记录许良英为科学与民主奋斗一生

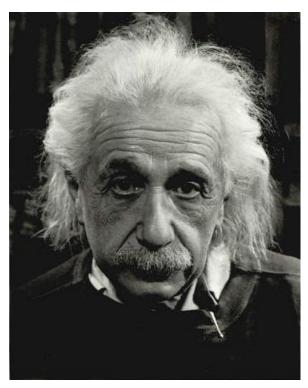
许成钢

许良英追思会 北京,2016年1月15日

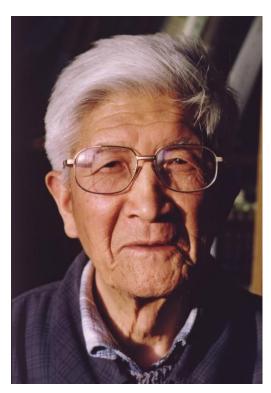
从追求科学到追求科学与民主

- 许良英的一生受到爱因斯坦的巨大影响
 - 从科学到民主
- 在美国物理学会大会为代领萨哈罗夫奖做的介绍
 - Xu Liangying, a veteran member of the CCP since the mid 1940s, has renounced his belief in Marxism in the early 1990s. From the sketch of Xu's life, one can tell the evolution of his social ideas over the decades. The evolution also indicates the path of his persistent search for truth and social justice, which has been, from time to time, inspired by Albert Einstein's ideas.
- 到晚年,他的几乎全部精力都在推动民主事业上

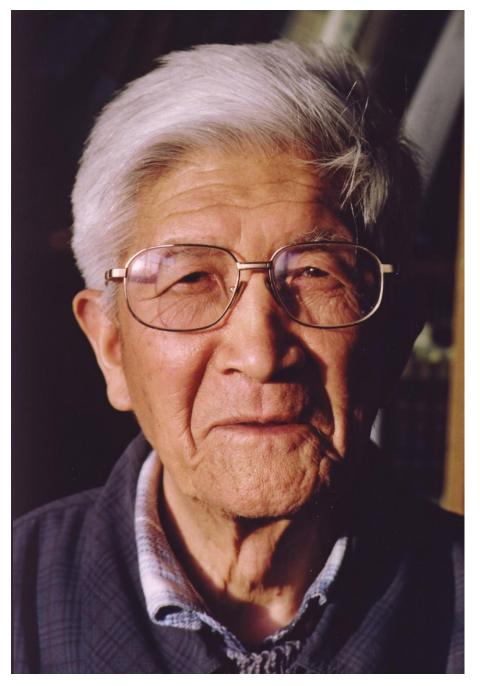
2008 APS Sakharov Prize to Xu Liangying







April 14, 2008 APS. St. Louis, MO



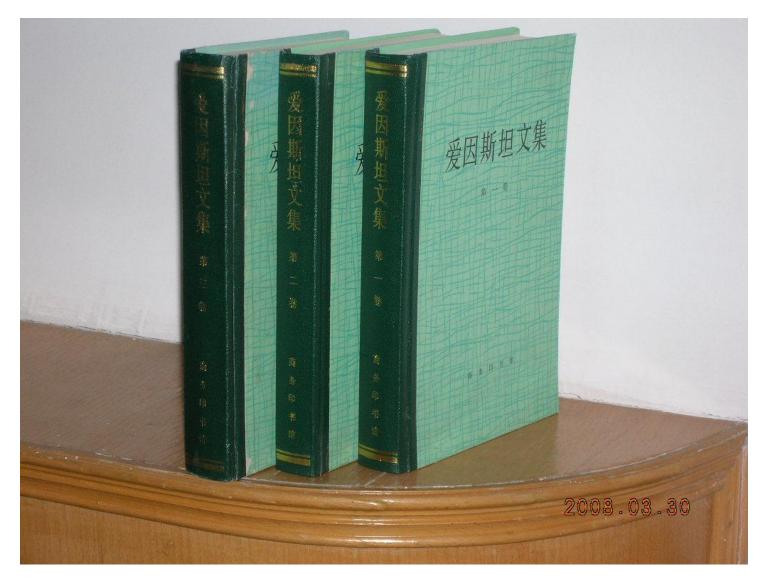
Xu Liangying

A lifetime's advocacy of truth, democracy and human rights

Photos and documents recording his life and human right activities



Due to his outspoken views against purges of scientists in the "antirightist movement," Xu Liangying was accused as a "rightist" and was exiled from 1958 to 1978. This is his clothing he was wearing when he returned to Beijing from exile in 1978.



