们要钱。要把这件事情解决好。我们只求收回出国费用，飞机票算我们的，其他损失，也就1万5，还有耽误了一年的工作时间，我们要求也不高。什么事情都是逼出来的是不是，一个好端端的人不可能发脾气的是不？上海也出过事啊，就是那个北京的人说他偷自行车，不服气，冲进警察局杀了警察的那个。我们现在只要求拿回钱对伐，双方坐下来好好谈，说好时间什么时候拿钱，我们来就可以了。人都要吃饭生存的，他们现在就是不解决，要打官司，我们又不能出去。这个官司不管打不打，我看都不行，钱那不会来。当初回来，都说好的，都签过字的，回来3天内就拿钱。到现在一分钱都看不见。以后回来的人拿了5万块钱。但是我们上批回来的7个人也拿过2万块钱，连飞机票都是我们自己出的，只给了我们500块。死活不拿钱给我们。我们被逼的没办法了。我家没了9万块，这钱对我们很重要，他轻而易举拿了几百万走了，我们也要吃喝啊。我们现在就打听打听消息，看这个问题怎么解决法，我们就和他们慢慢解决。我就是认为他们太狠了。合同上写了每个月812美元，中介公司还要每个月补贴100美元。中介公司说，你们每个月满812美元，这钱就不给你们了。他就和我们玩文字游戏。每个月他们就扣我们工资，我们一个小时才2.89美元。还扣我们100美元。我们6点吃饭，7点下班。自己带馒头面，那里没水没饭。

那接下来怎么打算？

MW3：但是这个官司，我们不可能和他们打的，我们协议上都签字了，我们该拿的，我们为什么要和他们打官司呢？政府说出面协调帮我们处理，我们打了官司还是一样。现在国家是国家的法律，国家压缩下面解决，中介公司给你点钱死压住你就不给解决，现在政府我们进不去人扣在外面没有用，说起来天下都是为老百姓服务，

结果都是空话，中央去了工作组，来解决这件事，为什么，回来还没解决这件事？多有个多的说法，少也有个少的说法，但弄在这里一点都不解决，中远公司没解决，他们就每人5万块钱，有人拿了钱就走了。5万块钱对我们也很重要，孩子上学也能上个5年，现在一分钱都不给我们。我们每次到中介公司那边去，跟他们说你们要给我们一个解决的方案，然后就有个姓刘的人过来，他又不是什么公司主要职称的人，也不是法律代表人，他能解决什么事？没用。那天他说了句实话，如果他是老板的话，他现在就能大胆的说解决的办法。现在老板都躲起来了。政府也不追究他。像这样国家法律也不适用，现在我们是天大的笑话，中远公司派我们到海安，我们打工的人不可能他们单子一写我们就出国走了，他们肯定有什么审批的文件，没有审批的话我们不可能说走就走了吧。现在外建局说中远公司不属于他们管。

Case No. 26: MWorker1; MWorker2			
Time	Feb. 2009	City	
Gender	Male	Age	45
Family status	married	No. of Children	2
Original Prov.	Jiangsu	Occupation	
Time Of Arriving	Aug. 14	Permit valid till	
Agency Fees	85000 RMB	Debts	
Work hours per week (in Contract)		Average Wage(in contract)	
Work hours per week		Average Wage	
Income in China (before)			

你是什么时候开始出国的？

MW1：八月十四日

之前，就是去报名的时候是什么时候？

MW1：报名的时候，春天就报名了，就是春天就开始报名了

那交钱是什么时候呢？

MW1：交钱，就是春天就开始交了

后来有搞什么培训啊，什么吗？

MW1：就培训考试

那么，到了罗马尼亚工作了多久呢？

MW1：工作了两个月吧，就是，8月14日过去，整整三个月

什么时候的飞机回来的

MW1：11月14日

回来以后你干嘛呢？

MW1：回来我就反正在公司里面，没有办法了，就要钱嘛

要钱，向他们要钱，那么，去了公司几次呢？

MW1：公司，亲自去过好几次，大概七八次吧

最近一次什么时候去的，是春节前？

MW1：腊月初十

当时几个人去的呢？

MW1：我们回来的一起去的，十三个人

去到那里之后是怎么跟他们谈的呢？

MW2：就是我们向他们说，你要有个解决的计划，不是说我们今天来了还是这样，明天来了是这样，叫他们叫个解决计划个给我们，他就说一个礼拜以后来，就是说给我们解决个什么什么，我们就讲了你写个字据给我们，对吧？口说无凭，对吧！他就不写，他就不写的时候，不写，我们就说不写不行，不写的话，这不是白话吗。

