

Dr. Jiang Yanyong's letter calling for June 4 reappraisal

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Chairman and Vice Chairmen of the National People's Congress [NPC] Standing Committee  
Chairman and Vice Chairmen of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference [CPPCC]  
Members of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau  
Premier and vice premiers of the State Council:

In 1989, students in Beijing, in view of the corrupt government at that time, voiced their just demand for fighting corruption and bureaucratic racketeering and for promoting clean and honest government. The students' patriotic acts had the support of the overwhelming majority of people in Beijing and the country. However, a small number of leaders who supported corruption resorted to means unprecedented in the world and in China. They acted in a frenzied fashion, using tanks, machineguns, and other weapons to suppress the totally unarmed students and citizens, killing hundreds of innocent students in Beijing, and injuring and crippling thousands others. Then, the authorities mobilized all types of propaganda machinery to fabricate lies and used highhanded measures to silence the people across the country. Now 15 years have gone by and the authorities are expecting the people to forget the incident gradually. In the past they called this Tiananmen incident a "counterrevolutionary rebellion," and then they called it the "1989 political storm." Giving the incident a different name specifically indicates the perpetrators' guilty conscience. If it was a storm, why did they have to mobilize hundreds of thousands of troops to suppress it? Why should they use machine guns and tanks to kill innocent ordinary people? Thus, I propose that we must correctly characterize the students' patriotic movement on 4 June 1989.

I am a surgeon at the PLA Number 301 Hospital. When the June 4th Incident took place in 1989, I was the director of the hospital's department of routine surgery. On the evening of 3 June, I heard repeated radio broadcasts urging people not to go to the streets. At about 2200 when I was in my dormitory, I heard continuous gunshots from the north. Several minutes later, my pager beeped. It was the emergency room's call. So I rushed there. I could not believe my eyes--lying on the floor and the examination tables were seven young people with blood all over their faces and bodies. Two of them were later confirmed dead after an EKG test. My brain buzzed and I almost passed out. I have been a surgeon for more than 30 years. When I was a member of the medical team of the PLA Railway Corps that built the Chengdu-Kunming Railway, I also saved many wounded soldiers, but they were injured by inevitable accidents during the construction process. However, lying before me this time were our own people, killed by children of the Chinese people, with weapons given to them by the people, in Beijing, the magnificent capital of China. But I could not afford the time to think at that time. After another salvo of gunshots, more wounded young people--I didn't know the exact number--were brought to the emergency room by people in the vicinity with pull carts and pedicabs. While I examined the injured, I also requested my staff to notify other surgeons and nurses to come to the emergency room. All 18 surgical rooms in our hospital were used for emergency treatment for the injured. My job in the emergency room was to determine the nature of the injuries and treat the injured. During the two-hour period from 2200 to midnight, our hospital's emergency

room accepted 89 patients with bullet wounds. Seven of them later died despite emergency treatment. In the 18 surgical rooms, doctors in three groups spent most of the night performing surgical operations to save all those who could be saved.

I can never forget the one who died. He was a young man in his twenties, whose parents were cadres retired from the Seventh Machine-Building Ministry located across the street. They had four or five children. When they heard the radio broadcasts that asked people not to go to the streets, they forbade their children from leaving home, and they sat down to play mahjong. When it was about 2200, the elderly couple became sleepy and was about to go to bed. But this young man (he was the youngest in the family, who just received his wedding certificate) and his "fiancée" went to the streets when they heard the gunshots outside. When they ran to the Five Pines Crossroad, a salvo of gunshots sprayed on them. The girl turned and ran. She yelled at her boyfriend to return immediately. A little while later when she found her boyfriend did not follow her, she went back. Soon she found her boyfriend lying on the roadside in a pool of blood. She called his name. There was no response. She pulled him, but he would not move. The people nearby immediately came forward to help. Several of them held him up and brought him to our emergency room. A nurse checked his blood pressure. There was none. When she performed an EKG test on him, the line on the screen was flat. When I examined him, I found a bullet hole in his left arm, but I could not find the hole from which the bullet exited. His girlfriend begged us to save him. But we could not, because, as the flat EKG line showed, his heart had stopped. We assessed that the bullet had entered his heart. The girl cried as if she had gone crazy, but she immediately went home and brought her boyfriend's mother to the emergency room. After the mother came, she searched all over her son, but all she could find was one bullet hole. Then she kneeled before me. She held my leg and begged me to save her son. With tears all over my face, I was speechless. Then I squatted beside this totally shattered mother and told her that her son's heart was smashed and he could not be saved. The mother, after calming down for a little while, began to break into a torrent of abuse, saying: "I joined the military when I was very young. Then I joined the party and followed the CPC in fighting Japan and Chiang Kai-shek. Now the PLA killed my dearest child, I am going to settle the score with them." Later her son's body was placed on the floor in our hospital's morgue along with other bodies. Some PLA soldiers were there to watch them. The deceased were vilified as "ruffians" and their bodies were not supposed to be picked up [by their families]. The next day, the young man's family member came to pick up the young man's body, but they were not allowed to do so. However, they were relatives of a high-ranking general and so they were allowed to take away the body soon afterward.

