

追寻六四真相 推动转型正义
(新闻稿)

Press Release Immediately

2025 年 5 月 24 日

地点：纽约皇后学院

Room 253 Powdermaker Hall, Queens College 65-30 Kissena Blvd, Flushing NY 11367

时间：9am – 5pm

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主办单位：

纽约思想者智库、纪念胡耀邦赵紫阳基金会、北京之春和博登书屋

特别顾问

黎安友 (Andrew Nathan)

今年自从川普当局执政以来可以说国际风云变幻，中美之间半个多世纪以来的意识形态之争被方兴未艾的贸易战所取代，世界格局面临重新洗牌之际，1989年天安门屠杀又到了36周年。六四的许多历史真相至今仍掩埋在故纸堆中，历史正义迟迟未到，人民心中的创伤与哀痛，至今没有愈合。六四是青年之殇、民族之殇、国人之殇、国运之殇！

六四事件不得到平反，六四的受难者不得到国家赔偿，因为六四事件流亡海外的无数学生、学者、公共知识分子等至今不能回国探亲回归故乡，这个死结不解，中国进步没有希望！这个门槛不迈过去中共就永远背负着这个历史包袱！如同一把达摩克利剑永远悬挂在他们的头上！因此厘清六四谜团，还原历史真相，推动转型正义，平反六四不仅仅是让我们这个民族走出一段悲惨而悲痛的历史，更是让我们这个有五千年曾经多少灾难深重历史的民族重新获得新生！为此我们决定在今年五月二十四号在纽约举行一次讨论会，特别围绕戴晴女士在博登书屋再版的《邓小平在1989》和吴国光最新出版的《走向共产党之后的中国：转型八论》提出系列问题和观点邀请北美和世界各地的学者专家公共知识分子及相关人士展开讨论和思想交流。

戴晴女士在书中提供了邓小平在六四期间所思所想的视角，这是一个崭新的重要的视角。它突破了六四研究信息上的局限和分析上的欠缺。同时，她的独到观点也引发了海外学者的关注与讨论。其中特别引发争议的是：邓小平推动的以及他推出的总书记胡耀邦、赵紫阳的改革开放路线是否因为六四学生运动的爆发改变了历史进程？六四冲突的根源是邓小平为代表的改革派和陈云代表的保守派宫廷内斗的结果？六四前夕天安门学生在部分学生领袖和党内高层协商达成同意学生撤出广场共识后为什么最后关头没有撤出广场？六四如果学生能够提前撤出天安门广场中国的历史是否会改写？今天我们已经站在二十一世纪的历史高度，我们回顾历史不能为纪念而纪念，我们必须总结历史的经验，反思我们曾经的一次伟大的民主运动的不足和错误教训，不然我们不能在未来走向民主宪政的道路更加成熟和有效！

吴国光在他的博登书屋新出版的三卷本《走向共产党之后的中国：转型八论》中这样提到：“在当代中国历史上确定赵紫阳位置的两项政治行动都未有得到足够研究。一项是他的政治改革，这一改革甚至在至今三十多年之后仍然还是有关中国政治转型的官方政策的顶峰。另一项是他在 1989

年的政治决定，主张用民主与法治来平息社会震荡，拒绝用军事镇压来对付学生。这一决定使他付出了近十六年失去人身自由的代价。”他特别提到“如果像赵紫阳那样的体制内领袖们与社会力量之间形成合作，则他们所选择的温和路线能够极大地推动威权主义制度的和平变革。”那么今天的中国或者中共内部还有没有可能有走向政治改革与转型之路的体制内进步理性力量？如果有我们如何与他们良性互动？如果没有我们应该怎样通过和平理性的方式来推动他们让我们的民族国家走向一个更加进步民主自由和国泰民安的正确历史方向？这些希望我们通过这次讨论会能够找出今后推动中国转型的路径、方式和多种可能性。

最后我们希望这次会最终形成当前应该在海内外华人社会一个具有最广泛公约数的呼吁书：呼吁中国当局尽快平反六四，给六四受难者国家赔偿，让六四流亡海外的中国人包括所有异议人士能够有权利回国探亲或回归故里，弥平历史的创伤，推动中国走向转型正义，让我们这个民族能够走向一个更加理性和平和谐民主自由的康庄大道！

Pursuing the truth about June 4 and Promoting transitional justice (Press Release)

