

· 英汉对照读物 ·

*The Fall of the Third Reich*

# 第三帝国的灭亡

〔美〕 William L. Shirer 著

董乐山 李天爵 译  
李家儒 陈传昌

中国对外翻译出版公司

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# 目 录

<b>德国的征服</b> .....	3
希特勒最后的孤注一掷.....	17
德国军队的崩溃.....	47
<b>GOETTERDAEMMERUNG: 第三帝国的末日</b> .....	77
希特勒的最后一个重大决定.....	93
戈林和希姆莱试图取而代之.....	105
到地下避弹室来的最后两位客人.....	117
希特勒的遗嘱.....	133
希特勒和他的新妇之死.....	159
第三帝国的结束.....	179
<b>简短的尾声</b> .....	191

# THE CONQUEST OF GERMANY

THE WAR CAME HOME to Germany.

Scarcely had Hitler recovered from the shock of the July 20 bombing when he was faced with the loss of France and Belgium and of the great conquests in the East. Enemy troops in overwhelming numbers were converging on the Reich.

By the middle of August 1944, the Russian summer offensives, beginning June 10 and unrolling one after another, had brought the Red Army to the border of East Prussia, bottled up fifty German divisions in the Baltic region, penetrated to Vyborg in Finland, destroyed Army Group Center and brought an advance on this front of four hundred miles in six weeks to the Vistula opposite Warsaw, while in the south a new attack which began on August 20 resulted in the conquest of Rumania by the end of the month and with it the Ploesti oil fields, the only major source of natural oil for the German armies. On August 26 Bulgaria formally withdrew from the war and the Germans began to hastily clear out of that country. In September Finland gave up and turned on the German troops which refused to evacuate its territory.

In the West, France was liberated quickly. In General Patton, the commander of the newly formed U.S. Third Army, the Americans had found a tank general with the dash and flair of Rommel in Africa. After the capture of Avranches on July 30, he had left Brittany to wither on the vine and begun

## 德国的征服

战争打到了德国的本土。<sup>①</sup>

希特勒在7月20日的炸弹案后惊魂未定,就又面临了丢失法、比的局面和东战场上的巨大攻势。<sup>②</sup>敌军正以压倒优势的兵力,从四面八方帝国进逼。

俄国从1944年6月10日开始发动夏季攻势,节节胜利,到8月中旬,红军已打到了东普鲁士边境,在波罗的海地区包围了德军五十个师,深入到芬兰的维堡,消灭了中央集团军群,在六个星期内在这一条战线上推进了四百英里,到达维斯杜拉河,与华沙隔河相望。同时,在南线,俄国也从8月20日起发动新攻势,到月底就占领了罗马尼亚,这样也就占领了德军天然石油的唯一重要来源——普洛耶什蒂油田<sup>③</sup>。8月26日,保加利亚正式退出战争,德军开始从该国仓皇撤退。9月间,芬兰也认了输,还掉过头来,向拒绝从它的领土上撤出的德军开火。

在西战场上,法国很快得到了解放。在新近成立的美国第三集团军司令巴顿将军身上,美国人找到了一个坦克将军,与非洲的隆美尔一样骁勇善战。7月30日,他攻克了阿夫朗舍之

a great sweep around the German armies in Normandy, moving southeast to Orleans on the Loire and then due east toward the Seine south of Paris. By August 23 the Seine was reached southeast and northwest of the capital, and two days later the great city, the glory of France, was liberated after four years of German occupation when General Jacques Leclerc's French 2nd Armored Division and the U.S. 4th Infantry Division broke into it and found that French resistance units were largely in control. They also found the Seine bridges, many of them works of art, intact.\*

The remnants of the German armies in France were now in full retreat. Montgomery, the victor over Rommel in North Africa, who on September 1 was made a field marshal, drove his Canadian First Army and British Second Army two hundred miles in four days—from the lower Seine past the storied battle sites of 1914–18 and 1940 into Belgium. Brussels fell to him on September 3 and Antwerp the next day. So swift was the advance that the Germans did not have time to destroy the harbor facilities at Antwerp. This was a great stroke of fortune for the Allies, for this port, as soon as its approaches were cleared, was destined to become the principal supply base of the Anglo-American armies.

