

从 1989 運動民刊看中國變革的動力
Citizen Publications during the 1989 Prodemocracy movement:
Momentum for China's Change

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摘要：本文檢視 1989 年民主運動中民刊的形式和內容。伴隨著運動過程的遊行、靜坐、絕食、反抗戒嚴，民刊的製作和傳播從校園到街頭和廣場，從以往主要在校園的大字報牆或同仁雜誌擴展為在城市多處空間的活字牆報，傳單隨抗議者的遊行散發到街頭和廣場，隨串聯傳播到不同的地區甚至境外。民刊創造了城市公共交流和討論的平台，探索自治模式，使不同社會階層、不同地域、不同民族的參與者相互啟蒙，實踐民主、監督權力以及使權力透明，反對腐敗，共同抵抗中共極權。在天安門大屠殺後，民刊成為公民抵抗和反抗暴政的重要形式。1989 年民刊推動建立民主中國、保障人權；形成了鮮明對照的是中共六四屠殺後強化專制、踐踏人權，建構以大漢族沙文主義為核心的民族主義，對內維穩高壓、對外擴張。民刊蘊含的形式、內涵和潛能是變革中國的動力，對當下共同反抗中共極權和中華帝國有重要的借鑒和啟示作用。爭取全球民主和全面民主化，才可能結束專制和帝國，尋找當下民主危機的出路。

Abstract: This article examines the formats and contents of the citizen publications during the Prodemocracy Movement. With the marches, sit-ins, hunger strikes, and defying the martial law orders, the reproduction and dissemination of the citizen publications has expanded from campus to street and squares, from big character poster walls or peer publications which was mainly on the campus, to movable words in public spaces in the city. The pamphlets were distributed to the streets and in squares in cities along with participants in the procession as well as spread to different regions and even outside mainland China. The citizen publications have created platforms for urban public exchanges and discussions, exploring and practising autonomous entities, enabling participants from different social classes, different regions, and different nationalities to enlighten each other, holding the Chinese Communist Party leaders to account as well as fighting corruption bottom up, jointly resisting the CCP totalitarian rule. After the Tiananmen Massacre, the citizen publications are the most important types of civil resistance. The citizen publications during the Prodemocracy Movement promoted the establishment of a democratic China to protect human

rights. By contrast, the CCP has further committed human rights atrocities by strengthening its totalitarian rule and inciting Chinese nationalist chauvinism after the massacre, implementing both domestic stability maintenance and expansion. The formats, implications and potential of the citizen publications are driving momentum for China's change, and have an important reference for the current resistance against the CCP's totalitarianism and the Chinese Empire. Only by pursuing global democracy and comprehensive democratization will it be possible to end authoritarian regimes and empires, as well as to find a way out for the current crisis of democracy.

关键字：民刊，八九民运，六四屠杀，民主，平等，全球体系
Keywords: citizen publications, the 1989 prodemocracymovement, June FourthMassacre, democracy, equality, global system

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Dr Shao Jiang is an independent scholar and visiting researcher of Centre for the Study of Democracy at the University of Westminster. His publications include *Citizen Publications in China before the Internet* (Palgrave, 2015), "The UN's Human Rights Mechanisms and the Development of the Civil Society in China", "Crisis of Democracy In the Era of Global Capitalism". Shao was an undergraduate of Mathematics Department at Peking University in 1989. He was a prisoner of conscience from 1989 to 1991 for his active role in Chinese student demonstrations in 1986-88 and 1989 Prodemocracy movement. He was put in detention centres and under house arrests for involvement in civil resistance between 1994 and 1997. He fled to Sweden in 1997 and has lived and worked in London since 2003.

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