

南京大屠殺

——南京大屠殺中的民間

南京大屠殺

南京大屠殺紀念館

THE RAPE OF NANKING

AN UNDENIABLE HISTORY IN PHOTOGRAPHS

南京大屠殺

歷史照片中的見證



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THE RAPE OF NANKING
AN UNPARALLELED HISTORY IN PHOTOGRAPHS
南京大屠殺
This book is dedicated in memory of
the more than 360,000 people killed in the Rape of Nanking

謹以此書紀念在南京大屠殺中死難的三十六萬餘民眾



注：「天佑中華」是世紀老人張學良將軍在一九九五年抗日戰爭勝利五十周年前夕在大洋彼岸夏威夷題寫，托閻明光女士捎來。張夫人趙一荻女士說：“這是張將軍一生的心願。”



FOREWORD

By the Most Reverend Desmond M. Tutu
Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town
1984 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate

There seems to be no end to the depths to which our inhumanity towards other human beings will sink. I don't believe history repeats itself, as some would say. But I do believe there is a flaw in human nature that, if allowed full rein, leads to suspicion, alienation, victimization, and finally even genocide — the "final solution."

The basis of this human flaw is an inordinate concentration on those biological, physical, and cultural differences which make us who we are, the subverting of the very personhood of others into something worthless and alien, and therefore to be feared. Fear of the other is at the root of ethnic conflict. All too frequently this weakness of human nature surfaces and wreaks havoc on the perpetrators of such inhumanity as it does on their victims.

In South Africa under apartheid we knew the humiliation of being thought of as less than fully human, second-class citizens without rights who could be uprooted from our homes in the name of ethnic order and purity. We endured a regime of injustice and oppression which mercifully fell short of the "final solution."

To sweep under the carpet the atrocities which occurred in Nanking in 1937-38 and turn a blind eye to the truth is at best a gross disservice to future generations and at worst to be criminally negligent and irresponsible. A record such as this book is an essential part of our history. However terrible, we must not be sheltered from the evils of our past. If we attempt to forget and try to believe that human nature is good all of the time we will bitterly regret our amnesia, for our past will come to haunt us. We know that while created inherently good, any one of us can fall to depths of evil we might never believe possible. It is part of the way we are and why it is so necessary to constantly be alert to our failings.

It is necessary to know the truth of what happened in Nanking in order that the perpetrators might accept their wrongdoing and seek reconciliation. We can only forgive what we know and reconciliation is impossible without forgiveness. We are discovering this in South Africa. President Mandela has set up a Truth and Reconciliation Commission whose purpose is to promote national unity and reconciliation. It is required to investigate past violations against human rights, irrespective of who in our society may have committed wrongdoing. The Commission has the power to grant amnesty to those who are guilty and to provide a means of symbolic restitution to the victims. It will seek the truth and in doing so hopes to bring about authentic reconciliation and peace in our country.

I am pleased to be associated with this book, however graphic of the horrors of that dreadful time, as I believe it to be an instrument of reconciliation. It is a step on the road to a better world.

前言

南非開普頓聖公會大主教

一九八四年諾貝爾和平獎獲得者 迪斯蒙·杜圖

人類相互之間殘暴行為的惡性發展看來是無止境的。也許有人會說歷史將一再重演，我並不認為如此。但我相信人類本性中有一種缺陷，若任其自由放縱，那麼這種缺陷將會在人們之間引起猜疑、疏遠和迫害，甚至導致作為“最終解決方式”的種族滅絕行為。

這種人性缺陷的基礎在於不適當地強調人們生理上的、人體特點上的與文化上的差異，將他人的存在貶為毫無價值，又詆毀為異己、恐懼的對象。對他人的恐懼是種族衝突的根源。人類本性中的這個弱點不僅在受害者身上而且也在施暴作惡者身上頻繁地表現出來並釀成浩劫。

在種族隔離時期的南非，我們曾體驗過被視為下等人、二等公民的屈辱；我們沒有權力，任何“種族秩序”和“種族純化”的借口都可隨時將我們驅出家園。我們承受過充滿不公正和剝削的政治制度，它與“最終解決方式”僅是一步之遙。

