

A SELECTED READING OF GREAT BATTLES OF THE WORLD

上册

世界著名战役
英汉读本

主编 张卫平



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Battles of the World**

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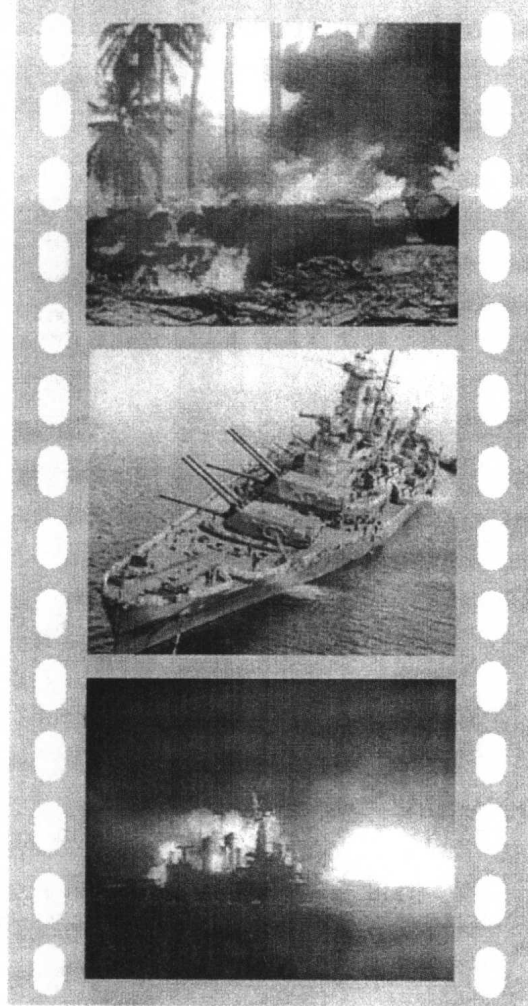
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目 录

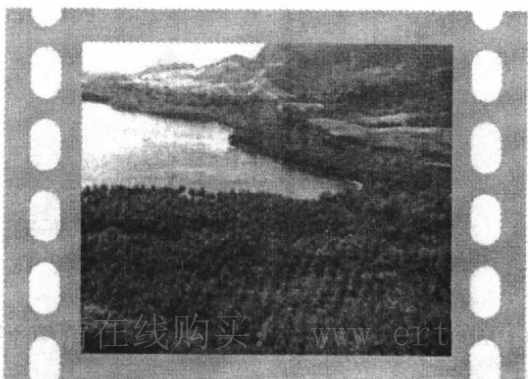
The European Theater

欧洲战场	1
大西洋争夺战	3
敦刻尔克大撤退	49
不列颠之战	75
俾斯麦号的覆灭	115
克里特岛战役	155
大西洋保卫战	193
莫斯科会战	225
斯大林格勒会战	243
库尔斯克会战	335
诺曼底登陆	385
阿登战役（突围之役）	457
欧洲最后的战役：德国和中欧	529



欧洲战场

— THE EUROPEAN THEATER —





大西洋争夺战

大西洋海上交通线是英国输入战略物资、原料和粮食的生命线。为了迫使英国屈服，德国决定使用海军主力破坏英国的大西洋海上交通线，于是双方在1940年展开了这场争夺战。

战斗的天平先向德军倾斜。德军首先利用现有的战列舰袭击英国的商船，企图扼杀海上贸易并夺取大西洋的海上生命线，取得了一定效果。之后德军紧锣密鼓地加紧生产潜艇，向英国海军发动了大规模的潜艇战，先利用单个潜艇攻击英国的船只，然后德军采取“狼群”攻击战术，将潜艇编成小队，在空军有力的导航支援下，对英国的商船进行群体攻击，使英方遭到重创，仅1940年的上半年就损失了近200艘船。德军的武装商船也使英方备感头疼，与此同时，德军还展开了水雷战，新型的磁性水雷使英方的船只损失不小。到1940年年底，英国船只的损失达上千只。此时的英国海军非常被动，他们面临着棘手的难题。由于缺乏护航舰，英方没有能力在大西洋做全程护航。护航无法深入大西洋深处，因此缺少护航的船只往往成为德军潜艇的牺牲品。解决这个问题的唯一出路是建立全方位的立体护航系统，在扩大海面护航范围的同时增加空中护航，这样才能保证船只免遭德军潜艇的袭击，但是英军缺乏远程飞机，这使得全程护航计划难以实施。此外，为了能尽快搜索到德军潜艇的行踪，新型雷达的研制工作也迫在眉睫，