Another deceased person was a physically robust motorcyclist. After practicing in Fengtai that afternoon, he came to the Five Pines Crossroad in the evening. He was injured by a bullet before he could dismount from the bike. Several people put him on a pull cart and brought him to our emergency room. When I examined him, his blood pressure was still normal, but there was a big bullet hole on the left side of his pubis and blood was gushing out from the hole. We could not stop the bleeding by applying a tourniquet to that part of the body. Because of the loss of a great quantity of blood, his blood pressure soon plummeted. Then he went into shock and began to have difficulty breathing. Then, with his mouth wide open gasping for air, he soon stopped breathing and died before my eyes. As a surgeon, I can never forget that scene where a patient died before my eyes owing to the fact that we could not save his life under conditions at

that time.

At about midnight, a military officer with the rank of major (the only serviceman we saved that night) was brought to our emergency room. A bullet pierced through his upper left arm. The X-ray picture showed his humerus was crushed and there were many tiny metal fragments (I sensed that the bullet was a lead-made fragmentation bullet) in the surrounding soft tissue. The military officer told us that he came to Beijing to visit his relatives. At night when he was at a street by the Military Museum (the place where he worked), he was injured by the passing troops that fired a salvo of bullets. The elderly man on his right and the small boy on his left were both killed instantly by bullets. He was fortunate because only one of his arms was injured. The man who brought him to the emergency room for treatment was a retired serviceman who had fought in the Vietnam War. He said this to the many wounded persons and medical persons in the emergency room: The PLA's support for the left during the Cultural Revolution significantly tarnished the PLA's image on the minds of the people. The troops' use of machineguns and tanks to kill fellow countrymen is something that even Heaven would not tolerate. He said it would not be possible for the military to rebuild its image among the people. After midnight, the troops had passed through our hospital and no more wounded people were brought to our hospital. Then I proceeded to the surgery room to check the situation there. I saw one man who had his liver smashed and the smashed liver still had tiny fragments of metal. We took pictures and videotaped the scenes like that. In other cases, our doctors also found large amounts of tiny bullet fragments in the wounded persons' intestines. It was clear that the injuries were not caused by ordinary bullets, but by the so-called fragmentation bullets, the kind of bullets banned by international convention. Martial law in Beijing began on 19 May. Because the troops sent to Beijing [to impose the martial law] were stopped by the people along the way, they could not go downtown. So they were stationed at our hospital, the Armored Corps, the Telecommunications Corps and other military units located along the Fuxing Avenue. From our medical staff's conversations with the troops stationed in our hospital, we gradually learned the truth of the student movement and so our medical personnel clearly stated that they would never take part in suppressing the students. In those days, at about 0600 early in the morning each day, a helicopter from the Xijiao Airport would take off and fly slowly eastward along Fuxing Avenue to contact the responsible persons of the troops stationed in various units (the person in charge in our hospital was a regiment commander) to make sure the troops were ready for assignments. At this time the troops would get everything ready and wait for the arrival of the helicopter and the regiment commander would contact the helicopter via radio, saying that his unit was prepared. Soon after the helicopter left, the officers and men of the unit would go here and there to chat with the comrades in our hospital. Specifically because these units could no longer be assigned to suppress the students, they were withdrawn in late May and early June. I heard that the troops which later took part in suppressing the students were hurriedly deployed from Shandong. Many of the soldiers in those units had fought in Vietnam and had opened fire and killed people during their confrontation with the enemy. When they were shipped to Beijing, they had no newspapers to read and no radio to hear on the trains. They were totally in the dark regarding the situation. Soon after they came to Beijing, they were told that their mission was to suppress the counterrevolutionary rebellion in Beijing. Under that circumstance, the ignorant soldiers did what they were told, causing the tragic June 4th Incident.

On the evening of 3 June, each and every medical worker in our hospital who took part in saving lives could not imagine that such a tragedy that no normal person could understand could have occurred. At that time I even thought that it could have been an incident caused by a certain military leader who had gone reckless. At that time I also talked to the president of our hospital, surnamed Liao, asking him whether we could call the higher authorities to immediately put a stop to the situation that was happening before our eyes. Like me, President Liao, with tears in his eyes, did not know what to do. On the morning of 4 June, a tank drove up to our hospital's outpatient clinic and some soldiers brought down two soldiers who were in a coma. At that time I was still in the emergency room. I learned from the soldiers who brought the unconscious soldiers that they could have been intoxicated. So I told President Liao that the Academy of Military Sciences across the avenue should know how to treat people injured by poisonous gas. When we were establishing contacts [with the academy], we also tried to transfer the two soldiers to Hospital Number 307 across the street through an underground tunnel. President Liao, myself, and other comrades in our hospital were very sorry to know that our people and soldiers were injured in such a manner.