Farther south of the British-Canadian forces, the U.S. First Army, under General Courtney H. Hodges, advanced with equal

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\* On August 23, according to Speidel, Hitler had ordered all the Paris bridges and other important installations destroyed "even if artistic monuments are destroyed thereby." Speidel refused to carry out the order, as did General von Choltitz, the new commandant of Greater Paris, who surrendered after a few shots had satisfied his honor. For this Choltitz was tried *in absentia* for treason in April 1945, but officer friends of his managed to delay the proceedings until the end of the war. Speidel also reveals that as soon as Paris was lost Hitler ordered its destruction by heavy artillery and V-1 flying bombs, but this order too he refused to obey. (Speidel, *Invasion 1944*, pp. 143–45.)

后,放过布里塔尼,让它自生自灭,而开始向诺曼底的德军进行大迂回,向东南推进到卢瓦尔河畔的奥尔良,然后挥师东向,推进到巴黎南面的塞纳河。到8月23日,盟军就抵达了巴黎东南面和西北面的塞纳河,两天以后,雅克·勒克莱克将军率领的法国第二装甲师和美国第四步兵师攻进了巴黎。被德国占领了四年之久的这座法国引以自豪的伟大名城就此解放。他们发现法国抵抗运动部队已经基本上控制了巴黎,还发现塞纳河上的桥梁——其中有许多是艺术珍品——均未遭到破坏。\*

在法国的德军残部如今已处于全面退却之中。蒙哥马利在北非战胜了隆美尔后,已于9月1日晋升为元帅,如今率领加拿大第一集团军和英国第二集团军在四天之内挺进二百英里,从塞纳河下游,经过历史上有名的1914-18年战场和1940年战场,进入比利时。他于9月3日攻克布鲁塞尔,次日又克安特卫普。盟军进展神速,德军来不及破坏安特卫普的港口设施。这对盟军来说是件大幸事,因为该港口的入口通道一经清理,就可成为英美军队的重要供应基地。

在英加军队的南面,古特尼·H. 霍季斯将军率领的美国第一集团军以同样的速度攻入比利时的东南部,到达1940年5

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\* 根据斯派达尔的说法,8月23日希特勒下令毁坏巴黎的所有桥梁和其它重要设施,“即使有艺术价值的名胜古迹因此遭受破坏也在所不惜。”斯派达尔拒绝执行这一命令。大巴黎的新任卫戍司令冯·肖尔铁茨将军也拒绝了这个命令,他放了几枪,满足了自己的荣誉感之后便投降了。为此肖尔铁茨在1945年4月以叛国罪受到缺席审判,但是他的同僚把这一审判案一直拖到战争结束。斯派达尔还透露说,巴黎失守以后,希特勒马上命令用重炮和V-1飞弹摧毁该城,但是斯派达尔也拒绝执行这一命令。(斯派达尔:《1944年的入侵》第143-145页。)

speed into southeastern Belgium, reaching the Meuse River, from which the devastating German breakthrough had begun in May 1940, and capturing the fortresses of Namur and Liège, where the Germans had no time to organize a defense. Farther south still, Patton's Third Army had taken Verdun, surrounded Metz, reached the Moselle River and linked up at the Belfort Gap with the Franco-American Seventh Army, which under the command of General Alexander Patch had landed on the Riviera in southern France on August 15 and pushed rapidly up the Rhone Valley.

By the end of August the German armies in the West had lost 500,000 men, half of them as prisoners, and almost all of their tanks, artillery and trucks. There was very little left to defend the Fatherland. The much-publicized Siegfried Line was virtually unmanned and without guns. Most of the German generals in the West believed that the end had come. "There were no longer any ground forces in existence, to say nothing of air forces," says Speidel. "As far as I was concerned," Rundstedt, who was reinstated on September 4 as Commander in Chief in the West, told Allied interrogators after the war, "the war was ended in September."

But not for Adolf Hitler. On the last day of August he lectured some of his generals at headquarters, attempting to inject new iron into their veins and at the same time hold out hope.