1940年的海上争夺战对英方而言是苦涩的一年，面对德军成倍增长的潜艇，英国海军需要的不仅仅是勇气和信心，而且还需要空军、科研机构和盟国的支持，这将决定着盟军是否能守住大西洋这条至关重要的生命线。

STRUGGLE FOR THE SEALANES

September 1939—December 1940

The war plans of the Royal Navy had been taking shape since 1936, when Hitler's march into the Rhineland had set the pattern of his future path of aggression. Even at that time, it was apparent to the British Chiefs-of-Staff that war would come, and in a memorandum to the Cabinet they assumed it would break out in the latter part of 1939.

As a result of the Rhineland occupation a supplementary naval estimate was introduced into the House of Commons in 1936 to build two new battle ships, an aircraft-carrier, five cruisers, and a variety of smaller ships, to be followed in 1937 by estimates which included another three battleships, two more aircraft-carriers, seven cruisers, and a big increase in small craft. And when the nation went to war in 1939, the first of these ships were beginning to join the fleet.

大西洋争夺战

1939年9月—1940年12月

早在1936年，皇家海军就已开始酝酿战争计划。当时希特勒已进军到莱茵河地区，将来入侵的路线已昭然若揭。从那时起英国的领导人就已心知肚明，战争即将来临，在给内阁会议的一份备忘录中，他们预料战争将在1939年的下半年爆发。

随着莱茵河地区被德军占领，下议院于1936年增加了海军的预算，包括建造2艘新战列舰、1艘航空母舰、5艘巡洋舰以及各式较小的舰船。1937年，又预计增加3艘战列舰、2艘航空母舰及7艘巡洋舰，小船只的数量也

The war plans, which were sent out from the Admiralty on January 30, 1939, represented the adoption of a defensive strategy. This has to be so in the early stages of a well-proved element in the exercise of sea power. The desire to rush into offensive action has so often been the prelude to local disaster that naval planning in the initial stages of a maritime war must always allow time for a sufficient force to be built up and trained for the offensive. Only when that stage has been reached can the true dividends of an offensive strategy be harvested.

The naval plan in 1939, which was based on the assumption that the war would be fought against both Germany and Italy from the start, fell into three broad parts. The first looked to the defense of trade in home waters and the Atlantic. This was fundamental to any national strategy, for supplies are the vital sinews of war. Second came the defense of trade in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. It was obvious that, if Italy became an energetic enemy, her dominating geographical position in the Mediterranean would force all seaborne trade to use the longer route round the Cape of Good Hope, but it was hoped to contain her adequately with a strong fleet in the Mediterranean. The third broad part of the naval plan was the imposition of a blockade on Germany and Italy, and with the actual declaration of war was published the list of contraband liable to seizure at 将大大增加。到 1939 年英国参战时，这些战舰中的首批舰只已可以编入作战舰队。

1939 年 1 月 30 日，海军提交的战争计划将重点放在防守战略，这在战争开始阶段是不得已而为之。在控海能力的较量中，这种战略的确是上策，鲁莽的进攻常常是灾难的序曲。在海战中，海军的计划必须允许留有足够的时间来增强力量，为进攻做好准备，只有时机成熟，才能收获进攻带来的果实。

基于战争一打响英国就得与德国和意大利同时交战这一假设，1939 年的海军计划分为 3 个部分，首先要保卫国家所辖海域及大西洋地区的贸易往来，这在全国的战略中是重中之重，因为补给是战争的重要支柱。其次要保卫地中海和印度洋地区的贸易。很显然，如果意大利成为劲敌，它在地中海的重要地理位置会迫使所有海上贸易绕行好望角，但是如果在地中海有一支强大的舰队就可以充分地遏制意大利。海军计划的第三部分是封锁德国和意大利，在正式宣战后公布海上禁运的物资名单，即使中立国的船只也不能运送

sea, even if carried in neutral ships.

