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September 23, 2009

Mr. Yukio Hatoyama
Prime Minister of Japan
1-6-1 Nagata-cho, Chiyoda-ku,
Tokyo 100 - 8968, Japan

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I am a U.S. citizen from China and Japan. I have waited for twenty years for the day (September 16, 2009) when Japan's regime changed. In fact, I appealed to the Japanese citizens to change regime at Asahi Daily's interview on February 10, 1990, when I was a graduate student at Osaka University (Exhibit 1). As a victim of the Japanese government under the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) since 1989, I welcome you being elected Japan's Prime Minister. Now is the time for me to seek justice from the Japanese government under you and your Democratic Party. This is also the opportunity for Japan to play an active and positive role in the international society.

I was unexpectedly pushed into the complicated world of international politics as young Chinese student organizing democratic activities in Japan. It was in 1989 after the Tiananmen Massacre. The LDP Japanese government handed us Chinese students over to the Beijing regime, even though Japan also signed the "Declaration on China" during the G-7 Summit in Paris. Here are the first two paragraphs of the statement on July 15, 1989:

We have already condemned the violent repression in China in defiance of human rights. We urge the Chinese authorities to cease action against those who have done no more than claim their legitimate rights to democracy and liberty.

This repression has led each of us to take appropriate measures to express our deep sense of condemnation to suspend bilateral Ministerial and high-level contacts, and also to suspend arms-trade with China, where it exists. Furthermore, each of us has agreed that, in view of current economic uncertainties, the examination of new loans by the World Bank be postponed. *We have also decided to extend the stays of those Chinese students who so desire.*

The Chinese Ambassador Yang Zhenya claimed that no Chinese student would be affected for political reasons (Exhibit #2: Asahi Daily, June 29, 1989). He deceived the public. In the mean time, the Education Minister Nishioka stated at the Japanese Congress that the Education Ministry had prepared to legally protect and financially compensate any Chinese student affected by the Tiananmen incident (Exhibit #3: Mainichi Daily, June 24, 1989). We believed so because Japan was internationally regarded as a democracy. When I was suspended of my scholarship by the Chinese government, I visited the Education Ministry officials at Osaka University. The officials frankly told me that the Japanese Congress and Education Ministry declarations were lies to deceive the Japanese public. The Japanese government did nothing besides such lip service.

Furthermore, when I consulted the Justice Ministry's Immigrants Office in Osaka because I could not renew my PRC passport, I was told that all Japanese governmental officials had been instructed to prevent Chinese students from seeking protection from Japan. They told me, "You must go back to the Chinese Consulate to apologize for your mistakes. Your government has promised us that they will forgive you. If you cannot renew your passport, you become illegal in Japan. Go back to China!" Other Chinese students also received similar threats, "Just submit a letter of apology for your dissident activities to the Chinese government and you'll be fine... You are ruining friendly relations between Japan and China... It is absolutely unacceptable for you to seek help from the Japanese government. Stop acting like such a baby." (Japan Civil Liberties Union, cited from Edward Friedman, *The Politics of Democratization: Generalizing East Asian Experiences*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1994. p.104) Finally, I was forced to sign a statement prepared by Osaka University in Japanese. The signed statement was

sent to the Chinese Consulate, and I got two-year passport extension. This episode was reported twenty years later, at Asahi Daily on June 8th, 2009 (Exhibit #4).

In 1990, my fiancé fled from China to Japan for an academic conference. We first went to the Osaka Office of the Immigration Bureau to seek for her visa extension. The officials told us to go to Tokyo. We then went to the Immigration Bureau at Tokyo to ask for her to extend her stay in Japan. Again, we were rejected. We consulted a lawyer, and he told us both (because she herself had not been involved to political activities) to apply for political asylum. Since she received her Ph. D from Osaka University in 1988, we also consulted with Osaka University and expressed our desire to live together in Japan. However, I was threatened that Osaka University was preparing to expel me with the excuse of “unable to continue study” if I decided to apply for political asylum. To help me stay and continue my study in Japan, my fiancé made the painful decision to return to China. This was reported at Asahi Daily on October 20, 1992 (Exhibit #5).

Under the pressure from both the Chinese and the LDP Japanese regimes, all institutions in Japan closed their doors to me, for the purpose of "maintaining the Sino-Japanese friendship." I could not find an academic/research position in Japan even though I was the first graduate student to receive Ph. D in Sociology at Osaka University. Another Chinese student leader could not receive Ph. D from Rikkyo University even he had finished his dissertation. Many other Chinese students fled to the U.S., Canada, Australia, Singapore, New Zealand, and even to Eastern European countries which did not require visa for PRC passport holders.