On 9 June, Deng Xiaoping summoned the leaders of all units and talked to them. Then the investigations began. One day, Prof. Zhu Ke, who was my classmate and director of the neurology department of the hospital, visited me, saying that the hospital had asked him to talk to me about the trip I made to Tiananmen in mid-May with some medical students pursuing advanced training in our hospital. I told Zhu: You stay out of this. Whoever in the hospital wants to know about the trip should talk to me in person. Soon, one comrade of the hospital's political department visited me. He told me that in a videotape the higher authorities saw me and the medical students going downtown along Fuxing Avenue. He said the students were on a truck, holding high a streamer with characters that read "Support Group of the PLA Medical College for Advanced Studies" and beating gongs and drums; and that I was following them on a bicycle. He asked me to explain what was going on. I told him this: That day was a Wednesday. Our department was scheduled to go downtown that afternoon to attend an academic symposium sponsored by the Beijing Surgery Society, and we had reserved transportation. When we went to the motor pool, we were told that it could not dispatch any vehicles because the road was congested with demonstrators. Then I saw many medical students inside the hospital gate. They all put on white gowns and were ready to go to Tiananmen to voice their support for the students. When these students saw me, they asked me to join them. I asked them what time they would return and they said they would camp at the Tiananmen Square. So I told them that in that case I could not go with them. Then I rode my bicycle and biked slowly with them. On our journey, we chatted. When we reached Lishi Road, no motor vehicle could proceed. Then they disembarked and walked downtown and I continued to ride on my bicycle. Because of a sudden rainstorm, I hurried back to the hospital after making one round of the square. I told the comrade that everybody knew about my trip to Tiananmen Square and that I had made no mistake on the trip. Then the comrade who had had the heart-to-heart talks with me reported what I told him. Later, whenever the June 4th Incident was discussed, I insisted that the suppression of the student movement was wrong. Because of that, I did not receive the promotion I deserved that year.

Following the June 4th Incident, everything was measured by one's attitude toward the incident, such as the reorganization of the leading group of our fraternal unit, the Academy of

Military Sciences. When higher authorities interviewed Prof. Qin Boyi, the president of the academy at that time, he candidly indicated that he had done nothing wrong in approaching the incident. For example, when the martial law troops could not go downtown and had to be stationed in some of the military units along the way, President Qin said that, according to the academy's assignments, if the troops wanted to be stationed in the academy, they should also bear the responsibility of safeguarding the academy's security; otherwise other people would also want to be stationed in the academy and that would cause unnecessary problems. Consequently, the troops were not stationed in the academy. As to the delivery of drinking water to those students who were on a hunger strike in Tiananmen Square, Qin said he approved the move and even approved the use of a motor vehicle for that purpose. That was because many other units did the same thing, he said. The consequence of these investigations was the dismissal of Qin from office. Prof. Tang Peixuan, a vice president [of the academy] and also my classmate, was also dismissed from office after he said to his superiors that when he took part in student movements before Liberation, the Guomindang [KMT] government at that time only used fire hoses to spray water on the students and did not use guns for the suppression. He said it was incomprehensible that the people's troops this time killed countless [wu shu de] students and ordinary people with machineguns and tanks. Then, another vice president of the academy was promoted to president of the academy because he said things the superiors wanted to hear and because he performed well while stating his position. Following the June 4th Incident, the overwhelming majority of my friends in all walks of life clearly understood that the June 4th suppression was absolutely wrong. However, because of the higher authorities' pressure, they did not want to speak their minds. In this respect, the claim that people were in unity with the central authorities was entirely untrue. On all occasions over the past 15 long years, I always stated clearly that I believed the June 4th suppression was absolutely wrong. I also hoped that this mistake would be corrected by our party with firm resolve. Because of the Cultural Revolution, China was on the verge of total collapse. Then Deng Xiaoping emerged and our party corrected the mistakes made in the Cultural Revolution. China was not thrown into chaos. Rather, the people gained more confidence in the party. In those days, China had serious food shortages. We needed ration coupons to buy everything. But the people still supported the party in surmounting all sorts of difficulties. In only 20 years, our country has significantly changed. Now our country has plenty of goods and the people's living conditions have significantly improved. Moreover, correcting the mistakes made in the June 4th Incident is the common wish of people in the country and also the wish of people throughout the world. As long as the leaders of our party act with firm resolve to correct the mistakes, I believe they will have the support of the whole nation and there will not be chaos in the country. One day in 1997 I visited Comrade Wu Zuguang in his home. He told me that he had wanted to speak at the CPPCC National Committee session that year but the session's chairman wanted his written speech in advance; consequently the chairman did not let him speak at the session and he could only speak at the literature and art group discussion. He said he endorsed China's earthshaking economic changes in the past 20 years as a result of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's reform and opening up policy. He said the Chinese people would not forget his meritorious contributions in this respect. But he pointed out: Deng Xiaoping's way of handling the June 4th Incident was mistaken [you cuo de]. Now that Deng is dead, we should reassess the incident. Deng was a very old man in 1989 and he learned the outside world primarily through second-hand information. At that time Beijing's Chen Xitong gave him false information, claiming that reactionary forces at home and abroad were behind the students.

