

二十大后中国前景分析研讨会

主办: 纪念胡耀邦赵紫阳基金会、纽约思想者俱乐部、中国民主党全国委员会学术部、北京之春编辑部、中国民联

特别顾问: 黎安友 (Andrew Nathan)

背景:

习近平执政已进入第十个年头。在过去的十年中，中国的政治发展历经了反腐整党、社会控制、经济下行、美中交恶、台海冲突加剧等重大变动，又逢俄乌战争、“动态清零”和近日的佩洛西 (Nancy Pelosi) 访台，目前正处于新的临界点。北京政府是继续向极权主义大步迈进，还是以国家民族利益为重改弦更张，重启改革与开放，成为举世关注的焦点。

如何评价习近平的十年执政？中国到底向何处去？中国的政治变动对世界的未来意味着什么？目前日益加剧的台海冲突会不会导致热战？胡赵基金会在二十大前夕主办“习近平主政十年后中国向何处去？”的国际研讨会，希望借此机会，与来自各国的专家学者就这些议题，进行深入的、多方位、多学科的分析与探讨，为中国和世界的未来走向寻求新共识。

胡赵精神遗产对当今中国的政治发展依然具有积极意义。胡耀邦对异见和异议人士的包容和保护，赵紫阳关于中国走民主宪政之路的主张，素为自由知识界所景仰。本次学术研讨会，也希望借此建立体制内外、海内外民主力量的沟通机制，共同为中国的宪政转型而努力。

召开日期和地点:

时间：2022 年 9 月 24 日和 9 月 25 日 (周六与周日)

地点：美国纽约法拉盛 Sheraton Hotel, 7 层, Topaz 会议室

会议部分议程 (暂定)

9 月 24 日上午 9 -12

开幕式：胡赵基金会会长和特约嘉宾致辞(张艾枚、黎安友各 3 分钟)

主题一：中共二十大的路线及当下中国形势的判断 (主持人荣伟)

二十大与习近平时代的终结 (罗小朋)

中共二十大前后的权力斗争(王军涛)

目前中国的经济形势(张刚)

中国经济：看好？看坏？ (夏善晨)

二十大后中共政策走向分析 (翁寒松)

二十大后中国政经走向分析 (夏业良)

改革开放结束了，欢迎斯大林主义 (白夏法国)

二十大习近平将建立绝对权力控制体系（邓聿文）

二十大：改革开放的走向（郭岩华）

中国新时代的世界角色和新思想理论定位（李肃）

寡头共治办洋务，党国中兴四十年，二十大后能再续？（郑旭光）

二十大习近平的旗和路(张杰)

政治挂帅，一统江湖——习近平二十大后的经济路线（李恒青）

9月24日下午 1-4

主题二：习近平执政分析——从威权主义到极权主义（主持人邓聿文）

个人崇拜在当今中国的回潮和“人民领袖”在二十大以后的走向（宋永毅）

从双重国家到高科技极权主义（滕彪）

大折腾：习近平新时代有中国特色社会主义的政治逻辑（罗慰年）

最坏的独裁（胡平）

两种国运的对决（陈奎德）

无权者的权力（王天成）

习近平主导下的军队改革与建设（姚诚）

从方舱隔离到封门清零看中共应对之得失（叶宁）

从人口结构看中国的社会经济走向（易富贤）

大变将至观风云（康正果）

习近平的共同富裕——口号、行动和绩效（乔山）

习近平极权复辟的失败(冯崇义澳大利亚)

胡赵精神能否在二十大后回归中共？（周孝正）

三十年后对胡赵的一些质疑(苏晓康)

9月25日上午 9-12

主题三：美欧与中国在国际竞争格局下的重新定位（主持人刘亚伟）

美中能完全脱钩吗？（张艾枚）

中国安全观与发展观的易位与中美关系的走向（李肃）

两极世界的发展与中美竞争（赵穗生）

中美不应继续对抗（张博树）

中欧关系展望（张伦法国）

9月25日下午 1-4

主题四：中美台关系研讨会（主持人于大海）

本专场由胡赵基金会和北京之春编辑部主办

美台复交与中华民国入联（胡平）
未来五年，中国武统台湾的可能性分析（邓聿文）
解决台海危机的中间道路（李伟东）
台湾的前途取决于大陆民主化（高光俊）
习近平与解决台湾问题（王希哲）
台湾问题的未来（顾为群）
《台湾政策法》通过后的台海局势（李毅）
台湾的“中国”、“大陆”、“中共”、“外来政权”等概念在当下台湾的术语演变与文化表述（贝岭）
台湾是中国民主化的前线（陈创闯）