During his exile, Xu took on the task of collecting and translating Einstein's major political, philosophical and scientific works into Chinese. The three-volume "Collected Works of Albert Einstein" was published in 1976~1979



Xu Liangying (left), Li Shuxian (2nd left), Fang Lizhi (2nd right) and Liu Binyan (right) at a lunch meeting, initiating a conference to observe the 30th anniversary of the "anti-rightist campaign" in1986.

中国科学院自然科学史研究所

1989 open letter

The letter argued for democracy, called for the protection of civil rights and the release of political dissidents. The letter helped to inspire the students protest in 1989 in Tiananmen Square.

赵紫阳克书记、才里委员长、李先念主席、李鹏总理并中共中央、人大常委会、全国政协、国务院:

十一届三中全会以来,以思想解放为发导,以开放、改革为 基本国策的我国现代化事业已取得举世瞩目的成记,尽 各中间曾出现过一些曲折和失误,但系的发展方向还是顺 海的四部世界历史明底的,这分十年确是建国以来最好的 时期。然而今天, 改革在前进中遭斗严重障碍: 截纹成风, "台州"猖獗,物价和战,人心涣散,教育、科学、文化事业 面临严重危机。继承"国家兴亡,匹夫有责"传统的中国知 识分子, 不能不为此忧心忡之。为3 俊观似此事业不致失 折,我们这些长期战斗在科研、教育、文化节一线上的充 年知中年知识分子,本着为国为民的社会责任成,以赤诚 的爱国心, 恳切地向您们提出如下建议:

一) 在坚持开放、改革的新提下,尽力使政治体制改革(即政治民主化) 同经济体制改革同步进行。因为世界历史经验和中国现象告诉我们,政治民主化(包括法

中国科学院自然科学史研究所

钱塩與 王隆昌 被雅风 薛岛各 许良菜 过35 黃字號 叶等正 树世华 周明镇 朱兆祥 许国志 汪卷 孙克定 蒋丽金 茅方轼 胡烙的 刘泽俊 陇室三 杜比梅 事仁康 季波林 强星粉 于焙成 的斯祥 刘城的 包遵信 王束棣 失祖先 硬如做 戏贴庆 刘辽 摩美藻 张崇华 坚晓先 曹俊善 奏诗东 集国祯 果老学 图礼全 黃椒點

袋名,工作单位和照称见时页

1989 open letter

Forty two leading scientists and writers signed this letter. This was the first time in the history of PRC that so many established scientists openly expressed their political views.

年 月 日第4页

1989年2月26日



Xu Liangying (middle front) and Fang Lizhi (right front) with student leader Wang Dan (left front) in January 1989

In1992, Xu published an article titled "Without Democracy, Reform Cannot Succeed" in the Chinese magazine "Future and Development". After drawing substantial attention in the Hong Kong media and in the West, that issue of the magazine was banned and all the remaining unsold copies were seized.

没有政治民主, 改革不可能成功

许良英

随着1989年东欧、苏联的巨变和1991年的海湾战争, 经历了半个多世纪的东西 方两大阵营的对抗和冷战,从历史上消失了。虽然地区冲突、民族纠纷、 宗教和意 识形态的斗争还会长期继续下去,但是世界大战的可能性已不复存在, 而人类历史 上仅有的两次世界大战都发生在20世纪上半期。世界和平有了保障, 向往和实现民 主、自由、人权成为不可阻挡的潮流。 这是经历了纷争、战乱、磨难的20世纪在最 后十年为未来的新世纪所准备的献礼, 是科学、民主和理性的伟大胜利。