That was why Deng was fooled. He was deceived by Chen. Now Chen is a felon found guilty of corruption. So Chen should be the one to be held criminally accountable, and the true nature of the incident should be made known. Wu told me that after he finished his talk at the group discussion, no one at the session expressed disagreement (and of course no one could come up with any legitimate reason to disagree), but no one supported his view either. That hurt him tremendously. That was because he knew those at the session were very smart intellectuals but who nevertheless were afraid to speak their minds even though they shared his view in private. That pained his heart totally. His wife, Xin Fengxia, said to me that she always urged him not to express any views, but it was useless because Wu would not listen and would seize any opportunity to state his views, saying: Everybody has a mouth, which serves two purposes: eat and speak. Whenever I speak, I must speak the truth. If this mouth is used to tell lies and if I don't want to use it to speak my mind, then its only purpose is to eat. What's its usefulness in that case? Wu's talks educated me greatly. A man must talk and tell the truth. Later I visited my teachers, Lei Jieqiong and Wu Jieping. They were my teachers when I was a student at Yanjing University. I told them my experience in saving the injured people at Hospital Number 301 on the evening of 3 June. They both indicated that they were not aware of the specifics of the incident, but they both maintained that the government made a big mistake in handling the incident. They added that while they couldn't do anything now, they believed the issue would be resolved in the future.

In 1998, I and some comrades, as CPC members, wrote a letter to state leaders, NPC deputies and CPPCC National Committee representatives, proposing that the June 4th Incident be reappraised. In 1998, I called on Comrade Yang Shangkun at his residence and reported to him my visit to Taiwan (Yang had always been the principal person in charge of the Taiwan issue) and I talked to him about the view of my cousin, Jiang Yanshi [Tsiang Yen-si, a senior KMT official who held many important offices in Taiwan] about reunification. Then I told Yang that I was the surgeon in charge of treating the injured persons brought to Hospital 301 and asked him whether he wanted to hear my view. He said he wanted to hear. And so I told him what I saw. I also gave him a copy of the letter that I wrote to the central leaders. Yang indicated that the June 4th Incident was an incident in which the CPC committed the most serious mistakes in its history. He said he could not do anything to correct the mistake, but said that the mistakes would be corrected in the future.

Comrade Yang Shangkun's view was also the view of many other elderly comrades. After the June 4th Incident, the Central Advisory Commission chaired by Bo Yibo held a session to criticize four elderly comrades: Yu Guangyuan, Du Runsheng, Li Rui and Li Chang. Some people even plotted not to let these four party members reregister their membership. Later, Comrade Chen Yun wrote a letter to the Central Advisory Commission, and Bo Yibo read the letter at a plenary session of the commission. The letter said, to the effect: We must stop handling the matter this way. We have learned a lot from things in this respect. Is it possible that we will have to rehabilitate these people in the future? After reading the letter, Bo said: This issue is finished. We will not discuss it anymore. We should stop talking about it from now on. Comrade Chen Yun has said it very clearly in his letter that he is against the handling the June 4th Incident in such a manner. I don't know whether this important view of Comrade Chen Yun has been referred to the CPC Central Committee, the NPC Standing Committee and the CPPCC Standing Committee ["standing committee" as published].

Recently I read the book, "For the Sake of China's Tomorrow -- Those Who Are Alive and Those Who Have Died [Weile Zhongguo de Mingtian --Sheng Zhe yu Si Zhe]," written by Ding Zilin, author of "The Tiananmen Mother [Tiananmen Muqin]." The book makes me clearly aware of the pressure and the pains that the mother of a 17-year-old warm blooded youth, who was killed in the June 4th Incident, had to bear over the past decade or so. This mother and other family members of the victims did everything possible to find and contact the families of nearly 200 victims and others who became cripples; then, in one way or another, they expressed their wish -- the wish that the government should seriously and responsibly explain to them the killings of their family members. That was a reasonable request. Who among us does not have parents, children, and brothers and sisters? Like them, anyone whose family members were unjustly killed should voice the same request. Each CPC member, Chinese citizen and human being must courageously support their just demand. Beginning in 1995, they have made it a practice each year to write an open letter to the NPC Standing Committee stating their just demand. Regrettably, however, this supreme power organization of the state has turned a deaf ear to this serious request and made no response whatsoever. This is an extremely irresponsible attitude. We will never be able to justify this before the people of the world.

I have written quite a lot already. What I want to say is this: Since the new party and state leading collectives formed after the 16th National Party Congress have stressed on all occasions the need to act on the Constitution and be people-centered, then the NPC Standing Committee, the CPPCC Standing Committee ["standing committee" as published], the members of the 16th CPC Central Committee Political Bureau and members of its standing committee must reassess the June 4th Incident in light of the criteria in the PRC Constitution and the party's three most fundamental principles -- "integrating theory with practice (or seeking truth from facts), maintaining close ties with the masses, and making criticism and self-criticism." Our party must address the mistake it has made. The earlier these mistakes are resolved and the more thorough they are resolved, the better. I believe that correct assessment of the June 4th Incident is what the people want and it will never cause unrest among the people. The claim that stability is of overriding importance can in fact cause even greater instability. For years, each time before June 4th, some people, like sitting on thorns, are in a state of extreme nervousness. They would not know how many people would be mobilized this time to prevent disturbances. This has been the case year after year. The uneasiness has not gradually diminished just because the June 4th Incident has become farther and farther away. On the contrary, the people have become increasingly disappointed and angry.