If necessary we'll fight on the Rhine. It doesn't make any difference. Under all circumstances we will continue this battle until, as Frederick the Great said, one of our damned enemies gets too tired to fight any more. We'll fight until we get a peace which secures the life of the German nation for the next fifty or a hundred years and



月德军势如破竹地开始突破的地方默兹河，攻占纳谟尔和列日两个要塞，那里的德军根本来不及组织防守。再往南，巴顿的第三集团军攻占了凡尔登，包围了梅茨，进抵摩泽尔河，并在贝尔福隘口与法美合组的第七集团军会师，该集团军在亚力山大·派契将军指挥下，早已于8月15日在法国南部游憩胜地里维埃拉登陆，沿罗纳河流域迅速挺进到这里了。

到8月底，西线德军损失已达五十万，其中半数是被俘的，坦克、重炮、载重汽车则几乎损失殆尽，已经没有什么东西可以用来保卫本土了。当初大肆吹嘘的齐格菲防线，实际上已无人也无炮防守。西线大多数德军将领认为大势已去。斯派达尔说：“地面部队已荡然无存，更不用说空军了。”于9月4日恢复西线总司令职务的伦斯德，战后对盟军讯问人员说：“对我个人来说，战争在9月里就已经结束了。”

但对阿道夫·希特勒来说，却不是如此。在8月的最后一天，他还在大本营对一部分将领训话，要想为他们打气，让他们抱有希望。

必要时我们将在莱因河作战。这没有什么了不起。我们不管怎么样都要继续打下去，象腓特烈大王<sup>④</sup>所说的那样，要一直打到该死的敌人中终于有一个精疲力竭，不能再战为止。我们要一直打到将来赢得的和平能保障德意志民族在今后五十年或一百年的生存。尤其是，这次和平不能

which, above all, does not besmirch our honor a second time, as happened in 1918...I live only for the purpose of leading this fight because I know that if there is not an iron will behind it, this battle cannot be won.

After excoriating the General Staff for its lack of iron will, Hitler revealed to his generals some of the reasons for his stubborn hopes.

The time will come when the tension between the Allies will become so great that the break will occur. All the coalitions in history have disintegrated sooner or later. The only thing is to wait for the right moment, no matter how hard it is.

Goebbels was assigned the task of organizing "total mobilization," and Himmler, the new chief of the Replacement Army, went to work to raise twenty-five *Volksgrenadier* divisions for the defense of the West. Despite all the plans and all the talk in Nazi Germany concerning "total war" the resources of the country had been far from "totally" organized. At Hitler's insistence the production of civilian goods had been maintained at a surprisingly large figure throughout the war—ostensibly to keep up morale. And he had balked at carrying out the prewar plans to mobilize women for work in the factories. "The sacrifice of our most cherished ideals is too great a price," he said in March 1943 when Speer wanted to draft women for industry. Nazi ideology had taught that the place of the German woman was in the home and not in the factory—and in the home she stayed. In the first four years of the war, when in Great Britain two and a quarter million women had been placed in war production, only 182,000 women were similarly employed

象 1918 年那样再玷污我们的荣誉……我活着就是为了领导这场战斗，因为我知道，如果这场战斗没有铁的意志做后盾，就不能胜利。

希特勒严厉地批评了参谋总部缺乏铁的意志，然后向他的将领们透露了他坚信前途仍有希望的一部分理由。

同盟国之间关系变得十分紧张，终于发生决裂的日子就要来到。历史上任何联盟迟早都垮了台。不管多么困难，现在唯一的办法是等待恰当的时机。

戈培尔给派了组织“总动员”的工作。希姆莱被任命为补充军司令，着手筹集二十五个人民步兵师防守西线。在纳粹德国，尽管有很多关于“总体战”的计划和谈论，但是全国人力、物力都远远没有全面组织起来。由于希特勒的坚持，在整个战争期间，民用品生产的数字仍大得惊人，这显然是为了维系民心。他还不肯实行战前制定的动员妇女进工厂做工的计划。1943 年 3 月，斯佩尔想要征召妇女进工厂，他却说：“要牺牲我们最珍视的理想，这个代价太高了。”纳粹思想要求德国妇女呆在家里，不要呆在工厂里，结果德国妇女就一直呆在家里。在战争的头四年中，英国用了二百二十五万妇女从事战时生产，德国只用了十八

in Germany. The number of peacetime domestic servants in Germany remained unchanged at a million and a half during the war.