早在1815年,陈独秀就把现代文明归结为科学与人权;1919 年他又把人权扩大为民主。1924年孙中山也说,"现在世界潮流到了民权时代", "没有方法可以反抗",并且强调:"世界潮流浩浩荡荡,顺之则昌,逆之则亡。"可是,进入30 年代,欧亚几个大国出现了逆流,这就是德、意、日三国猖獗一时的法西斯; 苏联斯大林模式的专制;以及50年代以后出现在中国的"反右运动"、"大跃进"、"无产阶级文化大革命"这类自我折腾。 这些都是人类历史回到中世纪的一种"返祖现象",是科学昌明的现代社会的历史大倒退。历史终于克服了这种倒退,不过代价是无比高昂的,包括亿万人的生命。

十年"文化大革命"的浩劫使人们从现代迷信中清醒过来。于是有十年改革开放的局面。改革的目标,1981年曾确定为:建设一个"高度民主的。高度文明的"现代化国家。人们为这个目标所吸引,对未来充满希望。可是,由于根深柢崮的几千年封建传统的作祟,民主始终是寸步难行。特别是1989年6月4日那出史无前例的人间惨剧之后,民主自由被视为洪水猛兽,坚持主张民主的人被斥之为"敌对分子"。——时间仿佛又回到了"反右"和"文革"年代,棍子、帽子满天飞,稍有独立思想的言论、著作一概被禁,而骗子、流氓、娼妓的胡话、梦呓却使权贵们如获至宝,正义之士无不为中华民族的厄运而唏嘘。

现在,从南到北骤然又吹起强劲的"改革"之风。人们为之雀跃。 似乎又出现了希望。但是这次改革,谈的只是经济改革和发展生产力,而回避政治改革。 更是讳言民主。这种拐脚的改革能否成功,殊堪怀疑。

有人以所谓"四小龙"为范例,认为单纯的经济改革是可行的。 殊不知"四小龙"本来就是私有制和市场经济,经济起飞并无体制方面的阻力。 而中国大陆首先碰到的是经济体制改革问题。在经济体制转型的过程中, 如果没有政治上的民主,政权和官吏受不到广大人民和独立舆论的监督,必然"官倒"猖獗,腐败成风, 社会矛盾必然日益激化,以致不可收拾。英国历史学家阿克顿(Lord Acton)早在100多年前就说过:"权力趋向腐败,绝对权力绝对腐败。" 这是历史的铁律,谁也逃脱不了。不受人民监督的政权,必然腐败; 而腐败和官倒人民是无法容忍的,它们是社会动乱的根源和催化剂。

如果人仅仅是经济动物,生产力的增长是社会进步的唯一指标,那么值得称道的并不是亚洲"四小龙",而是希特勒当政时的德国。1933年1月希特勒当上德国总理,到年底,德国失业率就减少了1/3(原为33%,600万人),以后逐年下降,到1938年已不到1%。1933-1938年5年内,国民生产总值增长68%,平均年增长率11%,其中生产资料生产尤为迅速,5年内将近翻了一番。根据这一"伟大功绩",我们应该高呼"希特勒万岁"了, 何况他搞的也是"社会主义" ("国家社会主义", National sozial ismus,简称Nazi"纳粹",按德文原意该译为"民族社会主义"):那些鼓吹不搞民主也能发展经济的说客们,竟没有一个敢于公开宣扬如此辉煌的纳粹经验,实属莫人遗憾。

This petition appealed to the authorities to "end China's history of punishing people for their ideas, speeches, and writings."

为改善我国人权状况呼吁

近来,北京、上海等地发生了多起因思想言论问题遭到当局拘捕、拘询的事件, 国际舆论哗然。关心国家民族命运、有志于我国现代化事业的有识之士无不为之 震惊,并深感不安和忧虑。