After repeated deliberations, I think I must write you this letter. Of course I have considered the consequences that I might encounter after writing this letter. But I have decided to tell you all the facts. If you think it is necessary, please talk to me at your convenience.

If you receive this letter, please acknowledge the receipt. My address: No. 26, Zhuge Zhuang, Wanshou Road, 5-1204 Zip code: 100036 Tel: 68134451 [Signed] Jiang Yanyong, Department of Surgery, Beijing 301 Hospital [Dated on] February 24 2004



Dr, Jiang ...



... and two of his patients



2004年2月24日

蔣彥永醫生就六四的上書

浸著血淚的上書—蔣彥永醫生上本屆“人大”“政協”會議書

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全國人民代表大會常務委員會委員長及副委員長

全國政協主席及副主席

中共中央政治局各位委員

國務院總理及副總理：

1989年，北京學生針對當時的政府腐敗，提出反腐敗，反官倒，要廉政的正義要求。學生的愛國行動得到北京市和全國絕大多數人民的支持。但少數維護腐敗的領導卻採取世界和中國歷史上絕無僅有的手段，用坦克、機槍等武器，對手無寸鐵的學生和市民進行瘋狂鎮壓，造成了數百名無辜青年慘死北京街頭和數千人民致傷致殘。之後，當局隨即開動各種宣傳機器編製謊言，並用高壓手段使全國人民變得有口難張。15年過去了，當局希望人們會漸漸淡忘：過去把天安門事件稱作“反革命暴亂”，後來就改稱為“89年的政治風波”。這種對事件名稱的更改，正說明肇事者的心虛。既然是風波，何以要動用數十萬軍隊去鎮壓？怎麼能用機槍坦克去殘殺無辜的百姓？所以我建議，要為89年六四學生愛國運動正名。

我是解放軍301醫院的一位外科醫生，89年六四時我是普通外科的主任。6月3日晚上聽到反覆不斷的廣播，讓人民不要上街。約10點鐘，我在宿舍裏聽到北面有連續的槍聲。數分鐘後，我的呼叫器響了，是急診室呼我，我趕緊奔到那裏。使我難以想像的是，躺在急診室地上和診斷床上的已有七名臉上和身上到處是血的青年，其中兩名經心電圖檢查證實已死亡。當時我的腦中嗡的一聲，差一點暈了過去。我當外科醫生已30多年，到鐵道兵修成昆鐵路的醫療隊參加搶救工作時，也曾遇到過成批的傷員，但那都是因施工過程中不可避免的意外事故所造成的。而眼前，在堂堂的中國首都北京，在我面前躺著的，卻是被中國人民子弟兵用人民給予的武器殘殺了的自己的人民。我還來不及思考，在一陣密集的槍聲過後，又有不少被打傷的青年，由周圍的老百姓用木板或平板三輪送進了急診室。我一面檢查傷者，一面請有關人員通知各位外科醫生和護士奔向手術室。我們院共有18間手術室，都被用來展開搶救，我在急診室做分傷和緊急處理。從10點多開始到半夜12點，在這兩個小時中，我們醫院的急診室就接收了89位被子彈打傷的，其中有7位因搶救無效而死亡。大夫們在醫院的18間手術室中，分三批做了大半夜手術，將有可能救的人都救了過來。



蔣·永醫生·蔣·永醫生89年六四時是解放軍301醫院的外科主任。6月3日  
·上從10點多開始到半夜12點這兩個

小時中，其醫... (2004年2月24日)

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停屍間(5)醫院車棚都滿了。  
Bloodbath In The Chinese Capital, by Wen Wei Po, Hong Kong, 1989. (1989年6月4日)△



有幾個死者使我終身難忘。一個20多歲的男青年，他的父母是我們醫院對面七機部的離休幹部，有4、5個兒子。當他們聽到廣播不讓上街後，就告知孩子不準離家，全家都坐下來打麻將。到快10點了，老兩口睏了就準備睡了。外面槍一響，這位青年（他是最小的，當天領了結婚證書）和他的“未婚妻”就跑上了街。他們快跑到五棵松十字路口時，有密集的槍彈向他們掃射過來，那位女同志就回頭跑了，並喊她的男友趕快返回。她跑了不多遠，發現她的男友沒有跟過來，於是她就折回去。不久，她就看到她的男友躺倒在路旁的血泊中。她喊他，他不理，拉他也不動。周圍的群眾立馬上前，有三、五人托著他，送到我們的急診室。護士給他測血壓，測不到；做心電圖，是直線。我檢查這位傷員，只在他左手臂內側發現一個彈孔，但沒有發現出去的彈孔。他的女友求我們給他搶救，我們實在沒有辦法，因為心電圖直線說明心臟已停止跳動，估計是子彈射入了心臟。這位女孩哭瘋了，但她馬上跑回去，把男友的母親請來。母親到後，趴在她兒子的身上左右翻檢，只見到一個槍眼。隨後她跪倒在我的腳前，雙手拉著我的腿，哭著求我救救她的兒子。我當時也淚流滿面，無言以答。我蹲在這位傷透了心的母親的身旁，如實地告訴她，他的心臟已被打碎，已無可能救活。這位母親稍稍安靜一些後，就哭著大罵：“我很小就參軍，入黨，跟著共產黨打日本，打蔣介石。現在我們解放軍卻把我心愛的兒子打死了，我一定要去找他們算帳”。後來她兒子的屍體被放在我們醫院停屍房的地上，所有的死者均放在那裏，由解放軍看守著。死者都被誣稱為“暴徒”屍體是不準領走的。第二天，這位死者的家屬要來領走屍體，未成。但他們是一位高級將領的親戚，所以過不久就領走了。