The Japanese police, both local offices and national secret agencies, followed me everywhere I moved in Japan. When I protested, they said, “We are protecting you. Otherwise, we cannot guarantee your safety in Japan.” Again, they lied. When I was heavily beaten by a Chinese agent (who was hired as a law professor at Kobe University to spy on Chinese student

activities) in Tokyo in 1992, I reported the case to the Tokyo police. A uniformed policeman and a secret police officer collected information at the site from me for five hours. I also submitted the medical examination record showing that my injuries sustained over two weeks. However, after several weeks, when I asked for the investigation progress, the police said they could not find any record of this case. I was warned not to pursue this case anymore because it may turn against me and the Japanese government may expel me out of Japan.

It was reported by the Hong Kong magazine “Cheng Ming” that the Japanese government and the Chinese government had a secret agreement not to accept Chinese political asylum. That is the reason why the LDP government refused Nan Zhao’s asylum application, the first case after the Tiananmen Massacre, for many years. There are many other brutal human rights violation cases by the LDP government. Here is a citation from “Human Rights Watch World Report 1992 – Japan” (<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/publisher,HRW,,JPN,467fca5122,0.html>):

Our primary concern continued to be Chinese dissidents who were in Japan at the time of the June 4, 1989 crackdown in Beijing or who later fled to Japan. Although the Japanese government promised at a 1989 summit of industrial nations in Paris that it would offer refuge to dissidents who feared persecution if returned to China, it has not granted political asylum to a single Chinese dissident.

...The exception was the case of Lin Guizhen, a democracy activist from Fujian Province who entered Japan in September 1989 and was forcibly repatriated to Shanghai on August 14, 1991. The deportation came on the last day of a high-profile visit to Beijing by then-Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu. Lin was sent back despite two lawsuits pending in the Japanese courts related to her claim for refugee status. ...Japan's action had violated the 1951 Refugee Convention, which Japan ratified in 1982.

These human rights abuses by the LDP government manifest the problem of Japan as a democracy as well as an independent sovereignty. Since we could not hold the LDP accountable

for the commitments the Japanese government made two decades ago, it is the responsibility of your government to solve this problem for us and for Japan. As the first step, your government should learn from other countries to publicize relevant Tiananmen documents to handle Chinese students' status in Japan.

Sweden passed a Freedom of the Press Act in 1766 to legalize the publication of government document and provide public access to government documents because the new majority party wanted to see the documents which the previous government had kept secret. The United States passed the Freedom of Information Act in 1966 at the height of President Johnson's Great Society legislation. Hungary, Germany, and South Africa also passed freedom of information laws when regimes changed. Now it is Japan's time to do so.

Today you and President Obama in New York stated to enforce the Japan-United States alliance. The alliance is based on the principles of freedom, democracy and human rights, and this human rights case is a test of your new government. *I request that your government set up a committee to investigate the LDP government's abuses against overseas Chinese students in Japan during and after the 1989 Tiananmen Massacre.* I and others will cooperate with you. This is the first and only step to make conciliation, and to make Japan-United States-China relations based on the solid principles of peace and justice.

Respectfully,



Jing Zhao (jzhao@mail.h-net.msu.edu)

President, US-Japan-China Comparative Policy Research Institute

【朝日新聞】1990.2.10

第3種郵便物認可

京月

日

「日本の選挙制度を見て、本
当にうちもまじいなるって思
います。中国では、全国人民代表
大会の代表をそれぞれ選ばれる
のか、大衆には実際のところ
よく分からないのだから」「
「でも、さうして、日本
の人って、自分の民主的な
制度をうまく使っていない
んじゃないか。たとえば不
慮で仕方ないんですが、日本では
自治体のナンバーワンは皆長た
と願っている地方議員が結構い
る。本来、議会が中核なんじ
ょうに。以前、地方の議員に聞
き取り調査をしたことがありま

す。「議会の地位」を奪うの
は、野党の首長をばいばい話及
中の議員関係者だけでした。議
会制度は人類のすぐれた発明。
中国の条件が整ったの制度
をぜひ、十分に利用してしま
うな」