与会嘉宾自由发言与提问

闭幕式

会议以线上线下形式同时进行，明镜电视全程播放。

請用中文姓名加入 ZOOM

- [] 帳號：9997008888

- [] 密碼：303999

明鏡電視全程直播

<https://youtube.com/channel/UC3lyWHqUY9liP4en5jnY6vA>

会议论文:

要求每位会议出席人提交一篇论文，论文主题可在以上 6 个会议研讨题目中任选，也可另拟（但须与中国转型相关）。论文篇幅以 8000-10000 字为宜。论文提交时间：不晚于 9 月 10 日。会议结束后，将遴选会议优秀论文结集出版。

参加会议讨论发言和主持嘉宾简介：

滕彪，亨特学院 Hauser 人权学者，原芝加哥大学客座教授、现哥伦比亚大学客座教授。

赵穗生，丹佛大学政治与外交专业教授

刘亚伟，美国卡特总统中心中国研究中心主任

罗小朋，独立学者，美国明尼苏达大学经济学博士

张钢，独立学者、《河殇》纪录片导演

白夏（Jean- Philippe Beja），法国国家科学研究中心（CNRS）当代中国研究资深研究员

邓聿文，独立学者、中国战略分析智库研究员

王军涛，哥伦比亚大学政治学博士

张伦 法国 CY 赛尔奇-巴黎大学教授

胡平，独立学者，北京之春荣誉主编。

夏善晨，前美国兰德智库访问学者、美中国际商务高级研究院院长、教授

乔山，独立学者、人力资源专家和高级顾问

翁寒松，文史哲学者、哥伦比亚大学访问学者

王希哲 独立学者、著名异议人士

易富贤，威斯康星大学妇产科研究人员、人口学专家

姚诚，原中共海军军官、现独立时评人

王天成，独立学者、中国民主转型研究所所长

陈奎德，独立学者，纵览中国网刊主编，普林斯顿中国学社执行主任

苏晓康，作家，电视纪录片《河殇》总撰稿人。

夏业良，独立学者，原北京大学经济学教授

冯崇义，澳大利亚悉尼科技大学国际研究学院中国学教授

张博树，独立学者、哥伦比亚大学客座教授

顾为群，独立学者、哈佛大学政治学博士

李伟东，独立学者、中国战略分析智库董事、研究员

宋永毅，加州大学洛杉矶分校教授

李肃，北京和君创业咨询公司和当代国宾智库创始人，北京新“四人帮”之一

李毅，中华发展战略研究所研究员

张杰，独立学者、时评人

郭岩华，中华发展战略研究所所长、人民网强国论坛博主

罗慰年，独立学者、[当代中国评论]国际季刊副主编

贝岭，前独立中文笔会会长、诗人，台湾荣誉永久居民

郑旭光，六四“学生领袖，现独立时评人和主持人）

周孝正，中国人民大学社会学系退休教授）

叶宁，纽约执业律师

高光俊，纽约执业律师

陈创闯，纽约在读法学博士候选人

康正果，作家，耶鲁大学东亚语文系高级讲师（已退休）

张艾枚，独立学者，时评人，胡赵基金会代理会长）

于大海 普林斯顿大学经济学博士、中国民联主席

李恒青， 六四“学运领袖， 现“信息与战略研究所”经济学者， 时评人

荣伟， 纽约思想者俱乐部创办人、 主持人、 [当代中国评论]国际季刊主编、 纽约当代艺术国际策展人

Where Is China Going after the 20th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party

A China Prospects Symposium

Organized by: Hu Yaobang Zhao Ziyang Memorial Foundation

Sponsored by: the New York Thinkers Club, Academic Department of the Democratic Party of China, Beijing Spring, Chinese Alliance for Democracy

Special Advisor: Andrew Nathan

Background:

Xi Jinping has entered its tenth year in power. In the past ten years, China's political development has experienced major changes such as anti-corruption and party consolidation, social control, economic downturn, US-China tensions, and intensified conflict in the Taiwan Strait in the wake of Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan. China is now at a new tipping point. Whether Beijing will continue to make great strides towards totalitarianism, or will it change its course with the interests of the nation and the people as its top priority, and restart reform and opening up, has become the focus of global attention.

How to evaluate Xi Jinping's ten years in power? Where is China going? What does political change in China mean for the future of the world? Will the current intensifying conflict in the Taiwan Strait lead to a hot war? On the eve of the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, the Hu Zhao Foundation organizes this international symposium "Where Is China Going after the 20th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party?". The organizer and the sponsors hoping to take this opportunity to conduct in-depth, multi-faceted and multidisciplinary discussions on these issues with experts and scholars from all over the world. We are seeking a new consensus for the future direction of China and the world.