另一位死者是一個身體非常強壯的摩托車運動員，他當天下午在豐臺練車，晚上回到五棵松路口，還沒有下車就被子彈射傷。當時有幾位老百姓把他放在一輛平板車上，拉到我們的急診室。我檢查他時他的血壓還正常，在他的左腹股溝處有一很大的彈孔，大量的血不斷湧出。這個部位無法上止血帶，用手和敷料也壓不住出血。我們儘快給他輸血，但血的供應已十分困難。由於出血量太大，他的血壓很快就掉下去了，接著出現嚴重的休克，呼吸也越來越困難。我眼睜睜地看著他張大著嘴，掙紮著呼吸，最後完全停止了呼吸。作為一個外科醫生，眼看著病人在你面前，卻因這種條件而無法挽救他的生命，我是一輩子也無法忘卻的。

約在12點時，送來了一位少校軍官（這是當晚我們救治的唯一的軍人）他的左上臂中部有子彈貫通傷，x片顯示片顯示肱骨粉碎性骨折，周圍軟組織中有大量金屬碎片（我意識到這是一種鉛制的開花彈）。這位軍官告訴我們，他當天進城到親戚家造訪，晚上回來到軍事博物館（他的工作單位）門口馬路邊上，被過路的部隊用連發掃射的子彈擊傷。他的右邊是一位老人，左邊是一個小孩。這一老一少，均被子彈擊中，當場死亡。他算是幸運的，只傷了一只胳膊。送他來的是一位參加過越南戰爭的退伍軍人。他當時就對在場的很多傷員和工作人員講：我們解放軍在文化大革命中的支左工作，曾使自己在老百姓心目中的形象受到很大傷害。這次部

隊用機槍、坦克殺害自己的老百姓，更是天理難容。往後部隊在老百姓的心目中再也不可能還有威信了。

午夜後，部隊已通過 3 0 1 門口，就不再有傷員送到我們醫院來了。這時我就去手術室查看手術進行的情況。見有的人肝臟被打碎，肝內留有很多碎彈片，對此我們拍了照、錄了像。其它一些手術中，醫生們還發現傷員腸道內有大量碎的彈片，這和一般的子彈是明顯不同的——是用一種國際公法禁止使用的所謂開花彈打傷的。



罪惡的子彈 ▪ “許多人子彈打到身上 ▪ 都還以為是橡皮子彈 ▪ ” (1989年6月4日)△

北京的戒嚴是從 5 月 1 9 日開始的，當時進來的部隊受沿途老百姓的阻攔，無法進到城內，就分別駐進沿復興路的 3 0 1 醫院、裝甲兵、炮兵、通訊兵等部隊單位。進駐 3 0 1 醫院的部隊，經過我院廣大醫護人員和他們的交談，漸漸了解了學生運動的真相，於是明確表示，他們絕不會參加鎮壓學生的活動。那時，每天清早 6 點左右，從西郊機場有一架直升機沿復興路由西向東慢慢飛過，與駐在各單位的部隊負責人（在我們醫院裏是一位團長）進行聯繫，讓部隊隨時做好出發準備。部隊在這段時間裏整裝列隊，等直升飛機飛來，那位團長用通訊設備與之聯繫：報告部隊以隨時做好準備。飛機一過去，官兵們就又分散和醫院的同志交談、聊天。就是因為這批部隊已經不可能被用來鎮壓學生了，所以到 5 月底，6 月初，這批部隊就撤離了。據說後來參與鎮壓學生的部隊，是緊急從山東等地調來的。那些部隊中不少是去過越南戰場的，在戰場上和地方對峙，開過槍，打死過人。他們被運往北京時，在火車上沒有報看，沒有收音機聽，完全是被蒙在鼓裏。一到北京後，就被告知：北京出現了反革命暴亂，要他們去鎮壓。在這種情況下，無知的戰士，聽從命令，造成了六四的悲慘事件。

在 6 月 3 日晚上，我們醫院的每一位參加搶救的醫護人員都萬萬沒想到會出現這種使正常人無法理解的慘事。我當時也以為不知是哪個部隊的頭頭在胡來。我和當時到急診室來參加搶救的廖院長說，是否可以和上面通電話，告訴他們在我們面前發生的意外情況，請上面趕快制止。廖院長也和我們一樣，不斷流淚，不知如何是好。6 月 4 日上午有一輛坦克開到 3 0 1 醫院門診樓邊，從車內抬下了兩位昏迷的戰士。我當時還在急診室，從送來的人員那裏了解到，兩位戰士大概是中毒昏迷。我和廖院長商量，我們對面的軍事醫學科學院應該知道如何處理這類毒氣傷。我們一面打電話聯繫，一面想辦法把他們從地下通道轉移到我們對面的 3 0 7 醫院。我和廖院長等其他院裏的同志，都為老百姓和戰士受到這樣的傷害，感到十分悲痛。