To put the plan into operation, the main strength of the Home Fleet was concentrated in Scotland. Far to the north the cruisers of the Northern Patrol kept watch, waiting to intercept any enemy or neutral ship, whether inward or outward bound. From the Shetlands to the coast of Norway a line of search was mounted, partly by air patrols, partly by submarines. The Home Fleet, less a few units stationed elsewhere, lay at Scapa Flow, more than capable of meeting any surface threat which the enemy could mount at sea. At Rosyth lay the aircraft-carrier *Furious* and her attendant destroyers, while submarine flotillas were based at Dundee and Blyth to carry the naval war into German waters. A cruiser squadron and a destroyer flotilla lay in the Humber, while far to the south a force of battleships, aircraft-carrier, cruisers, and destroyers was based at Portland to hold the southern exit into the Atlantic.

In addition to the Home Fleet, the four home commands—Plymouth, Portsmouth, the Nore, and Rosyth—each had forces of destroyers, anti-submarine vessels, and minesweepers for convoy duties and local defense, under the command of the local commander-in-chief. In the light of existing naval knowledge in 1939, all this formed a net strong enough and wide enough to catch any enemy ship attempting to force a way out or in.

这些物资。

为了将计划付诸实施，英国本土舰队的主要力量开始在苏格兰集结，北方巡逻舰队的巡洋舰在北部地区值守，准备拦截任何敌方或中立国过往的船只。在设德兰群岛到挪威海岸之间还建立了一条搜索线，由空军和潜艇共同进行巡逻搜索。除了一小部分驻扎在别处外，本土舰队全部驻守在斯卡帕湾，足以应付任何来自敌军的海上威胁。在罗塞斯部署了愤怒号航空母舰及驱逐舰，潜艇小队则驻扎在邓迪和布莱斯，以便能随时将战火引入德国海域。一支巡洋舰中队和驱逐舰小队部署在亨伯兰地区，在南边则驻扎着一支由战列舰、航空母舰和巡洋舰组成的部队，驱逐舰则部署在波特兰，以控制南边进入大西洋的入口。

除了本土舰队以外，包括普利茅斯、朴次茅斯、诺尔和罗塞斯在内的四大军区都配备了自己的驱逐舰、反艇舰和扫雷舰，在军区司令的指挥下可以进行护航和防守。按照 1939 年当时的海军知识，所有这些部署交织成了一张强有力的大网，足以截获任何企图进出的敌船。

In the Mediterranean, the agreement was that the French navy would hold the western basin in force. The British Mediterranean Fleet was therefore based on Alexandria, to operate in and dominate the eastern basin. To implement the blockade, the naval plan called for strong forces in the Gibraltar straits and the Red Sea, where examination anchorages for strong forces in the Gibraltar straits and the Red Sea, where examination anchorages for all merchant ships entering the Mediterranean were set up.

The German battle plans

The German war plans were, of course, tailored to a fleet which was basically unready for war. Shortly after coming to power, Hitler had told Admiral Raeder¹ that he would not precipitate a general war until 1944, and it was on this assumption that Raeder had planned German naval expansion. When the war came in 1939, many of the ships which Raeder had hoped would be ready were still building or in the planning stage. Nevertheless, he still had a useful navy. The three pocket-battleships—nominally of 10,000 tons to keep within treaty limitations but secretly built to 13,000 tons—were immediately available. The battlecruisers *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*, which also exceeded their treaty limits, by 6,000 tons, were formidable opponents, and the big Hipper-class cruiser, some 4,000 tons overweight, were nearly ready. There were 56

法国海军同意控制地中海的西部海域，因此英国地中海舰队就驻扎在亚历山大里亚，以便控制东部海域。为了实行封锁，英国将在直布罗陀海峡和红海集结重兵，检查所有进入地中海停泊的商船。