Hu and Zhao's legacy still has positive impact on the political development of China today. Hu Yaobang's tolerance and protection of dissent and dissidents, and Zhao Ziyang's proposition that China should take the road of democratic and constitutional government, have always been admired by the liberal intellectuals in and outside China. This academic symposium also hopes to establish a communication mechanism for democratic forces inside and outside the system and at home and abroad to work together for China's peaceful and orderly transition to a constitutional government.

Date and place of meeting:

When: September 24 and September 25, 2022 (Saturday and Sunday)

Venue: Topaz Conference Room, 7th Floor, Sheraton Hotel, Flushing, New York, USA

Symposium Agenda

September 24th morning
9am - 12 pm

Opening Ceremony: Speeches by the President of Hu Zhao Foundation and special guest (3 minutes each for Zhang Aimei and Professor Andrew Nathan)

Panel One

The Road of the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China and the Assessment of the Current Situation in China

Moderator: David Rong

The 20th Party Congress and the End of the Xi Jinping Era **(Luo Xiaopeng)**

The Power Struggle before and After the 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of China **(Wang Juntao)**

Analysis of the CCP's Policy Trend After the 20th Party Congress **(Weng Hansong)**

Analysis of China's Possible Political and Economic Policies After the 20th National Congress **(Xia Yeliang)**

Reform and Opening up Is Over, Hello, Stalinism **(Jean-Philippe Beja, France)**

The 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China Xi Jinping will establish an absolute power control system **(Deng Yuwen)**

The Future of Reform and Opening up After the 20th Party Congress **(Guo Yanhua)**

China's Role in the World in the New Era and the Theoretical Orientation of New Ideas **(Li Su from Beijing)**

Oligarchs Govern and Manage Foreign affairs, the Party-State Has Prospered for 40 Years: Can It Be Repeated after the 20th Party Congress? **(Zheng Xuguang)**

The Flag and Road of Xi Jinping at the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China **(Zhang Jie)**

What Will Be Xi Jinping's Economic policy after the 20th Party Congress (**Li Hengqing**)

Assessing Current Economic Situation in China (**Zhang Gang, Macao**)

Chinese economy: optimistic? look bad? (**Xia Shanchen, China**)

September 24 afternoon
1pm - 4 pm

Panel Two
Analysis of Xi Jinping's Governance - From Authoritarianism to
Totalitarianism

Moderator: Deng Yuwen

The Resurgence of Personality Cult in Today's China and the Trend of "People's leader" after the 20th Party Congress (**Song Yongyi**)

From Dual State to High-tech Totalitarianism (**Teng Biao**)

The Big Toss: The Political Logic of Xi Jinping's New Era of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics (**Luo Weinian**)

The worst dictatorship (**Hu Ping**)

The power of the powerless (**Wang Tiancheng**)

The Showdown between Two National Destinies (**Chen Kuide**)

Military Reform and Construction under the leadership of Xi Jinping (**Yao Cheng**)

The Failure of Xi Jinping's Totalitarian Restoration (**Feng Chongyi, Australia**)

The Great Change is Coming, Watching the Wind and Clouds (**Kang Zhengguo**)

Xi Jinping's Common Prosperity - Slogan, Action and Performance (**Qiaoshan**)

Can the Spirit of Hu Zhao Return to the CCP after the 20th Party Congress?
(**Zhou Xiaozheng**)

Some Doubts About Hu Zhao Thirty Years Later (**Su Xiaokang**)

September 25th morning

9am - 12 pm

Panel Three

The Repositioning of the US, Europe and China in the Competitive International Landscape

Moderator: Yawei Liu

Can the US and China Completely Decouple? (**Zhang Aimei**)

The Translocation of China's Security Concept and Development Concept and the Future of Sino-US Relations (**Li Su, China**)

The Development of a Bipolar World and The Competition between China and US (**Zhao Suisheng**)

China and the US Should Not Continue to Confront Each Other (**Zhang Boxu**)

The Outlook for China-EU Relations (**Zhang Lun, Fance**)

September 25 afternoon

1pm - 4 pm

Panel Four

The Relations of China, Taiwan, US and Future Solutions to the Taiwan Issue(This panel is sponsored by Hu Yaobang Zhao Ziyang Memorial Foundation and Beijing Spring)

Moderator: Yu Dahai

The Resumption of Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Taiwan and the Entry of the Republic of China into the UN (**Hu Ping**)

Analysis of the Possibility of China's Military Unification of Taiwan in the Next Five Years (**Deng Yuwen**)

The Middle Way to Solve the Taiwan Strait Crisis (**Li Weidong**)

The future of Taiwan issues (**Gu Weiqun**)

The Situation in the Taiwan Strait after the passage of the Taiwan Policy Act (**Li Yi, China**)

Xi Jinping and the Taiwan Issue (**Wang Xizhe**)

Taiwan's Terminology Evolution and Cultural Expression of Concepts such as "China", "Mainland", "CCP", and "Foreign Regime" in Taiwan (**Bei Ling, Taiwan**)

The Future of Taiwan Depends on the Democratization of the Mainland (**Gao Guangjun**)

Taiwan Is the Front Line of China's Democratization (**Chen Chuang Chuang**)

Closing Ceremony

The meeting will be held both online and in-person, and the entire proceedings will broadcast live on MingjingTV.