6 月 9 日鄧小平召集各單位領導講了話，緊接著就開始了清查工作。有一天，我的同學、腦內科主任朱克教授找我，他說院裏托他先找我談，讓我說清 5 月中旬和醫院進修生上街去天安門的事。我告訴朱說：這事你不必管，院裏誰管這事的來找我談好了。不久，院政治部的一位同志來找我。他告訴我，上面



生命線上的救護車 ▪ 紅十字會先後調配了 100 多輛救護車 ▪ 數百醫護人員 ▪ 52 家醫院 ▪ 近 2000

張病床(國家教委《驚心動魄的五十六天》)(1989年5月17日)△

從一份錄影帶上看到我和醫院進修生進城，他們乘一輛卡車，打著解放軍軍醫進修學院聲援隊的大旗，敲鑼打鼓地駛在復興路上；我在一側騎自行車跟著他們進城，讓我把此事說清楚。我告訴他，那天是星期三（五月十七日——六四檔案註），我們科原定下午進城參加北京外科學會的學術活動，我已訂好了車。當我們去車隊時，被告知路上全是遊行隊伍，所以不能發車。此時，我看到在301大門內有不少進修生，他們都穿著白大褂，準備登車去天安門聲援學生的行動。他們見到我後，請我和他們同去。我問他們什麼時候回來，他們告訴我他們要安營紮寨。我就說我不能和他們一起去，我騎了自行車，在他們卡車的一側，一路走，一路聊。到禮士路，係車已無法通行，他們下車步行進城，我繼續騎車到了天安門。因為突然下起暴雨，我沿廣場轉了一圈，就趕快返回醫院。我去天安門之事是誰都知道的，我的這個行動沒有任何錯誤，和我談心的同志就只好如實地去匯報。此後談到六四的問題，我始終認為，鎮壓學生運動是錯誤的，為此，在那年我本該調的級別被卡住了。

六四之後，一切事情都以對待六四的態度為標準來處理。如我們的兄弟單位軍事醫學科學院領導班子的調整。那時的院長秦伯益教授當上面領導來找他談話時，很坦然地表示他對待六四問題沒有不妥之處：如當時戒嚴部隊無法進入城區，就分散進入沿途的一些軍事單位，根據軍事醫學科學院擔負的任務，秦伯益院長提出，如部隊要進入，應擔負起保衛該單位安全的任務，否則如部隊駐入，老百姓就有可能跟進，會引起不必要的混亂，結果部隊就沒有駐入；關於給天安門絕食的學生送水的問題，當時院內群眾要求去送水，秦也表示同意，並派了車，因為很多國家單位都那樣做了，等等。考察的結果，秦的職務被免去了。一個副院長是我的同學唐佩弦教授，他和領導談話時說，他在解放前參加了上海的學生運動，當時國民黨政府對學生只是用了救火水龍頭沖，沒有開槍鎮壓。而現在是人民的軍隊，卻對學生運動用機槍、坦克，殘殺了無數的學生和老百姓。這樣做使人實在無法理解。於是，唐的副院長職務也被取消了。而另一位副院長，因為說了領導喜歡聽的話，表態好，就被提升為正院長了。

六四之後，絕大部分和我相識的各行各业的人，在心裏都很清楚，六四鎮壓是絕對錯的，但屈服於上面的高壓，不敢講心裏話。在這個問題上，所謂的和中央保持一致，完全是一種假象。在這漫長的15年中，我不論在什麼場合，從來都是明確地表明，我認為六四鎮壓是絕對錯的。我總希望這個錯誤有我們黨自己下決心來糾正。文化大革命搞到把中國推向瀕臨崩潰的邊緣鄧小平出來，由我們黨自己把文化革命的錯誤糾正了，中國並沒有亂，老百姓更信任黨了。那時我國的食品極其缺乏，什麼都要憑票，但老百姓仍能和黨一起來克服各種困難，使國家在短短的20年內就大變樣了。現在我們國家物資豐富，人民生活大大改善了；更何況糾正六四的錯誤是全國人民的心願，也是全世界人民的心願。只要我們黨的領導痛下決心，自己來糾正錯誤，我相信一定會得到全國人民的支持，中國一定不會亂。