Now with the enemy at the gates, the Nazi leaders bestirred themselves. Boys between fifteen and eighteen and men between fifty and sixty were called to the colors. Universities and high schools, offices and factories, were combed for recruits. In September and October 1944 a half-million men were found for the Army. But no provision was made to replace them in the factories and offices by women, and Albert Speer, the Minister for Armament and War Production, protested to Hitler that the drafting of skilled workers was seriously affecting the output of arms.

Not since Napoleonic times had German soldiers been forced to defend the sacred soil of the Fatherland. All the subsequent wars, Prussia's, and Germany's, had been fought on—and had devastated—the soil of other peoples. A shower of exhortations fell upon the hard-pressed troops.

*SOLDIERS OF THE WESTERN FRONT!*

...I expect you to defend Germany's sacred soil ... to the very last!...

Heil the Fuehrer!

VON RUNDSTEDT,  
Field Marshal

*SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY GROUP!*

...None of us gives up a square foot of German soil while still alive... Whoever retreats without giving battle is a traitor to his people...

Soldiers! Our homeland, the lives of our wives and children are at stake!

万二千。<sup>⑤</sup>德国在和平时期有一百五十万人当家庭佣工，这个数字在战时始终保持未变。<sup>⑥</sup>

现在敌人已经打到了大门口，纳粹领袖们才着了慌。连十五岁到十八岁的孩子和五十岁到六十岁的男子都被征召入伍。在大、中学校 and 机关、工厂里，到处都在搜罗兵员。1944年9、10两月，找到了五十万人参军，但是没有规定要妇女进机关和工厂去接替这些入伍者。军备和战时生产部长艾伯特·斯佩尔向希特勒抗议说，征召技术工人入伍严重影响了军火生产。

自从拿破仑时代以来，德国兵还从来没有过必要去保卫祖国的神圣领土。后来的战争，不论是普鲁士的战争，还是德国的战争，都是在别国的领土上打的，受到破坏的也是别国的领土。如今军队既然遭到了步步进逼，雪片般的激励和告诫便纷至沓来。<sup>⑦</sup>

西线的士兵们！

……希望你们为捍卫德国的神圣领土……血战到底！……

元首万岁！

陆军元帅

冯·隆斯德

集团军的士兵们！

……我们只要一息尚存，决不放弃德国寸土……谁要是不战而退，谁就是民族败类……

士兵们！我们的国土家园，我们的妻室儿女的生命，都系此一战！

Our Fuehrer and our loved ones have confidence in their soldiers!...

Long live our Germany and our beloved Fuehrer!

MODEL,  
Field Marshal

Nevertheless, with the roof caving in, there were an increasing number of desertions and Himmler took drastic action to discourage them. On September 10 he posted an order:

Certain unreliable elements seem to believe that the war will be over for them as soon as they surrender to the enemy. ...

Every deserter...will find his just punishment. Furthermore, his ignominious behavior will entail the most severe consequences for his family... They will be summarily shot.

A Colonel Hoffmann-Schonborn of the 18th Grenadier Division proclaimed to his unit:

Traitors from our ranks have deserted to the enemy... These bastards have given away important military secrets ...Deceitful Jewish mudslingers taunt you with their pamphlets and try to entice you into becoming bastards also. Let them spew their poison!... As for the contemptible traitors who have forgotten their honor—their families will have to atone for their treason.

In September what the skeptical German generals called a “miracle” occurred. To Speidel it was “a German variation of the ‘miracle of the Marne’ for the French in 1914. The furious advance of the Allies suddenly subsided.”