The meeting will be held online at the same time, Join meeting in ZOOM:

ID: 9997008888

Passcode: 303999

Mingjing TV live broadcasting:

<https://youtube.com/channel/UC3lyWHqUY9liP4en5jnY6vA>

Proceedings:

Each conference attendee is required to submit a paper. The topic of the paper can be selected from the above 4panel discussion topics, or it can be proposed separately (but it must be related to China's transformation). The length of the paper should be 8000-10000 words. Paper submission deadline: No later than September 10. After the conference, selected papers of the conference will be published.

Introduction to the participants:

Teng Biao, a Hauser Human Rights Scholar at Hunter College, was a visiting professor at the University of Chicago and is now a visiting professor at Columbia University.

Suisheng Zhao, Professor of Politics and Diplomacy at the University of Denver

Yawei Liu, Director, Center for China Studies, Carter Presidential Center
Xiaopeng Luo, Independent Scholar, Ph.D. in Economics, University of Minnesota

Zhang Gang, independent scholar, director of the documentary " He Shang")
Jean-Philippe Beja, Senior Research Fellow in Contemporary China Studies, CNRS, France

Deng Yuwen, independent scholar, researcher of China Strategic Analysis Think Tank

Juntao Wang, Ph.D. in Political Science, Columbia University
Zhang Lun, Professor of CY Serki-Paris University, France
Hu Ping, independent scholar, honorary editor-in-chief of Beijing Spring.
Xia Shanchen, Former Visiting Scholar of the RAND Think Tank, Dean and Professor of the US-China Institute for Advanced Study in International Business

Qiao Shan, Independent Scholar, HR Specialist and Senior Consultant
Weng Hansong, Researcher for Philosophy, Literature and History, Visiting Scholar of Columbia University

Wang Tiancheng, Independent Scholar, Director of China Institute for Democratic Transformation

Wang Xizhe, independent scholar, famous dissident
Yi Fuxian, researcher in obstetrics and gynecology, University of Wisconsin, demography expert

Yao Cheng, former Chinese naval officer, now independent commentator
Chen Kuide, Independent Scholar, Editor-in-Chief of Review China Online, Executive Director of Princeton China Society

Su Xiaokang, writer, chief writer of the TV documentary "He Shang".
Xia Yeliang, independent scholar, former professor of economics at Peking University

Feng Chongyi, Professor of Chinese Studies, School of International Studies, University of Technology Sydney, Australia

Zhang Boshu, Independent Scholar, Visiting Professor at Columbia University
Gu Weiqun, Independent Scholar, Ph.D. in Political Science, Harvard University
Li Weidong, independent scholar, director and researcher of China Strategic Analysis Think Tank

Yongyi Song, Professor at UCLA

Li Su, founder of Beijing Hejun Entrepreneurship Consulting Company and Contemporary Guobin Think Tank, one of the new "Gang of Four" in Beijing

Li Yi, Research Fellow, China Development Strategy Institute
Zhang Jie, independent scholar and commentator

Guo Yanhua, Director of China Development Strategy Research Institute, blogger of People's Daily Online Forum

Luo Weinian, Independent Scholar, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of [Contemporary China Review] International Quarterly

Bei Ling, former president of the Independent Chinese PEN Association, poet, honorary permanent resident of Taiwan

Zheng Xuguang, "Student Leader of June 4th", now an independent current affairs critic and host)

Zhou Xiaozheng, retired professor of the Department of Sociology, Renmin University of China)

Gao Guangjun, New York practicing attorney

Chuang Chuang Chen, JD candidate in New York

Kang Zhengguo, writer, Senior Lecturer (retired), Department of East Asian Languages, Yale University

Zhang Aimei, independent scholar, commentator, acting president of Hu Zhao Foundation)

Yu Dahai Ph.D. in Economics from Princeton University, Chairman of Chinese Alliance for Democracy

Li Hengqing, leader of the June 4th "Student Movement", economist and current commentator at the "Institute of Information and Strategy"

David Rong, founder and host of the Thinkers Club of New York, editor-in-chief of [Contemporary China Review] International Quarterly, and International Curator for Contemporary Art in New York