1997年我去吳祖光同志家探望他，他告訴我，他在那次全國政協會上要求發言，會議主持人要他先送發言稿，後來沒讓他作大會發言，他只在文藝組發言。

他說：他先肯定鄧小平同志在改革開放 20 年來使中國的經濟發生了翻天覆地的變化，中國人民不會忘記他的這一功勞。接著指出鄧小平在處理六四問題上是有錯的；現在鄧已病故，我們應該重新評估六四。89 年時鄧已高齡，了解外面的情況主要靠別人反映。當時北京市的陳希同打了假報告，聲稱學生後面由國內外反動勢力在煽動，所以鄧是上了陳的當，受了陳的騙。現在陳已經是個貪污犯，主要罪責是陳，應該使六四恢復本來面目。吳告訴我，他發言後，到會的沒有一人對他的意見表示反對（當然不會有人說出反對的理由），但是，會上沒有一人附議。這使他傷透了心。因為他知道，在場的都是些很有頭腦的知識份子，在私下裏都和他有相同的看法；但在會上卻都不敢說心裏話，這實在使他傷心透頂。他的夫人新鳳霞和我說，她總是勸他不要再去提意見了，提了也沒有用，而吳總是不聽，一有機會就要提意見。吳對我說，人有一張嘴，一是要吃飯，二是要說話；要說話就要講真話，講假話、不敢講心裏話，這張嘴就剩光能吃了，還有什麼用？和吳的談話，給了我很大的教育：人總是應該說話的，要說真話。我後來還去找了雷潔瓊老師和吳階平老師，他們都是我在燕京大學的師長，我把我在 6 月 3 日晚上在 301 醫院搶救傷員時的所見，講給他們聽。他們都表示他們在這方面沒有了解得那麼具體，但都認為六四這事政府是大錯了，他們現在無能為力，將來一定會解決的。

我在 1998 年曾和部分同志以一批老共產黨員的名義，給國家領導人和人大、政協代表寫信，建議重新評定六四。

1998 年我曾到楊尚昆同志家去，向他匯報我去臺灣的情況（楊是一直分工領導臺灣問題的主要負責人），我談了堂兄蔣彥士對兩岸統一的一些看法。隨後我告訴他，我是在六四時負責處理送到 301 醫院來的傷員的外科主任，問他是否願意聽聽我的意見。他表示願意聽，我就把我的所見如實地告訴了他，還把我 1998 年寫給中央領導的信給了他。楊表示，六四事件是我黨歷史上犯下的最嚴重的錯誤，現在他已經無力去糾正，但將來是一定會得到糾正的。



楊尚昆·楊尚昆，一九〇七年生於四川潼南，早年曾留學蘇俄，是鄧小平的同學，也是留俄時的同學。學運期間，雖會對趙紫陽有所 ... (1989 年 5 月

1997 日)△

楊尚昆同志的意見其實是許多老同志的共識。六四事件發生後，中顧委曾由薄一波主持，對於光遠、杜潤生、李銳、李昌四位老同志開了批判會，有人並打算做出不讓他們四位黨員重新登記的決定。但後來陳雲同志給中顧委常委去了一信，由薄一波向全體中顧委委員宣讀。大意是，這件事再不能這樣做了，我們過去在這方面教訓已經很多，難道將來還要再給他們平反嗎？薄讀完信後說，這個問題算了，不再談了，到此為止。陳雲同志的這封信已很明確，他是反對六四這樣處理的。我不知道陳雲同志這一重要意見是否已向中央委員、人大常委和政協常委作過傳達。



保守元老——陳雲·陳雲六四時任中央顧問委員會主席，他的「烏龍經濟」觀限制中共經濟改革進一步發展。他堅決擁護李鵬和楊尚昆實施戒嚴 ... (1989 年)△

最近讀了“天安門母親”丁子霖寫的《為了中國的明天——生者與死者》一書，使我清楚地知道了，她作為一個在六四事件中被殘殺的17歲的熱血青年的母親，十多年來經受了各種壓力，忍受了極大的痛苦。她和難屬們千方百計尋找和聯繫了近二百位死難和致殘者的家屬，並以各種方式表到他們的願望——要求政府對他們的親屬被無辜殺害作出認真負責的交代——這是一個十分合情合理的要求。誰沒有父母、子女、兄弟姐妹？誰的親人被這樣無辜殺害，都會像他們一樣提出這種要求。作為一個共產黨員、一個中國人、一個人，都應該理直氣壯地支持他們的正義要求。他們從1995年開始，每年都給全國人大常委會寫公開信提出嚴正的要求。但遺憾的是，作為國家的最高權力機構，對這樣一個嚴肅的請求，竟然置若罔聞，一字不答。這是一種極不負責任的態度，在全世界人民面前時交代不過去的。

我在上面寫了不少，總的意思是：既然16大後我們黨和國家的新領導，在各種場合特別強調要貫徹憲法，要以人為本，那麼，人大常委、政協常委、16屆中共黨的政治局委員和常委，就應該用國家的憲法和黨的最基本的三大原則：“理論聯繫實際（實事求是），密切聯繫群眾，批評和自我批評”為標準來重新審定六四。我們黨犯的錯誤應該靠黨自己來解決，解決得越早，越徹底越好。我相信，正確地評定六四是人心所向，決不會造成人心紊亂。所謂的穩定壓倒一切，只能是造成更大的不穩定。多年來，每到六四前夕，有的人真是如坐針氈，草木皆兵，不知要動員多少力量來防止發生事情；年復一年，並沒有因為離六四越來越遠這種不安就逐漸減輕，相反的是老百姓越來越失望和憤慨。

我經過反覆思考，覺得有必要寫此信給各位領導。當然我也考慮到寫此信可能會遇到的各種後果，但我還是決定要如實地把我的看法告訴各位。如果領導認為有必要，請抽空和我談談。

信如收到，請告我。

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