隱瞞一九三七至三八年發生在南京的暴行，無視歷史真相是一種不負責任的犯罪，至少是對後世心靈的嚴重損害。此書一類的紀實是歷史不可缺少的重要部分。我們決不應迴避往日的邪惡，無論它們是如何的恐怖，如果我們試圖忘卻，企圖相信人的本性從來都是善良的，那麼總有一天我們會為自己的健忘症而痛悔莫及，因為邪惡的過去是陰魂不散的。儘管我們知道人之初，性本善，但我們之中的任何一個人都有可能墮落到誰也無法想象的邪惡地步。這畢竟是一個事實，也正是我們必須對自身弱點始終保持警惕的原因所在。

為促使作惡者認罪並尋求和解，有必要使人們了解發生在南京的事實真相。我們只能原諒我們所了解的事物，而沒有原諒的和解是不可能的。南非的現實印證了這一點。曼德拉總統設立了一個事實真相與和解委員會，該委員會的目的在於促進國家的統一與和睦。無論肇事者有何社會背景，過去發生的侵犯人權事件都要加以調查。事實真相與和解委員會有權特赦那些有罪的人，並向受害者提供象徵性的賠償。它將探尋事實真相以期為國家帶來真正的和解與和平。

無論這本書呈現的那個恐怖年代之殘酷情景是多麼慘烈逼真，我確信它是一個實現和解的媒介。我為自己能够與此書息息相關而感到榮幸。在通往美好世界的道路上，這本書邁出了我們人類向前的一步。

重溫殘酷

——讀畫冊《南京大屠殺》

中國當代著名詩人、作家 雷抒雁

這是一本令人不忍卒讀，又不能不讀的書。

當我第一次打開這本書之後，一下子被那些半個多世紀之前的殘忍畫面所驚呆。我自認為自己生于抗日戰爭年代，經歷過，或耳聞過關於戰爭殘酷的場面與傳說。可是當我面對這一冊關於日本侵略者在南京大屠殺中的歷史照片，真的被驚呆了。

無辜的平民被屠殺，當作刀靶、槍靶，連續的鏡頭，拍下了施暴的全過程。

累累的，被砍下的人頭，或閉着眼，或咧着嘴，用痛苦、無奈和憤怒，在“皇軍”的腳下，顯示着侵略者的“勝利”。

被刀剖腹的孩子，被黃土活埋的老人，被機槍的掃射擊倒的男人女人，一堆堆地暴露在天化日之下。

這許多畫面在影視片和各種媒體裏都星星散散地展示過，但是這樣密集而詳盡地聚攏在一起，在我還是首次看到。

我感到周身疼痛，那疼痛隨着書頁一頁頁的翻開，從內心一點一滴地瀰漫到周身。六十多年的距離似乎瞬間消失，似乎我就躺在那些死難的人群裏，我就是那個被剖腹的孩子，那一顆被砍下的頭顱又被劊子手放在木架上，頭顱的嘴裏還被戲謔地插上一根香煙。那頭顱不就是我嗎？！我的憤怒穿過紙張從那頭顱的眼裏直逼敵人。

暫時，我還沒有想得那麼多，我只是憤怒痛惜，我不知道如果那時我是一個作家，我會寫下什麼樣的文字來譴責這些喪失人性的殺戮者。因為，即便是現在，我仍然感到文字的蒼白。用“野獸”嗎？野獸可不都如此殘忍！而且，本來就沒有人性的獸類，也不會以人性的殘忍戲弄它的獵物：在滿足口腹之後，再去滿足殘酷的精神需求。

當我再把書頁一頁頁翻下去，我立即想閉上眼睛。這一個個被日寇強暴或輪姦的婦女，還得赤身裸體，做出各種不堪入目的姿態供他們拍照。這是比殺戮還要讓人痛苦的折磨。我們的母親輩、奶奶輩的婦女就以這樣的經歷遭受了殘酷。

一部被摧殘、被凌辱的苦難記錄啊！

我感謝海外的華人華僑以極大的民族自尊籌集出版了這部畫冊，而今又為國內有識之士在中國出版。

這些照片的真實度是毋庸置疑的。因為，多數是日本侵略者自己現場拍攝的，為了邀功，為了顯示勝利者的威風，為了變態民族心理的滿足，他們拍攝下這些照片，成為他們罪孽的證據，也成為一個侵略民族的施暴時變態心理反應的個案。

我們又一次從閱讀中重溫了殘酷。

戰爭，本身就意味着殘酷。無論侵略與反侵略的一方，都要以一切手段打開仇恨的死結，以壓倒對方的氣勢贏得戰爭。玉石俱焚，流血漂櫓。殘酷，自然是戰爭的應有之義。眼前，電視上不斷出現一些被譽為現代化的文明戰爭的場景，巨大的火光、無情的摧毀，無辜者的流血與死亡，重復着原始戰爭的殘酷。