综观人类文明发展史,现代文明发端于人的现代化,即人的觉醒,摆脱古代和中世纪专制的思想禁锢,认识到人应该有独立的人格和尊严,享有不可转让和侵犯的基本权利,首先是思想言论自由的权利。这就是现代人的人权意识。舍人权而侈谈现代化,无异于缘木求鱼。205年前法国的《人和公民权利的宣言》即已明白揭示:"对人权的无知、忽视或蔑视,是公众不幸和政府腐败的唯一原因"。中国的历史和现实同样印证了这一千古不易的真理。随着20世纪40年代反法西斯战争的胜利,争取和维护人权已经成为全世界人民的共识。1948年联合国大会通过《世界人权宣言》,宣告:"人人有权享有生命、自由和人身安全";"任何人不得加以任意逮捕、拘禁或放逐";"人人有思想、良心和宗教自由的权利";"人人有权享有主张和发表意见的自由"。中国是联合国的发起国,并且是安全理事会的常任理事国,理应率先格守联合国有关人权的各项公约,而不应因国内的人权问题而成为国际舆论的谴责对象。

为此,我们呼吁当局果敢地结束我国几千年来因思想、言论、文字治罪的历史, 释放所有因思想、言论问题而被关押的人员。我们认为,只有尊重人权,确保公民各项应有的权利,社会才会有真正的安定;否则,只会激化矛盾,诱发动乱,以致一发而不可收拾。

The full text of the petition together with an interview was published in the New York Times, March 10, 1994.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"



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7 Chinese Intellectuals Appeal For End to Political Repression

Beijing Urged to Free Dissidents and Stop Arrests

By PATRICK E. TYLER

Special to The New York Times

BEIJING, March 10 — Challenging the Government's latest crackdown on dissidents, seven leading scientists and intellectuals appealed in writing today to President Jiang Zemin for an end to repression of free speech and for the release of all political prisoners.

The statement, made available to Western journalists a day before Secretary of State Warren Christopher is to begin an official visit, is believed to be the first petition to the Chinese Government on human rights from a group of eminent intellectuals since the crackdown on the Tiananmen Square demonstrations in 1989.

Arrests Are Protested

The group said it was protesting the arrests and intimidation of dissidents over the last week in advance of Mr.

Christopher's visit and the opening ses-

The tone and spirit of the statement recalled the popular movement that rose in the winter of 1989 and gathered momentum that spring, first among intellectuals, then among students and workers. Their protests in favor of democracy paralyzed Beijing and seized international attention for weeks until the movement was crushed by tanks and machine-gun fire in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989.

Petition Mailed to Officials

Mr. Xu said he mailed the petition today to President Jiang and to Qiao Shi, chairman of the National People's Congress, or parliament. Official Chinese news organizations have not yet reported the appeal, but its existence is likely to become widely known here through foreign radio broadcasts beamed to China.

