

註：以下為香港 01 於 2017 年 12 月 20 日早上刊登的報道，但及後此報道被下架，未知下架原因。香港 01 於下午 5:04 將修改後的文章重新上載，[現將下午 5:04 修改的內容以此顏色標示](#)，供大家參考。[\(註：香港 01 於同日晚上 7:55 再次修改內容，此顏色顯示晚上 7:55 進一步修改的內容。\)](#)

<https://www.hk01.com/%E6%B8%AF%E8%81%9E/140801/%E5%85%AD%E5%9B%9B%E5%AF%86%E6%AA%94-%E8%8B%B1%E5%BC%95%E4%B8%AD%E5%9C%8B%E5%9C%8B%E5%8B%99%E9%99%A2%E4%BA%BA%E5%93%A1-27%E8%BB%8D%E6%8E%83%E5%B0%84-%E5%AD%B8%E7%94%9F-%E5%A3%AB%E5%85%B5%E7%9A%86%E4%B8%AD%E6%A7%8D>

英引中國國務院人員情報 27 軍掃射軍人 學生、士兵皆中槍逾萬平民死亡

1989 年「六四事件」發生即將 29 年，英國國家檔案館上月解封當年的外交檔案，記錄英國駐華大使館、港英政府以及英國情報人員，對中國局勢的評估以及軍事部署。

《香港 01》記者到檔案館查閱數千頁解密檔案，[還原歷史。](#)

其中一份檔案記錄，解放軍清場血腥鎮壓翌日，英國駐華大使唐納德獲得一名中國國務院員工的委員 (member of State Council) 消息，提及 27 軍執行清場任務的[情況詳情](#)，包括「無差別攻擊」，[過程中有射殺學生、平民和無攜帶武器的瀋陽軍區士兵中槍](#)，並指國務院內部估計最少有[10,000](#)平民死亡。由於內容極度敏感，檔案仍有部分內容塗黑，消息人士身份至今成謎。

記者：勞顯亮 駐倫敦特約記者：何敬淘

1989 年英國外交檔案解封

英國最新修訂的《公共檔案法》和《資訊自由法》規定，從 2013 年 1 月 1 日起，英國政府將解密檔案的期限從 30 年縮短為 20 年，但有 10 年的過渡期，因此近年英國陸續解封

20 多年前的檔案，上月就解封了 1989 年的外交檔案，揭露多年來英國外交部和駐外使館，收集各國的情報和局勢評估。

《香港 01》記者在倫敦的[英國檔案館](#)，查閱 1989 年數千頁解密檔案，這些檔案包括 4 月 15 日胡耀邦逝世後，一直到 5 月 20 日北京戒嚴、6 月 4 日血腥清場後，英國的情報、對北京局勢的評估及解放軍的調動，亦有六四後中英在起草基本法時的角力。



八九民運期間，學生和市民佔領天安門廣場要求民主，1989 年 6 月 3 日晚至 4 日凌晨，解放軍進入廣場，有學生中槍，六四事件流血收場。（美聯社）

[引中國國務院情報—消息人士身份被塗黑](#) [至今未能公開](#)

1989 年 6 月 2 日下午，即軍隊進城前一日，英國駐華大使唐納德（Alan Donald），發電報回倫敦，引述一名消息人士指，39 軍收到指令，將在未來兩三日進城。

英國國家檔案館會解密 20 年前的檔案，《香港 01》記者到檔案館查閱記載了 1989 年六四事件的外交檔案。（何敬淘攝）

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HONG KONG PERSONAL FOR GOVERNOR.

CHINA: BACKGROUND TO MILITARY SITUATION.

1. [REDACTED]

HE WAS PASSING ON INFORMATION GIVEN HIM BY A CLOSE FRIEND WHO IS CURRENTLY A MEMBER OF THE STATE COUNCIL. THIS SOURCE HAS PREVIOUSLY PROVED RELIABLE AND WAS CAREFUL TO SEPARATE FACT FROM SPECULATION AND RUMOUR.