但是，這一切殘酷，只是令人感到道義被踐踏、生命被屠殺的憤怒和痛惜。而擺在我面前的這本南京大屠殺的殘酷實錄，却屬於另一種深層的、深入人的肌裏、神經與基因的殘酷。是人性的不復存在之後，兩腿動物在人與獸之間所表現的極度兇殘。那是人與獸都無法做出的，即對於弱者的精神凌辱和踐踏。

房子倒塌了，可以重蓋；一代人犧牲了，另一代人會站起來。可是，這種被歷史翻印出的精神屈辱，却是永遠無法愈合的，那是一種帶着傷痕的種子生長出的樹。

合上畫冊，如同走出一段黑暗的隧道。抹一把額頭的汗，捂着心口，點燃一支煙，平息一下情感。

細想一下，也就知道了，那位白髮蒼顏的老“鬼子兵”東史郎的敗訴，是不奇怪的。那些在現代服飾包裝下的“鬼子兵”的精神後代們，面對歷史的史實，怎麼敢相信這就是自己的祖宗的作為？那些被自己吹上了天的民族的“自豪”與“驕傲”，將何以置之？只好閉上眼睛，不予認賬。

今日的中國早已不是任人宰割與踐踏的中國了。可是，重溫這些殘酷，讓我們子孫後代，單純和脆弱的心靈，多一份堅強，多一份凝重，如同鐵的刀片上，多一層鋼，未來，不管歷史還會不會重演，希望他們都能有一種心理準備。這樣，面對突然到來的戰爭殘酷，也許那屈辱才不會重復。

1999年6月10日中國北京

前事不忘
後師



己卯秋

邵華澤





正視歷史史實

相信無須精通歷史的人都知道，在第二次世界大戰期間，德國納粹政府和日本軍閥政府都犯了彌天大罪，慘無人道地屠殺不少無辜平民，為人類歷史塗上了不可磨滅而又羞耻的一頁。在歐洲，猶太人是納粹政府最大受害人，而受日本軍閥摧殘最甚的，可算是中國人了。

現在距離這段人類的恐怖歲月已經歷了超過半個世紀，當今的德國政府已向猶太人公開為當年納粹黨人的暴行道歉，而世人亦紛紛以不同形式，如立碑、設紀念日或甚至建博物館為殉難的猶太人表示哀悼。雖然寶貴的生命永遠不能追討回來，但亦算得上是令殉難者稍有藉慰。

然而，被無辜屠殺的中國人（尤其是在南京大屠殺被殘酷施暴後殺害的中國人）仍然是沉冤待雪。由於在冷戰時期西方國家為了拉攏日本支持，而沒有施加壓力，令其向中國承認所犯暴行；而後來西方國家人士亦因中國是共產主義國家，故一直未為受害的中國人表露哀悼之情。至使時至今日，日本不但未正式向中國人民道歉，而且一些日本官員更多次刻意狡辯，居然拒絕承認南京大屠殺事件。

歷史應是人類以往行程的真實紀錄，因此它是客觀的、有據可查的，是不能容許史家或政治家主觀臆造、虛構，顛倒是非黑白，混淆視聽的。遵從史實是史家的職責，是史家的史德，史家不得胡亂編寫，歪曲史實，必須秉筆直書。

好象南京大屠殺這樣人類歷史一大悲慘史實，過往亦不少有心人，不畏千辛萬苦，將其重要翔實的史料，保存整理發表，作為人類歷史的鐵證。如 JOHN MAGEE 有關《南京大屠殺》真實紀錄片，美籍華裔作者張純如所著述的《南京大屠殺》，和海外華人編輯為紀念南京大屠殺的紀錄片，IN THE NAME OF THE EMPEROR 等便是很好的例子。這些作品成功地透過真實的歷史照片、屠殺過程目擊者的回憶等，將日本人殘酷的暴行活生生地展示出來，給世人留下了深刻的印象。

但嚴格來說，上述作品不能視為史學專著。因為作者有時不免過於情感化，亦有將一些史實報道得不太清晰，令專意狡辯者很容易對這些作品提出質疑。但是，《南京大屠殺——歷史照片中的見證人》一書不單參考大量第一手史料，補充前人著作的不足，而且作出客觀、有條理的分析辯證，強有力地考訂大屠殺的史實，完全不給狂妄狡辯之人留任何反駁的余地。