「日本では野党が政権を取
ったらうちもまじいなるか」
と聞いてはいたが、心配
を少し緩めた方が面白いんじ
ゃないかと聞いてみることに
した。「日本は国際化してしま
うから、自分自身も国際化して
いかなきゃならないよ。でも、それ
をどうやってやるか。それは、
世界の人びと
に対する人権意識
がベースにないと本物じゃない
と願うんです。もし、今度の
総選挙に外国人として期待する
ものは、と願われたらぜひ、人
権意識を持った人を選んで下さ
い、とお願い。全人類、全地
球の問題ですから。国際社会が
日本に寄せる期待はとて大きい
んですよ」



選挙を大切に、と願う留学生

趙京さん(26)



野党にもチャンスを与えれば

民主中国連合(本部・パリ)
の「日本開国支部」代表。八六
年十月に来日し、阪大人間科学
部博士課程に在学中。

Exhibit #4: Asahi Daily June 8, 2009

<http://www.asahi.com/special/kajin/TKY200906080132.html>

日本で旅券更新、課された反省文―第5部〈天安門記〉

「日本は民主や自由を掲げているはずなのに、守ってくれなかった。そう感じている元留学生は僕だけじゃない」

89年の天安門事件当時、大阪大大学院で社会学を研究していた趙京（チャオ・チン）さん（46）の言葉に憤りがにじむ。

中国政府の国費留学生だった趙さんは、事件後に発足した民主化組織の関西地区代表を務めた。旅券の更新期限が迫った91年夏、大学当局に相談すると、指導教授から中国総領事館あての「反省文」への署名を求められた。「学業以外の活動に没頭し適切でなかった。今後は学業に専念する」。そんな文面だった。

この出来事について、指導教授は「痛い記憶だ」と振り返る。民主化運動に取り組む趙さんに、中国当局は奨学金打ち切りなどの圧力をかけた。趙さんの旅券が更新される見込みはなく、指導教授は総領事館に何度も働きかけたが、無視され続けた。

途方に暮れていた91年8月ごろ、指導教授は奇妙な体験をした。

研究室に一本の電話が入った。男の声で名前も言わず「ちよつと来て欲しい」。趙さんの件だ、とピンときた。大学から遠くない指示された場所に急ぐと、看板もない殺風景な事務所だった。奥にいた日本人の初老の男は、机の上のファイルを開いて見せた。趙さんがいつ、どんな集会に参加しているのか、詳細に記録した資料の束だった。

「指導教官失格ですな」。男は決めつけ、「日中友好にひびが入りますよ。総領事館に謝罪した方がいい」と続けた。そして趙さんが反省文を書くこと、邪魔が入らない深夜に総領事館を訪ねて謝罪すること、の2点を助言した。

数日後の午前0時過ぎ、総領事館に行って頭を下げた。そして、反省文をつくって趙さんにサインさせ、総領事館に送った。まもなく旅券の更新が認められた。

男の正体はわからない。指導教授は「早く事態を收拾しろ、というのが権力の意向だと理解した」と振り返る。

趙さんは95年、日本での生活に見切りをつけ、米国に渡った。いま「中国政府の顔色でなく、僕という個人に向き合ってくれそうだと思うからだ」と理由を語る。

日本政府は天安門事件以後も、人権問題で中国を批判するのを控えた。趙さんの件があつたころ、海部首相が西側首脳として事件後初めて訪中し、一時凍結した円借款の本格再開を表明。対中関係の全面修復にかじを切った。

当時、外務省アジア局長だった谷野作太郎・元中国大使は「中国を締め上げることがアジアの平和と安定につながるのか。将来的に中国を国際社会にどう位置づけるか。隣国としての第一の課題だった」と振り返る。

青山学院大の高木誠一郎教授（国際政治）は「日本が中国の人権批判を控えた理由の一つに、歴史問題があつた」と指摘する。中国政府に戦時中の日本軍の行為を持ち出されないか、との懸念だ。

体制の異なる隣国と、日本はどう向き合うのか。天安門事件が突きつけた課題は、今も続く。中国当局の「磁力」は海を越え、在日華人を縛りつけている。（林望）

【朝日新聞】1992.10.20

1992年(平成4年)10月20日 火曜日 14版 (22)

自由得るまでこの国で

【反華運動】に加わった反華文藝家たち。それを人民日報に掲載するのが歓迎された。...



デザイン 石井

自由得るまでこの国で

は。仲間の急死を痛む。仲間は、民主の必要を感じた。...

然。だが、圧力をかかるとして、留學生返国の義務を求めた。...

自由を得るまでこの国で。自由を得るまでこの国で。自由を得るまでこの国で。...

「民主中国」を支持する。民主中国を支持する。民主中国を支持する。...