2. FACT. THE ARMY THAT HAS COMMITTED THE ATROCITIES IN BEIJING IS 27 ARMY WHO ARE TROOPS FROM SHANXI PROVINCE (?), ARE 60 PERCENT ILLITERATE AND ARE CALLED PRIMITIVES. THE COMMANDER OF 27 ARMY WAS YANG ZHENHUA, SON OF YANG BAIBING BROTHER OF YANG SHANGKUN. THEY WERE KEPT WITHOUT NEWS FOR TEN DAYS AND TOLD THEY WERE TO TAKE PART IN AN EXERCISE. A TV FILM WOULD BE MADE OF THE EXERCISE WHICH PLEASED THEM. THEY WERE INFORMED OF MARTIAL LAW ON MAY 20. FOR THE FIRST 4 DAYS AFTER ARRIVAL THEY WERE DRIVEN AROUND BEIJING CITY TO FAMILIARISE THEM WITH THE AREA. 27 ARMY ARE AT FULL STRENGTH WITH THEIR OWN TANKS AND APCS AND A FULL OUTFIT OF AMMUNITION, TEAR GAS AND FLAMETHROWERS. OTHER ARMIES ARE ONLY AT 1 DIVISION STRENGTH. THE LEADERSHIP KEEPS 27 ARMY ON THE MOVE SO THAT IT CAN ATTACK FROM A DIFFERENT DIRECTION EACH TIME.

3. FACT. ON THE NIGHT OF 3/4 JUNE 27 ARMY WAS TO ATTACK FROM THE WEST WITH OTHER UNITS FROM SHENYANG MR. THE PLAN WAS THAT THE FIRST WAVE (SMR) WOULD ATTACK WITH NO WEAPONS. THE SECOND WAVE (SMR)

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WOULD ATTACK WITH WEAPONS BUT NO AMMUNITION. THE THIRD WAVE (SMR) WOULD ATTACK AS FOR SECOND WAVE BUT OFFICERS WOULD HAVE LOADED SIDE ARMS TO FRIGHTEN THE CROWD. THE FOURTH WAVE WOULD BE 27 ARMY WITH FULL EQUIPMENT AND AMMUNITION. THE FIRST ATTACKS OCCURRED AT MUCIDI AND SHILIPU. THE FIRST THREE WAVES WERE HELD BY THE DEMONSTRATORS AND SMR TROOPS TRIED TO PUSH BACK THE CROWDS TO LET 27 ARMY THROUGH. THEY FAILED AND 27 ARMY APCS OPENED FIRE ON THE CROWD (BOTH CIVILIANS AND SOLDIERS) BEFORE RUNNING OVER THEM IN THEIR APCS.

4. FACT. THE ENRAGED MASSES FOLLOWED IGNORING M/G FIRE TO NEXT BATTLE AT LIUBUKOU. APCS RAN OVER TROOPS AND CIVILIANS AT 65KPH IN SAME MANNER. ONE APC CRASHED AND DRIVER (A CAPTAIN) GOT OUT AND WAS TAKEN BY CROWD TO HOSPITAL. HE IS NOW DERANGED AND DEMANDS DEATH FOR HIS ATROCITIES.

5. FACT. ON ARRIVAL AT TIANANMEN TROOPS FROM SMR HAD SEPARATED STUDENTS AND RESIDENTS. STUDENTS UNDERSTOOD THEY WERE GIVEN ONE HOUR TO LEAVE SQUARE BUT AFTER FIVE MINUTES APCS ATTACKED. STUDENTS LINKED ARMS BUT WERE MOWN DOWN INCLUDING SOLDIERS. APCS THEN RAN OVER BODIES TIME AND TIME AGAIN TO MAKE QUOTE PIE UNQUOTE AND REMAINS COLLECTED BY BULLDOZER. REMAINS INCINERATED AND THEN HOSED DOWN DRAINS.

6. 27 ARMY ORDERED TO SPARE NOONE AND SHOT WOUNDED SMR SOLDIERS. 4 WOUNDED GIRL STUDENTS BEGGED FOR THEIR LIVES BUT WERE BAYONETED. A 3 YEAR OLD GIRL WAS INJURED BUT HER MOTHER WAS SHOT AS SHE WENT TO HER AID AS WERE SIX OTHERS WHO TRIED. 1000 SURVIVORS WERE TOLD THEY COULD ESCAPE VIA ZHENGYI LU BUT WERE THEN MOWN DOWN BY SPECIALLY PREPARED M/G POSITIONS. ARMY AMBULANCES WHO ATTEMPTED TO GIVE AID WERE SHOT UP AS WAS A SINO-JAPANESE HOSPITAL AMBULANCE. WITH MEDICAL CREW DEAD WOUNDED DRIVER ATTEMPTED TO RAM ATTACKERS BUT WAS BLOWN TO PIECES WITH ANTI TANK WEAPON. IN FURTHER ATTACK APCS CAUGHT UP WITH SMR STRAGGLER TRUCKS, RAMMED AND OVERTURNED THEM AND RAN OVER TROOPS. DURING ATTACK 27 ARMY OFFICER SHOT DEAD BY OWN TROOPS APPARENTLY BECAUSE HE FALTERED. TROOPS EXPLAINED THEY WOULD BE SHOT IF THEY HADN'T SHOT OFFICER.