回顧抗日戰爭期間港澳憑著她在政治上的超然地位，得以維持對世界各地的交通聯系，建立一個抗日文化傳遞站，與中國內外溝通抗日的文化訊息，激起軍心民氣，為國家奮鬥求存的偉大過程中盡了一點力。在未來的日子裏，港澳亦可憑著“一國兩制”的實施，為聯絡國內外中國人，增強中華民族凝聚力，迫使日本政府為南京大屠殺向國人道歉。港澳華人在為受害國人申冤的重大事件面前，實在責無旁貸，願為此竭盡綿力。

全國政協委員
澳門中華文化藝術協會會長

蘇樹輝

一九九九年九月二日

FACE THE HISTORICAL FACTS SQUARELY

It is, by now, common knowledge that during World War II, both Nazi Germany and militarist Japan committed heinous war crimes by slaughtering countless innocent people. Such brutalities comprise an indelible and shameful page in the history of humankind. In Europe, the Jews were the ethnic group almost totally decimated by Nazi tyranny, while in Asia, the ones who suffered most at the hands of the savage Japanese militarists were probably the Chinese.

More than half a century has passed since the world has experienced such an age of terror. The post-war German government has already openly apologized to the Jewish people for the brutal acts committed by the Nazi regime. People all over the world have expressed their sympathy for Holocaust victims in various ways such as erecting monuments, declaring memorial days, and constructing museums to commemorate the atrocities. Even though the precious lives of those who died can never be restored, perhaps their souls may better rest in peace now.

In contrast, however, no such acts of contrition or commemoration have yet been performed for the Chinese who were murdered by Japanese militarists (especially during the Nanking Massacre). During the Cold War era, Western countries were too concerned with courting the Japanese government's alliance to risk alienating it by demanding a formal apology to China for the war crimes committed by the militarist regime. Westerners also failed to publicly express their condolences to Chinese victims simply because China was a communist country. For these reasons, to this day, the Japanese government has yet to submit a formal apology to the Chinese government and people. To make matters worse, some senior Japanese officials have, in the past, sought wilfully to deny the atrocities committed by the Japanese army in the Nanking Massacre.

History is the truthful record of the past. It should be written with objectivity and based on facts. No historian or politician should be allowed to subjectively invent, change or distort historical facts. Guided by a strong sense of professional ethics, the historian has the responsibility to stand up and face the facts, not to conceal or distort them.

There have been people who, impelled by such admirable intentions, have contributed to the preservation and publication of important materials that form a documentary record of the holocaust that was the Nanking Massacre. These materials include John Magee's "John Magee's Documentary Footage of the Massacre in Nanking, China, 1937-1938", Christine Choy and Nancy Tong's "Remembering the Nanking Massacre: 'In the Name of the Emperor'" and Iris Chang's "The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II".

Based on live footage and the personal accounts of participants and victims, these works have successfully provided posterity with well-organized, visually compelling and readable accounts of Japan's wartime atrocities committed against civilians. Unfortunately, because the authors and filmmakers are not professional historians, the works lack explanatory power and, on occasion, unwittingly neglect to put some of the facts in an historically-accurate context, thus allowing skeptics the chance to raise doubts about the credibility of the event.

The Rape of Nanking: An Undeniable History in Photographs is, however, a major historical work. The author not only draws heavily from primary sources of all kinds, but also builds upon the references of previous works. The evidence gathered from these sources is treated with great objectivity and is analyzed critically, providing us with compelling documentation of what really happened, and leaving no room for the possibility of denying the historical existence of the Massacre.

In retrospect, during China's War of Resistance against Japan, both Hong Kong and Macau, thanks to their neutral position in international politics, were able to maintain an uninterrupted dialogue with the international community. As a result, both cities were able to serve as important bastions in the fight against Japan, cultivating a culture of resistance to Japanese aggression, boosting the morale of all Chinese, and thus making a positive contribution to the nation's struggle for survival.

In the years to come, Hong Kong and Macau can continue to play this intermediate role of galvanizing Chinese people, both in China and abroad, to pressure the Japanese government to formally apologize to the Chinese people for the atrocities committed in the Nanking Massacre. In the vital process of demanding justice for their compatriot victims, the Chinese of Hong Kong and Macau must shoulder this responsibility. I myself will do my best to contribute to achieving this aim.

