

My name is Jeremy Brown, I'm a professor of history at Simon Fraser University; I teach Chinese history and every year I teach hundreds of students about Tiananmen, openly, freely, I teach about what happened and together we discuss and analyze what it meant. I also wrote a book about 1989, it's called *June Fourth: The Tiananmen Protests and Beijing Massacre of 1989*. Yesterday I was reading a magazine article by Yangyang Cheng; one sentence that she wrote really jumped out at me because it captures a message that I try to get across in my teaching and in my book: Tiananmen "is an event encapsulating the best and the worst of China."

Tiananmen and June Fourth represent the best and the worst of China. Best? How can we say "best"? Let's dwell on the "best" part a little bit. How do the Tiananmen protests represent the best of China? For ~~more than~~ 50 days in the spring of 1989, millions of people gathered and demanded a better future; they wanted freedom of speech, freedom of the press, transparency, no more corruption, open and honest dialogue between citizens and the government. Hopefulness and friendliness and optimism and joy skyrocketed during these few weeks. People smiled at one another, *with someone you don't know, think about why you came here and what connects you.* *In 1989* *that's where it started* *shared purpose who are* *real* people connected with each other, people talked about democracy and how to make China more democratic and free. It wasn't perfect, but it was *the start*. The movement to improve China happened in Beijing and it also took place outside of the capital in Shanghai, Xi'an, Hangzhou, Taiyuan, Ningxia, Urumchi, and other places all over China. Thousands of people in Hong Kong, and even right here in Vancouver, came together to support the democracy movement in China. The hope of April and May

1989 is still alive, and that magic gives me hope for today. It gives me hope for the future. Students at SFU who learn about the Tiananmen movement grab some of that magic, some of that hope for a better world and help it to grow. So do you. So do all of you.

But sadly, June Fourth also represents the worst of China because the hopefulness of the democracy movement was violently cut short. We are here today to commemorate the victims of the Beijing massacre and to condemn the perpetrators of the massacre.

On June 3, 1989, more than 180,000 troops from the People's Liberation Army invaded China's capital city, killing hundreds or even thousands of unarmed civilians.

The Beijing massacre was not necessary, and it was not inevitable. ^{It was totally avoidable.} There were many other possible outcomes, and there were many other possible solutions that could have avoided bloodshed. The crackdown after the massacre pushed China in a different direction, all the way to today, bringing Xi Jinping to power, leading to the cultural genocide in Xinjiang, and leading to the terrible oppression in Hong Kong over the past five years.

Is remembering June Fourth a crime? Yes or no? Is studying the history of Tiananmen a crime? Yes or no? Remembering is resistance, teaching and studying ^{history} are resistance, research and writing ^{history} are resistance because they keep hope alive and they keep the memory of the victims alive.

How many people here are from HK? If you're from HK
raise your hand and say gaa yau! Say gaa yau!
Taiwan? 加油, Taiwan minzhu wenxii? (w m2 w5)
Mainland China? Keyijishu, ye keyi bu jishu - datu ren (m2 jian6 b4 bu rangyi;
大家請舉手。誰能寫出“八”字？寫一個八。下面寫一個九。下
面是什麼呢？誰知道怎麼寫六？寫個六字。接著是什麼字？接著是
四。一起來個四，八九六四，一起來八九六四，Baat3gau2 Luk6sei3
再來八九六四。【我說八九你們說六四。八九——八九——
一八九】

不知道你們有沒有關注最近香港的消息，昨天有個行為藝術家
在公共場合什麼都沒說，就在空中用手寫了“八九六四”，結果被警
察帶走了。現在香港對六四紀念活動的鎮壓已經到了這個地步，真
是太荒唐了，太可恥了。大陸那邊就更不用說了。

我們在加拿大能夠自由地紀念六四，真的很幸運。怎麼紀念
呢？最近有個作家寫道，六四既代表了中國最好的一面，也代表了
中國最壞的一面。這種說法值得我們深思。1989年的民主運動代表
了中國最好的一面，就像反送中運動代表了香港最好的一面。1989
年春天的 50 多天里，中國各個城市有幾百萬市民和學生聚集在一
起，向政府要求言論自由、新聞自由，還要求和政府官員坐下來進
行公開的對話。政府拒絕了之後，學生們開始絕食靜坐，非常了不
起。結果是什麼呢？是前所未有的真正對話。這就是中國最好的一
部分。當時不僅是北京，全國各地都充滿希望，不光是學生，還有
工人、警察、軍人、普通市民都在討論怎麼改善中國，怎麼實現民
主化、自由化。

don qu' Tiananmen yang choy
zhishi jieshi de xingzhe,

接下来就是戒嚴，到了 6 月 3 ^{日晚上} 和 6 月 4 ^{日凌晨} 的慘案。這就代表了中國最壞的一面。所謂的解放軍開槍掃射無辜平民完全沒有必要，完全可以避免，但是鄧小平寧可殺人，寧可鎮壓，也不願意和平解決問題。~~太可恥了。~~

紀念六四，我們應該聽誰的聲音？聽共產黨的？我們要聽共產黨的話嗎？聽習近平的？要聽習近平的嗎？中國共產黨隱瞞真相，不聽他們的。像劉曉波說的，我們應該傾聽天安門母親的聲音。天安門母親說什麼？今年為了紀念北京大屠殺三十五週年天安門母親發出了聲明：她們說：中國政府有責任向全社會做出符合事實的說明，公佈死亡人民的名單，以政府的名義向全社會公開道歉，還遇難者家屬公平和正義。【我再說一遍天安門母親的要求：中國政府有責任向全社會做出符合事實的說明，公佈死亡人民的名單，以政府的名義向全社會公開道歉，還遇難者家屬公平和正義。】

向天安門母親致敬。不忘六四。不忘六四。紀念就是抗議。紀念是抗議。光復香港。

Xie xie dajia.