7. SPECULATION. 27 ARMY USED BECAUSE MOST RELIABLE AND OBEDIENT. SOME CONSIDERED OTHER ARMIES WOULD ATTACK 27 ARMY BUT THEY HAD NO AMMUNITION. ZHONGNZZHAI WAS PROTECTED BY 2 RINGS OF TANKS/ APCS ONE INSIDE THE WALL, ONE WITHOUT.

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8. RUMOUR. SOME SMR HAD RETURNED TO HOME BASES FOR AMMUNITION. ARMIES FROM SHANDONG, JIANGSI AND XINJIANG HAD LEFT BASES WITHOUT ORDERS FROM BEIJING TO DESTROY 27 ARMY. THE MR COMMANDERS FROM GUANGZHOU, BEIJING AND SHENYANG HAD REFUSED TO ATTEND A RECENT MEETING OF MR COMMANDERS CALLED BY YANG SHANGKUN.

9. FACT. BEIJING MR COMMANDER HAD REFUSED TO SUPPLY OUTSIDE ARMIES WITH FOOD, WATER OR BARRACKS. SOURCE SAID MANY BARRACKS IN BEIJING BUT NOTE TV PICTURES OF TENTS. 27 ARMY WERE USING DUM-DUM BULLETS. 27 ARMY SNIPERS SHOT MANY CIVILIANS ON BALCONIES, STREETSWEEPERS ETC FOR TARGET PRACTICE. BEIJING HOSPITALS HAD BEEN ORDERED TO ACCEPT ONLY SECURITY FORCE CASUALTIES. SO FAR 6 FOREIGN STUDENTS AND 23 FOREIGN JOURNALISTS HAD BEEN KILLED IN THE FIGHTING (NOTE: WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE OF THIS).

10. FACT. THE FIRST PHASE OF THE OPERATION WAS TO SECURE TIANANMEN. THE NEXT PHASE WOULD BE TO CONTROL MAJOR ROADS AND INTERSECTIONS AND MOVE OUTWARDS FROM CENTRE. THIS WOULD START WITHIN 2 DAYS.

11. FACT. YANG SHANGKUN AND DENG XIAOPING WERE VERY CLOSE FRIENDS. SOME MEMBERS OF THE STATE COUNCIL CONSIDERED THAT CIVIL WAR IS IMMINENT. QIN JIWEI WAS FORCED UNWILLINGLY TO APPEAR IN BACKGROUND IN TV PROGRAMME ON 20 MAY TO GIVE AURA OF UNITY. MINIMUM ESTIMATE OF CIVILIAN DEAD 10,000.

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Mr Gillmore

Mr McHaren

Mr Wye - Research Dept.

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27 軍向人群開槍 瀋陽軍區士兵亦中槍

6 月 3 日晚清場開始。原本計劃分四階段進行，首三階段由瀋陽軍區執行，士兵分別不帶武器、帶非軍火武器，以及使用隨身武器開槍恫嚇人群，最後一步才派 27 軍開火。

不過文件引述[中國國務院](#)消息指，瀋陽軍區的軍人分別從西邊的木樨地和東邊的十里堡進入天安門廣場分隔人群，但頭三階段的任務失敗，裝甲車上的 27 軍軍人，直接包括市民和其他軍人在內的人群[方向](#)開槍。

27 army APCs opened fire on the crowd (both civilians and soldiers) before running over them in their APCs.



1989年六四事件中，解放軍在6月3日深夜至6月4日到天安門廣場，用武力清場。
(Getty Images)

~~軍車輾過屍體——投降市民被埋伏機關槍掃射~~

第一批已進入天安門廣場的瀋陽軍區士兵，已把學生和市民隔開，學生獲告知要在一小時內離開。但五分鐘後，裝甲車到場開火，沒有武器的士兵和學生都中槍被射殺。

~~Students understood they were given one hour to leave square but after five minutes APCs attacked. Students linked arms but were mown down including soldiers. APCs then ran over bodies time and time again to make quote PIE unquote and remains collected by bulldozer. 裝甲車一次又一次輾過屍體，把他們壓成『餡餅』，再用推土機收集。~~

文件另一段記錄了幾個駭人聽聞的細節：

1000 survivors were told they could escape via Zhengyi Lu but were then mown down by specially prepared M/G positions. 有1,000人獲准用正義路離開，但在那裏被埋伏的機關槍掃射。