Press Release Immediately

May 24, 2025

Location: Queens College, New York

Room 253 Powdermaker Hall, Queens College 65-30 Kissena Blvd, Flushing NY 11367

Time: 9am – 5pm

Contact: David Rong 646-595-5888, info@boudenhouse.com

Organizers:

New York Sage Center , Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang Memorial Foundation, Beijing Spring and Bouden House

Special Advisor

Andrew Nathan

This year, since the Trump administration came to power, the international situation has changed dramatically. The ideological dispute between China and the United States for more than half a century has been replaced by the burgeoning trade war. As the world pattern faces a reshuffle, the 1989 Tiananmen Massacre has reached its 36th anniversary. Many historical truths of June 4th are still buried in the pile of old papers. Historical justice has not yet arrived, and the trauma and grief in the hearts of the people have not yet healed. June 4th is the sorrow of the youth, the nation, the people, and the country! The June 4th incident has not been rehabilitated, and the victims of June 4th have not received state compensation. Because of the June 4th incident, countless students, scholars, public intellectuals, etc. who have been exiled overseas cannot return to China to visit their relatives and return to their hometowns. If this deadlock is not solved, there is no hope for China's progress! If this threshold is not crossed, the CCP will always carry this historical burden! It is like a sword of Damocles hanging forever over their heads! Therefore, clarifying the mystery of June 4th, restoring the historical truth, promoting transitional justice, and rehabilitating June 4th is not only to let our nation walk out of a tragic and sad history, but also to let our nation, which has a history of many disasters for 5,000 years, be reborn! To this end, we decided to hold a seminar in New York on May 24 this year, especially around Ms. Dai Qing's "Deng Xiaoping in 1989" reprinted by Bouden House and Wu Guoguang's latest "China after the Communist Party: Eight Essays on Transformation", and invited scholars, experts, public intellectuals and relevant people from North America and around the world to discuss and exchange ideas.

In her book, Ms. Dai Qing provides a perspective on what Deng Xiaoping thought during the June 4th Incident, which is a new and important perspective. It breaks through the information limitations and lack of analysis in the June 4th research. At the same time, her unique views have also attracted the attention and discussion of overseas scholars. Among them, the most controversial is: Did the reform and opening-up policy promoted by Deng Xiaoping and promoted by General Secretary Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang change the course of history because of the outbreak of the June 4th student movement? Was the root cause of the June 4th conflict the result of the palace infighting between the reformists represented by Deng Xiaoping and the conservatives represented by Chen Yun? Why did the Tiananmen students not withdraw from the square at the last minute after some student leaders and senior party leaders reached a consensus on the withdrawal of students from the square on the eve of June 4th? If the students had been able to withdraw from Tiananmen Square in advance on June 4th, would China's history have been rewritten? Today, we are already standing at the historical height of the 21st century. We cannot review history for the sake of commemoration. We must sum up historical experience and reflect on the shortcomings and mistakes of our great democratic movement. Otherwise,

we will not be able to move towards a more mature and effective path to democratic constitutionalism in the future!

Wu Guoguang mentioned in his three-volume book *Towards a Post-Communist China: Eight Essays on Transformation*, newly published by Boden Books: "Two political actions that determined Zhao Ziyang's position in contemporary Chinese history have not been adequately studied. One is his political reform, which is still the pinnacle of official policy on China's political transformation even more than 30 years later. The other is his political decision in 1989 to advocate the use of democracy and the rule of law to quell social unrest and refuse to use military repression to deal with students. This decision cost him nearly 16 years of personal freedom." He specifically mentioned that "if leaders within the system like Zhao Ziyang can form cooperation with social forces, the moderate line they choose can greatly promote the peaceful transformation of the authoritarian system." So is it possible for China or the Communist Party of China today to have a progressive and rational force within the system that is on the road to political reform and transformation? If so, how can we interact with them in a positive way? If not, how should we use peaceful and rational means to push them to move our nation-state towards a more progressive, democratic, free and peaceful historical direction? I hope that through this discussion, we can find out the paths, methods and multiple possibilities for promoting China's transformation in the future.

Finally, we hope that this seminar will eventually form an appeal with the broadest consensus among the Chinese community at home and abroad: Call on the Chinese authorities to redress the June 4th incident as soon as possible, give state compensation to the victims of the June 4th incident, allow the Chinese who fled overseas during the June 4th incident, including all dissidents, to have the right to return to China to visit their relatives or return to their hometowns, heal the historical trauma, promote China's transitional justice, and enable our nation to move towards a more rational, peaceful, harmonious, democratic and free road.