MW1：第一次要钱的时候，他们就讲，叫我们到元月一号，又拖到了七号，叫七号去，通知我们去的，到以后又说不行，到十二号，再去

MW2：对，我们就叫他写个东西给我们对吧，口说无凭，那你写个东西，到了那次我们来的时候，你解决。他又说了，到了那次来，没有答复给你们，就是说，每人补贴七十块钱一天，给我们。你口说无凭，写个东西，他就不肯写，我们就说不写不行，我们就在那边逼着他写。

那跟他谈了多久啊，两个小时有吗？

MW2：没有，我们去是从早上就去了，到早上去了，那个是到下午三点多钟，他就说这个事情。我们要回去了，还有人住的老远呢，人家要回去，要不然晚了赶不上车子了，所以说你就写个东西让我们回去，我们又不是向你借钱是吧？你写个什么，我们到这里来，他就不屑，不屑的时候我们就说不写不行，我们就把他逼到屋子里了。他说的不写，不写的话我们就说不写不行，我们就逼他，逼他，不一会儿他就打电话，打电话叫人，叫人过来，过来以后，我们还不走，我们知道是知道的，他们是地痞，刚开始来了一个两个人的，我们也没在意，我们就跟他说，就像来了一个人一样，我们就说我们是出国的，我们是来要钱的，不是来生事打架的，就跟他好好的

说，他也说你们真的是来要钱的，因为他是第一个人过来嘛，他不可能说的吵起来，吵起来打他不是吃亏了嘛，是吧？再过一会儿，就来了来了，人多了，人多了嘛，来了就骂起来了，谁逼他写的，谁想打架对吧。就这样一闹呢，我们就感觉处在那样的环境，他就说了你不要骂人，我们是来要钱的，跟你们没有什么关系，是吧？那家伙就把那个香烟一吐就想打架。我在客厅里面，我不在办公室里面，他们.....在办公室里面，有个家伙，看我在那边嘛，他就误会我要跟他打架似的，他就打我的眼睛，先打的这个眼睛，眼睛打了以后嘛，那边不有几个人嘛，打了眼睛这边流血了嘛，就怕了，跑了，还有一个，还有一个嘛就用脚把我的头踢破了，把我的头踢破了，我就逮住他，他就跑不掉了，我本来是来要钱的，我也不是来打架斗殴的。

后来如何处理这个事情？

MW1：我们自己报警报110，110过来，把我送到人民医院。

他有没有赔偿你们或赔偿你啊

MW1：那个赔偿了。

那你在医院住了多久呢？

MW1：住了17天。

那医药费多少钱呢？

MW1：医药费反正将近一万吧

他们都付了吗？

MW1：都付清了，还补偿了一万元

补偿的一万元，那谁在出这个钱呢？

MW1：这个钱我还是跟派出所里要的，总的来说，派出所说打我的那个人，名义上是那个人赔偿，他可能就是那个中介公司。

个你觉得接下来这个事情要怎么办呢？

MW1：现在，他虽然打我的这个费用赔偿我了，现在就是我们出国的费用总共才给了我们一人500块钱

你觉得下一步怎么办呢？

MW1：下一步，我一个小儿子上大学，一个儿子上高中。

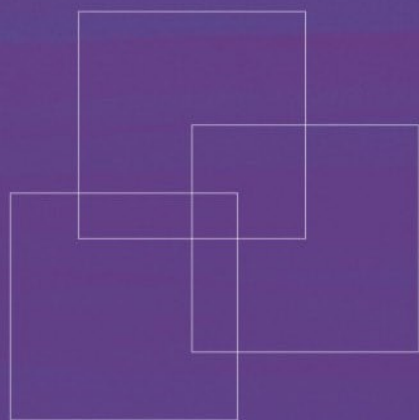
你今年多大了？

MW1：我今年45，我只想赚点钱

MW2：我们也没有什么其他更高的要求，是吧？像我们不卖力干活，哪有钱，是吧？你今年，刚才我就说你今年还是说给我五万块六万块钱，我们就不要了，自己

再去挣一点，也能把那钱挣回来是吧？不是说我交了八万五，还加上损失费，你一起全部给我们，这个费用已经花掉了，不可能再要回来了是吧，我们现在说实话了，我们现在能要一点，我们现在就是要一点，我们其他也没法了，我们家孩子已经念高中了，再有一年，对我们来说，很难的，我们现在就抓着这个希望，但现在说说政府嘛，他就说他有钱，他有钱把这些方面买通了。

MW1：他不管，你就像中介公司，他们凭什么，又不是说，你是正规的劳务你怕什么，还能找你们啊！我就不害怕是吧。政府部门还是偏袒你，没有做到对老百姓尽到责任，官方说的好听，从电视上面说的给人看的，这些都是表面上，国家已经花了那么大的精力，派那么多工作组去罗马尼亚解决那么大的事情，他们电视、报纸，可能对国际上面都有一些影响，一个海安县的政府为什么不去把这个事情很好的解决呢？而非等人闹，不是第一次，已经有人闹，闹到北京那边去了。



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