和平宣言

在這新世紀的序曲漸漸響起的時刻，二十世紀正在走向她的尾聲。

二十世紀，一個令人類無比自豪的時代。在這一百年中，人類邁動着開拓的步伐，以着前所未有的迅捷的速度，書寫了異常燦爛的一頁文明史。從二次科技革命到IT行業的興起，從登上月球到誇克的發現，從認知世界到美化生活，我們體驗着一個全新的令人振奮的時代。

二十世紀，同時，却也是個令人類深感耻辱的世紀。正當我們為着人類的偉績、科技的奇迹欣喜不已，並滿懷信心地憧憬美好未來時，兩次世界大戰如同兩個最不協調的音節，擊碎了這一和諧美妙的樂章。

第一次世界大戰，1914年至1918年，歷時4年，總耗資186,000,000,000美國，傷亡總數近47,000,000人。

第二次世界大戰，1939年至1945年，歷時6年，總耗資超過1,075,000,000,000美國，傷亡總數超過160,000,000人。

面對這一串串無情的數字，人類怎能不觸目驚心，怎能不痛心疾首！

一個祥和安樂的世界，彼此如同兄弟般友愛、親密無間、相親相愛——這是一個人類追求了幾千年的和平之夢。

“和平”兩字，何其簡單，然而她的實現之路却又何其艱辛。

在這世紀之交，回顧這百年的滄桑，展望新世紀的前景，“和平”一詞尤其意味深長。

是的，我們現已創造的文明是足可引以為傲的。然而，人類需要面對挑戰並未因此而有所減少；還有數以千計的人掙扎在饑餓線上，濃重的疾病的陰影依然籠罩着整个人類，我們的不可再生資源正在日漸一日地減少，我們的生存環境仍然無法擺脫日益惡化的趨勢……

我們有太多太多的問題急需解決，而這些問題的解決無不需要全人類的齊心協力、精誠合作。

因此，和平已不再僅僅是一種可有可無的追求，她已上升為決定人類能否在新世紀持續發展、能否在未來生存繁衍的決定性因素。

在這面對另一個千年的時刻，和平已經如同陽光和空氣一樣，成為了人類生活的必需。

因此，在今天這樣一個有着特殊意義的日子，我們相聚于此。

54年前的今天，那場給中國人民造成了深重災難、留下了不泯記憶的罪惡的戰爭終於在正義的歡呼聲中落下了帷幕。

在座的我們也依然清晰的記得，4個月前，在北大、在北京、在整個中國所爆發出的那陣震天動地的來自所有愛好和平者的憤怒的呼喊聲。

今天，我們莊重地從澳門同胞的手中接過了這樣一冊詳細記錄南京大屠殺的書籍。

這是那段歷史的忠實的記錄，那是戰爭之罪惡的忠實的記錄。

回顧戰爭是為了解離戰爭。

追憶往事是為了解醒后人。

我們只願借此機會，代表全體北大師生、代表全體熱愛和平的中國人民向全世界所有愛好和平者發出倡議：

讓我們聯合起來，為世界的和平、為美好的明天而勇敢地與一切破壞和平者鬥爭不懈！

北京大學學生會
一九九九年九月二日
於北京未名湖畔

PREFACE

By Ying-shih Yü, Professor of History
Princeton University

A major work on modern Chinese history, this book provides vivid and accurate documentation of one of Japan's worst aggressions against China.

I should begin by summarizing the historical value of the work. Rather than a compilation using cut-and-paste technique, it is a solid and original study that maintains all the important standards of modern historiography: First, the work draws its main narrative from primary sources, including archives in Germany, Japan, and the United States, as well as journalistic reports, records of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, and the recollections of survivors of the Nanking massacre; second, it incorporates a large number of references from other works about the Rape of Nanking; third, the skill of the authors and editors is reflected in two major areas:

- 1) significant topics have been condensed from an ocean of historical materials into nine in-depth chapters, making this complex historical tragedy easily comprehended by readers;
- 2) the entire narrative is built on solid evidence that

is treated objectively, and rendered in fluent English and Chinese. The authors and editors have broken new ground in many areas. Through careful calculation of time and duration, they determine that Iwane Matsui was wrongly accused of being the Butcher of Nanking and sentenced to death by hanging. The real criminal, they demonstrate, was Prince ASAKA, Emperor HIROHITO's uncle. In another crucial area, where the number of persons killed in Nanking has been controversial for half a century, this work puts an end to the debate: to prove that the number was no less than 369,366, for the first time burial records and Nanking census figures from before and after the massacre are brought to bear on this controversy.