德军的作战计划

当然，德军的作战计划是为一支根本还未做好应战准备的舰队制定的。希特勒在上台后不久就告诉雷德尔海军上将，他将在 1944 年全面发动战争，于是雷德尔就根据这个设想来筹划海军的扩建。当战争于 1939 年爆发时，许多雷德尔期望造好的舰船仍在制造或设计中。然而，他仍然有一支可供使用的海军队伍，其中有 3 只小型战列舰可以立即投入战斗，根据条约限制应为 10 000 吨级战舰，但却秘密建造了 13 000 吨；沙恩霍斯特和格奈森瑙号巡洋舰比条约规定超重 6 000 吨，成为令人生畏的武器；超重 4 000 吨且装备一新的巡洋舰也即将建成；

¹ Erich Raeder (1876–1960), German admiral, who fought both in World War I and World War II.

U-boats¹, of which all but ten were operational, and their crews had been well trained, during the years when no U-boats were permitted, under the pretence that they were undergoing anti-submarine exercise.

The German battle instructions were issued to their fleet in May 1939. The plan envisaged a continuous series of operations in the North Sea to create as much nuisance as possible, mainly by attacks on shipping, and thus tying down large British forces to contain them. All the larger ships were due to cruise in the oceans in a heavy and sustained attack on merchant shipping. The U-boats were to operate against trade in the Atlantic and in the approaches to the main British ports. And to counterbalance the delay in the new heavy ships still under construction, a number of merchant ships were to be taken in hand for conversion into fast, heavily armed raiders.

In the German battle instructions, one ominous phrase was inserted: "fighting method will never fail to be employed merely because some international regulations are opposed to them." It was a foreshadowing of the unrestricted submarine and raider warfare which, it had been hoped in Britain, had by now been outlawed for all time as an instrument of naval warfare.

The German navy made its war dispositions in good time. On August 21, 此外还有 56 艘潜艇, 除了 10 艘外全部都能使用, 而且潜艇人员在潜艇遭禁时, 假借反潜训练的名义, 已受到了良好的训练。

德军作战指令于 1939 年 5 月下达到舰队, 要求他们在北海进行一系列活动, 袭击运输船只并牵制英国的主要兵力, 尽可能地制造麻烦。所有较大的舰船都到海上巡逻, 并给运输商船予以连续重击, 德军潜艇则负责对大西洋及英国主要港口的贸易进行骚扰。为了弥补建造新战舰的时间差, 许多商船被改装成快速的全副武装商船。

德军的作战指令中增加了这样一句具有不祥之兆的话: "不能因为违背某些国际规定就不允许采取某种作战方式"。这意味着无限制的潜艇战和舰船袭击战即将爆发, 这些作战方式, 根据英国的意愿, 在任何时候都是不合法的。

德国海军的作战部署抓住了时机。1939 年 8 月 21 日, 格拉夫·斯比号小型战列舰利用夜色掩护从北海悄悄潜入大西洋。3 天后, 另一艘名叫德意志号的小

¹ U-boat, German submarine, used in World War II.

1939, the pocket-battleship *Graf Spee*, using darkness for her passage of the North Sea, slipped into the Atlantic unobserved. Three days later the *Deutschland*, another pocket-battleship, made a similar move, also undetected. Their supply tankers, *Altmark* and *westerwald*, joined them there, their passage also being unobserved. Between August 19 and 29, 17 of the ocean-going type of U-boats were sent out to their Atlantic war patrol areas while seven of the smaller coastal type were dispatched to lay mines off the Channel¹ ports. Six more were sent out to patrol the central North Sea.

The initial task of the Royal Navy² was to draw a ring round the enemy, denying him the supplies which could only come over the seas. From the south of Norway, across and down the Mediterranean, and throughout the length of the Mediterranean, Allied³ sea power held the ring. Allied land and air power filled the Continental gaps. Only to the east, where Russia enjoyed a breathing space through her non-aggression pact with Germany, was a possible supply line left open. One result of this closing of the ring can be judged by the fact that, from the outbreak of war to the end of 1939, the Royal Navy seized 530,000 tons of supplies destined for Germany.