在六四清場鎮壓中，一直有軍方坦克輾壓學生的報道，其中站出來自述遇害經過的學生方政是最著名的例子，不過，此前鮮有資料、報道或口述提及坦克誤輾軍兵的情況。

APCs caught up with SMR (Shenyang Military Region) straggler trucks, rammed and overturned them and ran over troops. 裝甲車追上掉隊的瀋陽軍區士兵，更輾過他們。



八九民運期間，北京天安門廣場聚集數十萬學生和市民，要求民主，最終解放軍武力鎮壓清場，六四事件血腥收場。圖為 1989 年 5 月 4 日，紀念五四運動 70 周年。(Getty Images)



”六四”罹難者死亡地點等分布圖。（天安門母親網站）

記錄死亡人數多個版本「殘酷血腥一夜」——估算萬人死亡

文件引述中國國務院的消息人士確認，楊尚昆與鄧小平友好，國務院一些委員認為內戰迫在眉睫 (imminent)。他又推測，當局派 27 軍清場，因 27 軍最可靠和順從。

文件最後指，該名國務院人士估計，平民死亡人數最少為 10,000 人 (Minimum estimate of civilian dead 10,000)。六四事件中究竟有多少人死傷，一直有不同版本。在 1989 年 6 月 30 日召開的人大常委會上，時任國務委員、北京市市長陳希同報告稱，共有 3,000 多名非軍人受傷，200 多人死亡，包括 36 名大學生。2008 年，「天安門母親」代表丁子霖，總結 19 年來尋訪的死難者人數，總數為 188 人，其中學生 71 人，她強調這絕非死難者全部，而名單中有 13 人仍找不到屍體。

六四時擔任新華社國內新聞部主任、之後擔任新華社社長兼總編輯的張萬舒，在 2009 年出版《歷史的大爆炸——六四事件全景實錄》，他在書中寫道：「《解放軍文藝》的資深編輯劉家駒通知我，中國紅十字會黨組書記、副會長譚雲鶴確鑿的對他說：整個『六四』時間中，共計死了 727 人，軍隊 14 人，地方（包括學生和群眾）713 人，每一具屍體都經他檢驗過。」

除了接獲中國國務院的消息人士的情報，唐納德亦向倫敦發電報，匯報英國駐華使館方收集到的情報。6月4日唐納德電報，用「北京城度過了殘酷和血腥的一夜」來形容6月3日晚至6月4日凌晨的清場。

同日的另一份電報，唐納德會見西方國家駐華使節，歐共體代表援引中方消息，估計死亡人數在2,000至3,000之間。而西班牙駐華大使則稱，西班牙一隊攝製隊在6月4日清晨7點，人民英雄紀念碑周圍的學生獲准離開天安門廣場。西班牙大使估計，死亡人數約2,600人。西班牙攝製隊的片段直至1994年才曝光，亞視新聞部當年購入影片，一度被管理層禁播，引發新聞部高層辭職的「亞視六君子事件」。

到6月22日，唐納德綜合多方消息，的電報評估死亡人數約2,700至3,400人，這份電報同樣因消息源極敏感而被塗黑，至今未能公開。文件亦指，屍體除了停滿醫院，更堆積（piled up）在地下人行道。

六四的至於死亡人數，多年來都有多個版本，中國紅十字會估計約2,600至3,000人之間，而2014年本港《壹週刊》引述美國白宮解密文件，引述中方戒嚴部隊線人引述中方內部文件，稱天安門及長安街共8,726人被殺，而天安門以外的北京城共1,728人被殺，即總死亡人數為10,454人，與英國引述中國國務院消息的人數相若。

1989年六四事件，解放軍在天安門廣場武力鎮壓清場，6月4日日間，長安街有清場時被市民攔截的坦克。（Getty Images）

解密文件記錄軍隊調動情報

英國外交解密檔案，記錄從5月到7月解放軍的軍事部署，到5月20日戒嚴後，英國駐美國大使Antony Acland獲美國中央情報局（CIA）消息後，發電報回倫敦，稱CIA分析27軍、38軍、65軍共15萬軍人圍繞北京城。

到5月25日，唐納德綜合英國、美國、加拿大和澳洲的情報和外交消息，分析各集團軍，從各省進京部署（見下圖），估計10萬軍隊進駐北京。

英國解密外交檔案記錄八九民運和六四事件，其中1989年到5月25日綜合英國、美國、加拿大和澳洲的情報和外交消息，分析各集團軍，從各省進京部署，估計10萬軍隊進駐北京。（英國解密文件）

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MILITARY SITUATION BEIJING AS AT 250200Z MAY.