The significance of these two points cannot be overestimated in the study of the history of Japanese aggression. With its more than 400 valuable historical photographs, *The Rape of Nanking: An Undeniable History in Photographs* also constitutes an important reference for future historians on this subject.

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序

余英時

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《南京大屠殺——歷史照片中的見證》一書的出版，為日本軍國主義侵華史保存了一部生動而翔實的史料，這是中國現代史學史上一項重大的成就。

讓我先對本書的史學價值作一簡要的介紹。本書並不是用“剪貼”方法寫成的編纂之作，它實已包括了現代史學的主要成份。首先是它盡量取材於第一手的歷史原料，其中有美國、德國、日本的檔案，侵華日本軍人的日記，當時各國的新聞報導，東京法庭的審判記錄，以及倖存者的證詞和回憶等。其次是本書在描述過程中，參考了大批有關南京屠殺的史學專著。

作者和編者的史才有兩個突出的表現：他們從大量的史料中挑選出若干有意義的專題，分九個章節作有深度的整理，故令書綱舉而目張，此其一。整體的敘事完全建立在客觀的證據之上，而且行文明白流暢，此其二。

由於作者和編者具備了現代史學家的批判精神，本書因此也獲得不少新的發現。舉兩個例子便足夠說明這一方面的成就了：

第一，通過仔細的時間推算，本書確定了主持南京大屠殺的元兇是日本天皇的叔父朝香宮鳩彥，而不是被判處死刑的松井石根。第二，關於南京大屠殺的人數，一向很有爭議。現在本書一方面根據新出資料，一方面根據屠殺前後南京人口的統計和屍體掩埋的記錄，徹底證實了三十六萬的數字決不誇張。這個問題可以說已完全澄清了。這兩點發現在日本侵華史上都是有重大意義的。因此本書不僅是一部具有四百多幀珍貴歷史照片的、文圖相互印證的資料匯編，而且還給未來的史學家提供了許多深入研究的線索。

中國近百餘年來的歷史是一部“內憂”和“外患”交織而成的歷史。“內憂”自然是中國人自己造成

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PREFACE *continued*

For nearly a hundred years, China's history has been a history of frustration and suffering from both internal turmoil created by the Chinese themselves and external aggressions launched by foreign powers. These disasters from within and without were inextricably linked as cause and result — the chicken and the egg of the familiar conundrum. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the Japanese aggressions against China played a decisive role in changing China's destiny.

As early as the 1890s, in the initial period of China's modernization, Japan mounted its first invasion — the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, which completely destroyed the foundation of China's development as a modern society.

In the 1930s, at a crucial time when China had started once again to industrialize, Japan, driven by its militarism, launched a full-scale invasion — the "Manchuria Incident" in 1931, followed by the "Marco Polo Incident" in 1937, followed by all-out war and occupation. Once again, China lost its opportunity to transform itself into a modern and democratic society.

For more than fifty years after the war, the Japanese public, and especially its intellectuals, have been expressing regret and remorse for what their government did to China during the war. But a coalition of conservative parties, bureaucrats, and business leaders has lacked the courage to admit Japanese war crimes, or to publicly apologize for Japan's wrongdoing against her neighbors.

"Japan must apologize for its aggression and offer compensation," wrote Nobel Literature Prize winner Kenzaburo Oe in a *New York Times Magazine* article titled "Denying History Disables Japan" (July 2, 1995). "Without that rehabilitation we shall never be able to eradicate the ambivalence in our attitude toward our neighbors." Here Oe fathoms a profound point.

The Chinese have a tendency to forget their past. May this book awaken their painful memories, and also arouse the collective conscience and historical memory of the citizens of Japan.