It was outside this ring, however, that the problem accumulated. Within hours 型战列舰以同样的方式秘密潜入。它们的补给船阿尔特马克号和西方世界号与之会合，没有暴露任何蛛丝马迹。从8月19日到29日，17艘远洋型潜艇被部署到大西洋海战的巡逻海域，7艘小型的近海潜艇则在英吉利海峡的港口布下水雷，此外，还有6艘潜艇在北海中部的海域巡逻。

皇家海军最初的任务是包围敌军，切断他们的海运供给路线。盟军的海军力量从挪威南部一直延伸到地中海，然后再横跨地中海形成一个包围圈，欧洲大陆其余的地方则由盟军的地面部队和空军负责。但是在东面，由于俄罗斯和德国签署了互不侵犯条约，因此留下了一个防守空白带，从而可能成为德军供给的路径。以下数字表明了这个包围圈的战果：从战争爆发到1939年底，皇家海军总共缴获530,000吨运往德国的供给物资。

1 the English Channel.

2 Royal Navy, the Navy of Britain.

3 of or relating to the nations united against the Axis powers in World War II.

of the declaration of war the Donaldson liner *Athenia* was attacked by U-30 200 miles west of Hebrides, and was sunk with a loss of 112 lives. It is true that the captain of U-30 exceeded his instructions in sinking this ship, but her loss was taken in the British Admiralty as evidence that unrestricted submarine warfare was already in force. The provisional arrangements in the war plan for the defence of ocean trade, which was to have been by the patrol of focal points and the evasive routing of merchant ships, was abandoned, and it was decided to adopt the full convoy system as soon as it could be introduced.

Lack of escorts

It was at this stage that the Royal Navy began to feel acutely the pre-war lateness of the naval rebuilding programme. Such destroyers and other ships as were available as convoy escorts lacked the endurance to take them far out into the Atlantic, and until the new ships came along, a "limit of convoy" had to be drawn at about 300 miles to the west. After that point, the ships in convoy dispersed and proceeded independently. Incoming convoys were escorted across the Atlantic by an anti-raider escort, usually an armed merchant cruiser, and then were picked up by the escort forces at the limit of convoy and escorted into British ports.

然而在包围圈外却出现了不少问题。在宣战后的几个小时内，唐纳德森运输公司的阿西利亚号在赫布里底群岛以西 200 英里处遭到了德军潜艇 U-30 号的袭击，船被击沉，损失了 112 条生命。虽然 U-30 号艇长越权击沉了英国船只，但是英国海军部认为这已经表明德军为所欲为的潜艇战已经打响。英国先前的作战计划是为了保护海上贸易，包括在指定地点巡逻和回避商船航线等，现在这个计划将会被放弃，他们决定尽快启动全面护航系统。

护航舰匮乏

到了这个阶段，皇家海军才开始迫切地感到战前没有对海军及时重建，能够用做护航的驱逐舰和其他战舰无法进入大西洋深处。在新的战舰建好之前，护航仅局限在西边 300 英里以内的海域；除此之外，能护航的战舰也是零零星星，而且各自为战。穿过大西洋驶往英国的船只通常由具有反袭击能力的武装商船护航，进入 300 英里线后由护航舰队接管，直至英国港口。后来新的战舰造好后，

Later, as the new ships became available, the convoy limit was pushed farther out into the Atlantic, but it was not until mid-1941 that the Royal Navy was able to provide an anti-submarine escort all the way across the Atlantic.

But even with these limitations, the shipping loss figures were fairly encouraging. Up to the end of 1939, U-boats had sunk 114 ships, with a tonnage of 421,156, but nine U-boats had paid the price. Considering the attenuated strength of the escort forces, these figures were satisfactory. But that these results were ephemeral in the overall picture was always present in the British Admiralty's mind. It was known that Germany was embarking on a very substantial program of U-boat construction, and that, by 1941 at latest, the number of operational submarines would be doubled or trebled, and that this number would be progressively increased as the war lengthened. There was no blinking the fact that, once the U-boat fleet was at full strength, merchant ship losses would be grievous.