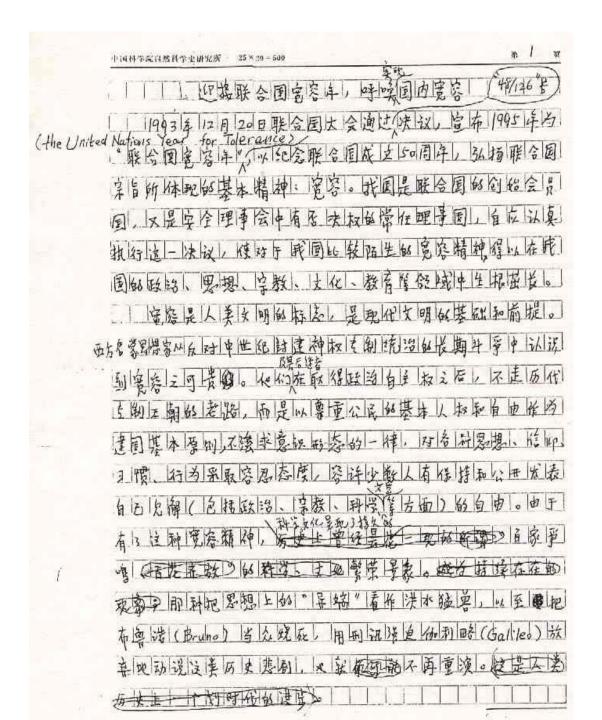


Xu Liangying was awarded the Heinz Pagels Prize of Human Rights in 1995

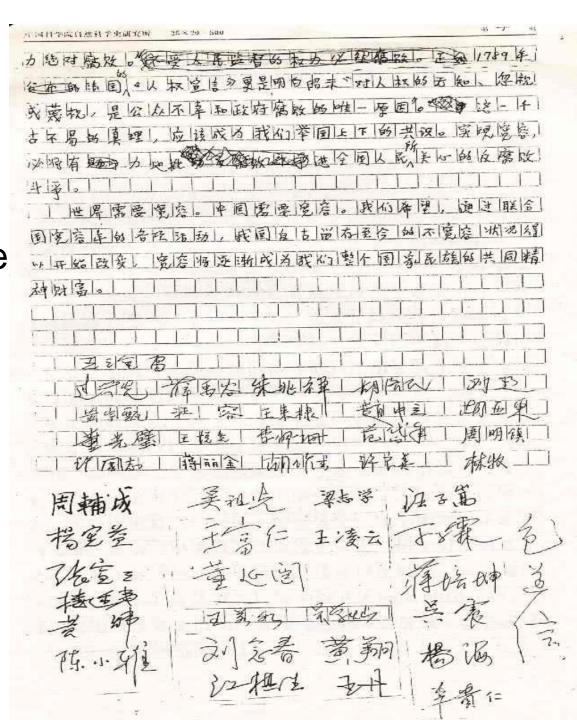


The two 1995 Heinz Pagels Prize co-recipients Xu Liangying and Ding Zilin (right) with Wang Laidi and Jiang Peikun (left), 2006

This petition appealed to the authorities to end their hostility to dissidents, to reevaluate the decision on the June 4th movement, and to release all those imprisoned for the ideas, speeches, and beliefs.



Over one thousand eminent scientists and scholars in the world, including Wang Ganchang and 10 Nobel Laureates, signed this letter.





Xu Liangying, Hu Jimin, Wang Rong (from left to the right) with their mentor Wang Ganchang (front), in 1986

1998 article "Chinese Physicists' Sense of Social Responsibility," presented at "Physicists in the **Postwar Political** Arena" Conference, UC-Berkeley, January 1998

Chinese Physicists' Sense of Social Responsibility

Xu Liangying
Institute for History of Natural Science, Chinese Academy of Sciences
137 Chao Nei Street
Beijing 100010, China

"Physicists in the Postwar Political Arena: Comparative Perspectives"

Conference at the University of California, Berkeley

22-24 January 1998

Following the end of the Second World War, most countries entered a period of peaceful development, but in China, a civil war waged for four more years. In 1949, the founding of the People's Republic of China enjoyed widespread support among the Chinese people. However, due to the non-democratic nature of the new government, the country soon succumbed to incessant political campaigns and continuos turmoil and self-destruction.

The "Anti-rightist movement" in 1957, which followed a campaign to induce people to "air grievance and help the rectification of the Communist Party," purged 11% of the country's intellectuals (numbering at least 550,000) as "rightists" (a category of class enemies). The "Great Leap Forward" in 1958-1961 was designed to enable China to catch up and surpass Great Britain and the United States in economic performance, and transition into communism. The result was, however, a man-made famine that killed several million people. Thereafter, under the name of "the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution," a "complete dictatorship" reigned on Chinese academia, culture, and the society in general, resulting in a ruinous devastation that lasted for ten years (1966-1976). The policy of reform and opening up since 1978 has turned the economy around for the better, but there still occurred the great carnage on June 4, 1989, with bloody suppression of the masses. One can imagine how difficult it is for an intellectual with conscience to live in such a country.

Physicists have tended to possess wider vision and attain higher spiritual realm, and to concern themselves with human affairs more passionately than other technical specialists. This is because the mission of physics is to explore the general laws of the universe; because many, major research findings from physics have profoundly affected the intellectual and material pursuits of human kind, and thus making a cornerstone of modern civilization. The life of Albert Einstein best exemplified this point. His consistent, strong sense of justice and social responsibility made him a model of intellectuals in the twentieth century.