1. AS POLITICAL POWER STRUGGLE INTENSIFIES, SURVEILLANCE OF MILITARY UNITS IN BEIJING AREA WILL CONTINUE BY JOINT EFFORT OF U S, UK, CANADIAN AND AUSTRALIAN ATTACHE OFFICES.

2. AFTER ROUND-UP P M 24 MAY CURRENT DISPOSITION IS:

- A. 28 ARMY (FROM MONGOLIAN BORDER) UNLOCATED NW OF BEIJING. PROBABLY NORTH OF NANKOU (NW TAM 45 KM).
- B. 65 ARMY. FROM DATONG. LOCATED ON BEIJING RIFLE RANGE SOUTH WEST OF NANKOU. TPS ARE CAMPED ON THE RANGE.
- C. 64 ARMY. FROM LIAONING PROVINCE. SEEN 24 MAY ON TWO TRAINS AT CHANGPING RLWY SIDINGS (NW TAM 40 KM).
- D. 40 ARMY. FROM LIAONING PROVINCE. LOCATED SHAHE AIRFIELD (N TAM 30 KM).
- E. 24 ARMY. FROM CHENGDE. LOCATED IN THE HUAIROU AREA (NE TAM 45 KM).
- F. 39 ARMY. FROM LIAONING PROVINCE. LOCATED ON TONGXIAN AIRFIELD (E TAM 22 KM).
- G. 27 ARMY. FROM ZHIJIAZHUANG. LOCATED IN DAXING (S TAM 20 KM)

PAGE 1
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H. U/1 ARMY. POSSIBLY FROM HENAN PROVINCE. LOCATED SOUTH OF TAM.

I. 63 ARMY. FROM SHANXI PROVINCE. UNLOCATED SOUTH WEST OF LIANGXIANG (SW TAM 30 KM).

J. 38 ARMY. FROM BAODING. SCATTERED AROUND SOUTH WESTERN AREA OF BEIJING CITY. APPROX 10 KM FROM TAM.

K. BEIJING GARRISON ARMY (LOCAL). SEVERAL DIVISIONS IDENTIFIED AS HAVING TAKEN PART IN OPERATIONS DURING LAST FEW DAYS. ALL UNITS BELIEVED QUARTERED IN GARRISON LOCATIONS.

L. 43 AIRBORNE DIV (15 AIRBORNE ARMY). FROM WUHAN. LOCATED ON NANYUAN AIRFIELD (SW TAM 15 KM). WITH INDIGENOUS TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT.

M. 6 TANK DIV (LOCAL). LOCATED IN THE CHANGQINDIAN AREA (SW TAM 20 KM).

3. LAST FORMATION TO ARRIVE DID SO 24 MAY (64 ARMY). REMAINING FORMATIONS HAVE MOVED TO CONCENTRATION AREAS AND ARE ENGAGED IN LOGISTIC RESUPPLY. OUR BET ESTIMATE OF NUMBER OF TROOPS IN BEIJING AREA IS NOW INCREASED TO 100,000.

4. POLITICAL/MILITARY SITUATION. RUMOURS ABOUND WITH MUCH FICTION AND LITTLE FACT. WE CANNOT SUBSTANTIATE REPORTS THAT SIX MILITARY REGIONS (NOT BEIJING) SUPPORT LI PENG. PEOPLE'S DAILY (OFFICIAL MOUTHPIECE) OF 24 MAY REPORTED THAT PARTY COMMITTEES (I.E. POLITICAL COMMISSARS) OF AIR FORCE, NAVY, LANZHOU AND JINAN MILITARY REGIONS HAVE SENT MESSAGES IN SUPPORT OF LI PENG AND YANG SHANGKUN AND APPEAL TO COMMANDERS TO RESIST CHAOS AND OBEY ORDERS FROM PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION.

5. GENERAL WANG HAI COMMANDER PLAAF PLUS PLAAF COMMANDERS OF BEIJING AND CHENGDU MILITARY REGIONS ARE DUE TO LEAVE CHINA 28 MAY APPROX TO VISIT UK AND FRANCE. THEIR FINAL DECISION TO GO OR NOT WILL BE VALUABLE INDICATOR.

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PAGE 2
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[1989年六四事件，解放軍在天安門廣場武力鎮壓清場，6月4日日間，長安街有清場時被市民攔截的坦克。](#)（[Getty Images](#)）