序 接前頁

的，“外患”則是指世界各大強國對中國的種種侵略。“內憂”和“外患”是不可分割的，像“雞生蛋，蛋生雞”一樣，我們已很難判斷究竟哪一個是“因”，哪一個是“果”了。但是我們卻可以很肯定地說：在一切“外患”之中，日本侵華對於中國的現代命運發生了決定性的作用。在十九世紀的九十年代，中國剛剛開始現代化的建設的階段，日本發動了第一次的侵略戰爭——所謂“甲午戰爭”，把中國的最早一些現代化的基礎整個摧毀了。在二十世紀三十年代，中國又再度開始了現代化的建設，但也就是在這個關鍵性的時刻，日本軍國主義又發動了規模更大的侵華戰爭，先是一九三一年的“九一八”事變，繼之則有一九三七年的“七七”事變。中國又失去了轉化為現代文明國家和公民社會的機會。

六十年來，日本的一般人民和知識分子雖然對日本軍國主義的暴行時時流露出悔恨之情，但日本的政

客——特別是執政的政客——卻從來沒有勇氣承認以往侵略的罪過。一九九五年七月二日大江健三郎在《紐約時報周刊》上發表了一篇文章，英譯的題目是《否認歷史使日本陷於癱瘓》。他指出，日本必須面對過去的罪過，徹底悔悟，向受難的亞洲各國人民，該道歉的便道歉，該賠償的便賠償。只有如此，日本才能洗淨自己的靈魂，重新抬起頭來，做亞洲各國的一個堂堂的鄰居。現在由於日本表面倔強，而內心慚作，在國際正義上，完全挺不起腰來。大江這一番話是很深刻的。

中國是一個善忘的民族，這一部《南京大屠殺》也許可以喚醒中國人的痛苦記憶。當然，我們更盼望這部畫冊也可以激發日本民族的集體良知。

INTRODUCTION

Six million European Jews died in Nazi extermination camps, and millions of others in Europe, the Soviet Union, and North Africa—both soldiers and civilians—lost their lives. In Asia and the Pacific, the slaughter was similarly catastrophic. Millions of Filipinos, Koreans, Malaysians, and others perished. Germany and Japan, the perpetrators and losers of the war, have their own grievances—the firebombings of Dresden and Tokyo, the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Yet the literature of remembrance is unevenly distributed. There are thousands of books, museum exhibits, and documentary and feature films about the Holocaust and Hiroshima, because of the determination of the survivors never to let the world forget.

But in the half century since the war, relatively little has been published in the West about the Japanese occupation of China, during which an estimated 30 million Chinese were killed. Before the first edition of this book was published in 1996, virtually nothing was in print about the Rape of Nanking, the 1937 massacre in which invading Japanese troops murdered more than 360,000 Chinese in what was then China's capital city. And to this day the bloody history of Japanese militarism in China and elsewhere has been systematically denied or distorted by the Japanese government. It is time to set the historical record in a form that cannot be denied.

At noon on August 15, 1945, the announcement of Japan's surrender was broadcast by Emperor HIROHITO himself over the microphone of NHK, the Japanese national network. The radio broadcast, the first ever made by an Emperor of Japan to his people, officially ended the war in the Pacific which, for most of the Western world, had started when the Japanese Navy attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. For China and the Chinese people, however, the war had begun ten years earlier.

In September 1931, an "Incident" in Manchuria (northeast China) was instigated by Japanese Army officers who wanted to wage a war of conquest. By the end of 1931, the Japanese had occu-

pied the whole of Manchuria, overriding the opposition of cabinet members in Tokyo and thus shaping the destiny of the nation.

On January 28, 1932, Japanese operatives near Shanghai staged an incident involving a street fight between five Japanese monks and Chinese factory workers. The incident triggered the first battle of Shanghai.

On January 1, 1933, Japanese invaders began attacking garrisons along the Great Wall. The Chinese Army fought back. Fighting stalled with heavy casualties on both sides, and ended with China giving up the garrisons.

From May to December 1935, Japan engaged in a subtle conspiracy in northern China, with the threat of military force always in the background. Staged "incidents" led to numerous China-Japan negotiations which always turned into piecemeal surrender of China's sovereignty to Japan. Thus, the Chahaer Agreement signed on 27 June 1935 under duress gave Japan total control of Chahaer Province. The He'mei Agreement signed on 6 July 1935 under duress gave Japan power over the military, police, and judiciary in Hebei Province, including the city of Beijing (Peking). Local puppet governments under Japanese control in northern China were formed, making *de facto* Japanese territories of those regions.

On August 7, 1936, the Japanese army and Japanese-controlled puppet forces attacked key townships in Suiyuan, China.

On July 7, 1937, claiming to be searching for a missing soldier, the Japanese Army attacked the Marco Polo Bridge, a key access to Beijing. This "Triple Seven Incident," as it became known, was the beginning of an all-out invasion of northern China.

On August 13, 1937, another staged incident at Shanghai Hong Qiao (Hong Ch'iao) Airport led to a Japanese invasion of Shanghai. On November 12, Shanghai was captured and the Japanese marched toward Nanking (Nanjing), then the capital of China, about 150 miles west of Shanghai.