Starting from the 2nd left: Fan Dainian, Fang Lizhi, Xu Liangying, Abraham Pias, Li Peishan and Liu Liao (right), 1987



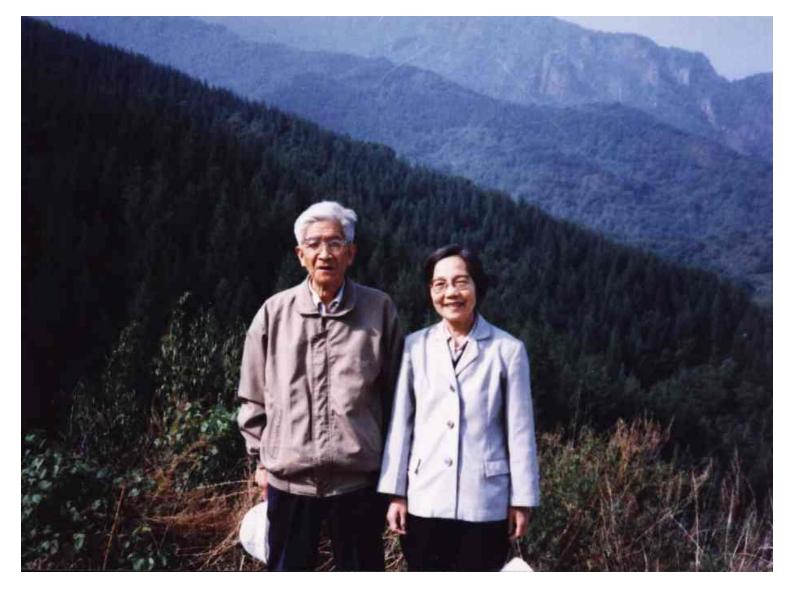
Gerald Holton (the 2008 Abraham Pais Prize recipient), Erwin Hiebert, Li Peishan and Xu Liangying (right), Harvard, 1983



Xu Liangying with Hu Jiwei (left), in 2007



Xu Liangying and his wife with Li Rui (middle), in 2007



Xu Liangying has been working with his wife, Wang Laidi, a historian, on a book on the history and theory of democracy, in 1995

未完成遗著终在今年出版历尽坎坷,二老尽其一生最后二十年精力的

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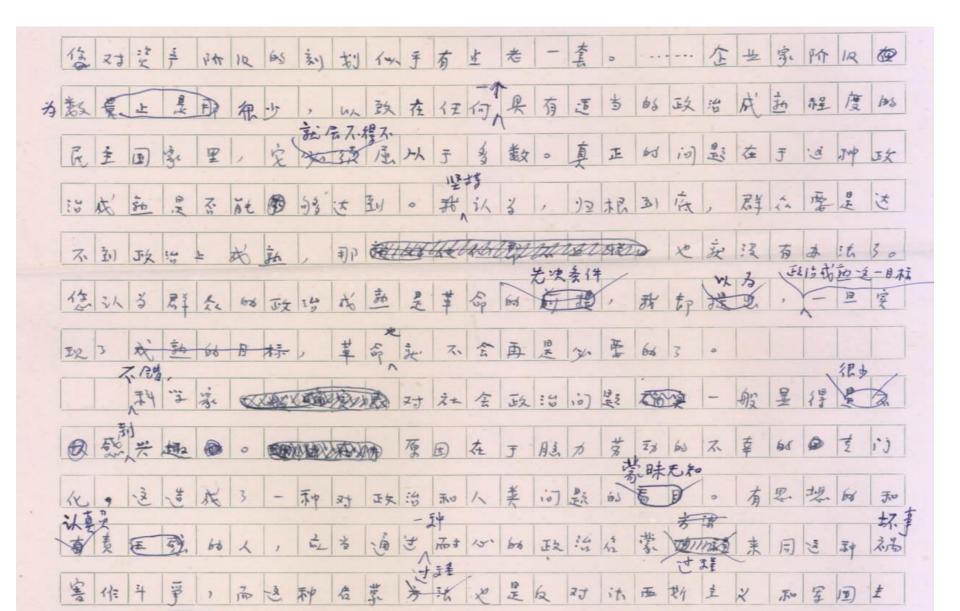
捐赠许良英《爱因斯坦研究》的遗稿希伯来大学爱因斯坦档案馆





爱因斯坦支持民主法治反对暴力革命

爱因斯坦给加拿大青年的信,《爱因斯坦文集》第3卷



"人同此心,心同此理"

科学民主的事业 后继有人!