士兵们，元首相信你们，亲人们也相信你们！  
德国万岁！敬爱的元首万岁！

陆军元帅  
莫德尔

然而，由于大势已去<sup>⑧</sup>，逃兵的人数日益增多。希姆莱为了防止开小差，采取了严厉措施，9月10日，他下了一道命令：

有些动摇不稳分子以为，只要向敌人投降，战争对他们来说就算结束了。……

临阵脱逃……都要受到应有的惩罚。他们的可耻行为还会给他们的家属带来极其严重的后果……他们本人要就地枪决。

第十八步兵师一个叫霍夫曼-舒恩福恩的上校对部下说：

我们的队伍里已有叛徒投到敌人那边去了，……这些杂种泄露了重要军事机密……犹太骗子用造谣的小册子来哄骗你们，想要把你们也都变成杂种！让他们去放毒吧！……至于那些置荣誉于不顾的可耻叛徒，他们的家庭必须为他们的叛国行为抵罪。

9月间发生了一件事情，将信将疑的德国将军们称之为“奇迹”。盟军的迅猛挺进突然停了下来。斯派达尔认为，这简直是1914年法国“马恩河奇迹”在德国的翻版。<sup>⑨</sup>

Why it subsided has been a subject of dispute to this day among the Allied commanders from General Eisenhower on down; to the German generals it was incomprehensible. By the second week in September American units had reached the German border before Aachen and on the Moselle. Germany lay open to the Allied armies. Early in September Montgomery had urged Eisenhower to allot all of his supplies and reserves to the British and Canadian armies and the U.S. Ninth and First armies for a bold offensive in the north under his command that would penetrate quickly into the Ruhr, deprive the Germans of their main arsenal, open the road to Berlin and end the war. Eisenhower rejected the proposal.\* He wanted to advance toward the Rhine on a "broad front."

But his armies had outrun their supplies. Every ton of gasoline and ammunition had to be brought in over the beaches in Normandy or through the single port of Cherbourg and transported by truck three to four hundred miles to the advancing front. By the second week of September, Eisenhower's armies were bogging down for lack of supplies. They were also running into unexpected German resistance. By concentrating his available forces at two critical points Rundstedt was able by the middle of September, to halt at least temporarily Patton's Third Army on the Moselle and Hodges' First Army in front of Aachen.

Eisenhower, prodded by Montgomery, had then agreed to a bold plan to seize a bridgehead over the Lower Rhine at Arnhem and thus obtain a position from which the Siegfried Line could be outflanked on the north. The objective fell far short of Mont-

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\* "I am certain," Eisenhower wrote in his memoirs (*Crusade in Europe*, p. 305), "that Field Marshal Montgomery, in the light of later events, would agree that this view was a mistaken one." But this is far from being the case, as those who have read Montgomery's memoirs know.



为什么突然停了下来，这个问题自艾森豪威尔将军以下的盟军将领们至今犹在争论不休。在德国将领们看来，这是完全不可理解的。因为到9月的第二周，美军已经打到了亚琛前面和以摩泽尔河为界的德国边境线上。德国本土已暴露在盟军面前。蒙哥马利在9月间就敦促艾森豪威尔，把全部给养和后备物资拨给英、加军队和美国的第九、第一集团军，以便在他的指挥下从北面发起猛攻，迅速插进鲁尔区，夺取德国的主要兵工厂，打开通往柏林的道路，从而结束战争。<sup>⑩</sup>艾森豪威尔拒绝了这个建议\*。他希望在一条“宽阔的战线”上向莱因河齐头并进。

但是他们的军队进展太快，给养供应不上。<sup>⑪</sup>一吨吨的汽油、军火，都得从诺曼底海滩或仅有的港口瑟堡运进来，然后再用汽车运三、四百英里，才能送到不断向前推进的前线。到9月的第二周，艾森豪威尔的军队便因为缺乏给养而停滞不前。他们还遇到了德军出乎意料的抵抗。原来伦斯德在两个关键的地方集中了他的全部兵力，因此到9月中旬至少能够暂时在摩泽尔河挡住了巴顿的第三集团军，在亚琛前面挡住了霍季斯的第一集团军。

在蒙哥马利的催促下，艾森豪威尔这时同意采取一项大胆计划：在莱因河下游的阿纳姆夺取一个桥头堡，以此为立足点，从北面包抄齐格菲防线。蒙哥马利原来打算先挺进鲁尔区再直

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\* 艾森豪威尔在他的回忆录《欧洲十字军》[《Crusade in Europe》]第305页中写道：“我确信蒙哥马利元帅会根据后来所发生的情况，认为这一意见是错误的。”但是读过蒙哥马利的回忆录的人都知道，情况完全不是这样。