On December 13, the city of Nanking fell to the Japanese. From
continued on page xv

引言

第二次世界大戰期間，六百萬猶太人在納粹集中營被屠殺。日本法西斯在侵華期間屠殺了三千餘萬中國人，是德國納粹法西斯屠殺猶太人總數的五倍。在歐洲，在蘇聯，在北非……有成百萬的軍民喪生。亞洲和太平洋地區更是如此：菲律賓人、朝鮮人、馬來亞人和其他的成百萬的人民死於非命。始作俑者的德國和日本，也遭受了德萊斯頓與東京的轟炸，以及廣島與長崎的原子彈。

猶太民族數十年來驅心歷血，以詳盡的宣傳、報導來雪恥對那個民族的大屠殺，出版了無數的書籍、紀念冊，製作了無數的紀錄片、故事片，寫進了各級教育的教科書。然而半個多世紀以來，一直到一九九六年本書第一版出版之前，有關「南京大屠殺」的書籍寥寥無幾，以多種文字出版的幾乎就沒有。走進任何一家在美國的大型圖書館查找目錄索引，有關二次世界大戰期間「猶太大屠殺」和「南京大屠殺」的書籍的比例之懸殊令人咋舌。

與此同時，中華民族所經歷的那場大屠殺卻在逐漸被人們忘記，那段慘痛的歷史在不斷地被別有用心的人篡改著、否認著。半個多世紀以前，一九四五年八月十五日午時，日皇裕仁通過NHK的傳聲筒，向他的子民們廣播了投降詔書，從而結束了一場由日本挑起的罪惡戰爭。

對於西方世界來說，這場漫長的戰爭開始於一九四一年十二月七日，日海軍偷襲珍珠港；而對中國人民來說，這場戰爭早在十年前就開始了。

一九三一年九月十八日，日本關東軍蓄意製造事端，強奪中國東北重鎮瀋陽，開始了征服中國的戰爭。到一九三一年底，日本軍隊不顧東京內閣的反對，佔了整個東北三省，為這場歷時十四年的罪惡戰爭鋪好了墊腳石。

一九三二年一月廿八日，日本軍隊藉口五個日本和尙與中國工人爭鬥，進攻上海開闢火車站，揚言四小時佔領整個上海。「一二八事變」爆發。

一九三三年一月三日，日軍攻陷中國華北要據長城山海關，逼迫中國政府簽定塘沽協定，中國軍隊撤出山海關，日寇把侵略火從東北推入華北。

一九三五年五月至十二月，日軍在中國華北以軍事威脅為後盾，製造了一連串的陰謀和一樁樁的蓄意事件來逼迫中國政府簽定各種不平等協定，進一步吞食華北領土。一九三五年六月二十七日簽定的察哈爾協定使日本完全控制了察哈爾省；一九三五年七月六日的何梅協定給予了日本控制包括北京在內的整個河北省的軍事、法律、警察大權。在日本勢力脅迫下成立的其它地方偽政府也給了日本實質上的控制權。

一九三六年八月七日，日軍進攻內蒙古重鎮綏遠。

一九三七年七月七日，借口搜尋一名失蹤的士兵，日本在北京發動「蘆溝橋事變」，從而開始了蓄謀已久的全面侵華戰爭。

同年八月十三日，日軍借口「虹橋事件」進犯上海。十一月十

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CHINA IN 1937
「南京大屠殺」前後的中國

- ★ National Capital
- Xi'an • City
- International Boundary
- Provincial Boundary
- HUNAN Province Name
- - - Disputed Boundary

0 Miles 500

THE JAPANESE INVASION OF CHINA 日本對中國的侵略

- JAPAN BEFORE WORLD WAR I
第一次世界大戰前的日本
- JAPAN'S CLAIMED TERRITORIES BEFORE 1931
日本在「九·一八」事件前攫取的領土
- EXTENT OF OCCUPATION IN 1933
一九三三年為止攫取的領土
- EXTENT OF OCCUPATION BEFORE THE RAPE OF NANKING, 1937
一九三七年「南京大屠殺」以前攫取的領土
- EXTENT OF OCCUPATION BEFORE PEARL HARBOR
「珍珠港事件」前攫取的領土
- EXTENT OF OCCUPATION IN WORLD WAR II
第二次世界大戰中攫取的領土