In the meantime, an attempt to take the offensive against the U-boat led to disaster. Two hunting groups were formed, each consisting of an aircraft-carrier and four destroyers, to operate against U-boats in the western approaches. On September 14 the *Ark Royal* was narrowly missed by torpedoes from U-39. The escorting destroyers counterattacked, sank the U-boat, and captured her crew. But 护航的范围扩大到大西洋。但是直到 1941 年年中，皇家海军才能够提供穿越大西洋的反潜艇全程护航行动。

尽管存在着这些局限，运输损失的数据仍令人鼓舞。到 1939 年底，德军潜艇共击沉了 114 艘船，总吨位为 421 156 吨，但也为此付出了 9 艘潜艇的代价。考虑到英军薄弱的护航力量，这些数字还是比较令人满意。但是英国海军将领们清醒地认识到在整个战役中，这些结果只是暂时的。德国正在紧密锣鼓地建造潜艇，最迟到 1941 年，他们能作战的潜艇数就会翻两倍或三倍，如果战争持续下去，这个数字还会增加。毋庸置疑，一旦德军潜艇充分显示其威力，商船的损失将会更为惨重。

与此同时，对抗德军潜艇的一次尝试也导致了灾难。英军组成了两个搜查队，每个队由 1 艘航空母舰和 4 艘驱逐舰组成，准备用来对付从西部海口地区进犯的德军潜艇。9 月 14 日，皇家橡树号侥幸躲过了 U-39 号潜艇发射的鱼雷，然后护航的驱逐舰发起了进攻，将德军潜艇击沉，并俘虏了潜艇上的官兵。但这只

it had been a narrow shave¹.

Three days later the second hunting group was in action. The aircraft-carrier *Courageous* was sighted by U-29, which torpedoed and sank her with a loss of 519 lives, and lived to tell the tale. At that stage of the war aircraft-carrier were particularly valuable ships, since those ordered in 1936 and 1937 were not expected to be operational until 1941 at earliest, and the British Admiralty quickly decided that it was asking for trouble to risk them on that type of warfare. The *Ark Royal* was quickly withdrawn to take her proper place again with the Home Fleet.

Inside the Admiralty an organization was growing to co-ordinate the war against the U-boat. Before the war an operational intelligence center had been set up to deal with all intelligence received of an operational nature, to deduce its value, and to pass it out to the fleet.

On the submarine side a “tracking room” was established into which came every piece of U-boat intelligence. Reports from agents in enemy countries, giving details of arrivals and departures, U-boat sightings by ships and aircraft, U-boat attacks, and, most prolific source of all, wireless bearings of ever message transmitted at sea by a U-boat—all were channeled into the intelligence center. The 是一次侥幸而已。

3天后，第二搜索队开始行动。勇气号航母被U-29号潜艇发现，潜艇用鱼雷击沉了航母，造成519人死亡，自己却毫发未损。在战争的这个阶段，航母是非常珍贵的舰船，因为1936年和1937年订造的航母最早要到1941年才能交货。英国海军部于是迅速做出判断，认为在战斗中用航母冒险实在得不偿失，因此皇家橡树号航母很快撤回英军舰队的大本营。

英海军部组建了一个对抗德军潜艇的协同作战机构。一个在战前已经组建的情报中心负责所有作战情报的搜集和分析，并报告给舰队。

在对付潜艇方面，海军成立了一个“搜索办”，所有关于德国潜艇的信息都汇集到这个办公室。潜伏在敌方的间谍报告的潜艇到达和起航的时间、船只和飞机观察到的潜艇、潜艇攻击的情报，其中最具价值的是潜艇在海上发出的无线电信号，所有这一切都汇集到了情报中心。搜索办用电传打印机和遍布全国的无线

¹ narrow shave, an almost unsuccessful escape or avoiding of sth. bad; narrow escape.