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# WAR JOURNAL

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## FRANZ HALDER

War journal of Generaloberst Franz Halder,  
Chief of the General Staff of Supreme Command  
of the German Army (OHL), Vol VII.  
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## Volume VII

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**THE PRIVATE WAR JOURNAL**  
**OF**  
**GENERAL OBERST FRANZ HALDER**

**Chief of the General Staff  
of the  
Supreme Command of the German Army (OKH)**

**14 August 1939 to 24 September 1942**

**VOLUME VII**

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VOLUME VII.

The Campaign in Russia, Part II.

The Chief of the Army General Staff.

First Entry: 1 August 1941.

Last Entry : 24 September 1942.

\* \* \* \* \*

1 August 1941 ( 41st day of the Russian Campaign).

Situation: South: Seventeenth Army and Armd.Gp. 1 are making good progress in their envelopment operation. Seventeenth Army is meeting fierce frontal opposition at some points. No change in the situation in the sector of Eleventh Army next southward. LIV Corps is making slow progress, but so far the enemy still operating near the coast has brought to bear only partial elements against the flank of Eleventh Army. He is likely to cause more trouble in the coming days. Sixth Army has now reached the Dniepr, though as yet only with Advance Combat Teams, and has taken enemy shipping under fire. The violent battle south of Kiev appears to have been decided in our favor. When it will be followed by our penetration into the city, cannot yet be foreseen. The group fighting in the forest area west of Kiev (111th and 296th Divs.) has not much chance to score any major successes. On the other hand, the concentric attack on Korosten is gradually developing.

Center: The attack on Roslavl ( VII Corps and parts of 24th mot. Div.) has had a good start. As before, the Russians are launching local attacks against the rest of the front, always without any appreciable success. -- The Smolensk pocket has been further compressed but not substantially changed.

The situation invites comment on two important points:

- 1.) The operation against the enemy in the Smolensk pocket is again being approached the wrong way. Four Divs. are advancing eastward from the west pushing the enemy against the eastern block formed by only 4 Bns. of Seventh Armd.Div., which is also being attacked by the enemy from the east. We need hardly be surprised if Seventh Armd.Div. eventually gets badly hurt.
- 2.) The entire front of Hoth's Armd.Gp. is uncomfortably thin. There is nothing behind it. This is due to the fact that Ninth Army has committed most of its Infantry Divs. against the Smolensk pocket, and needs what is left on its extreme left wing.\* Meanwhile Army Gp. cannot get up enough steam to make Guderian, fighting

in the adjoining sector to the south, do anything to relieve the situation around Smolensk. But that would be the only way to free troops for the follow-up behind Hoth.

At Velikie Luki the situation is unchanged. Here the enemy appears to have the initiative. South of Korosten we have with great effort pushed back the enemy northward.

North has enveloped Kholm from the south and east (Twelfth Div.) under hard fighting. The enemy apparently has brought up new forces from the east. It cannot be made out yet whether the three enemy Divs. which were switched from the Leningrad front to this sector, according to the statement of the captured Staff Officer, have really arrived.

No change in the area of Lake Ilmen, apart from minor local gains. Eighth Armd. Div. has been taken out of the central group (Luga) and is kept in readiness behind the front. The disposition of this group shows nothing to indicate a tendency toward the Narva wing.

West of Lake Peipus: Mopping up and moving of the Dorpat forces to the northwest, according to plan.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu):

- a) The Advance Combat Team of Sixteenth Armd. Div., which was surprised by the enemy in the sector of Armd. Gp. 1 and managed to escape to Berdichev with only the scantiest equipment, must be returned to the ZI (Mil. Distr VIII) for refitting.
- b) Trains and shipping ( river utilized as far as Grodno, sea route as far as Riga). Shipping on Lake Peipus carries 700 tons to Gdov (24 hours for each trip).

c) Supply situation:

	Ammo first issue	Fuel quotas	Food ration days
<u>North:</u> Toppe has on hand:	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1
Eighteenth Army:	complete.	complete.	complete.
Sixteenth Army	$\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Sufficient from local sources.
Armd. Gp. 4:	complete (except for 1 lt. Fd. How. and 10 cm Guns.)	5	[not indicated]
<u>Center:</u> Army Gp.:	$\frac{1}{4}$	1	4 (incl. Armd. Gps.)
Armd. Gp. 2:	$\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	4
Armd. Gp. 3:	$1\frac{1}{3}$ (1 lt. and med. Fd. How. $\frac{1}{2}$ )	$2\frac{1}{2}$	14

The 60-ton Truck Clms. are still on the shuttle run between the border and the present Supply Area.

South: Rovno Supply Base (unloaded):

Army Gp. :	1/10	0	6
Sixth Army:	1 1/6	2 1/3	3 1/2
Seventeenth Army:	1/6	1	1
Armd. Gp. 1 :	1/7	1/2	3 1/2

(Berdichev).

In AGp. South, the 60-ton Truck Clms. are still on the supply run supplementing the railroad (600 - 650 tons daily to Belaya Tserkov).

Eleventh Army\*: 3/4 2 1/2 3

- d) Harvesting in the Ukraine.
- e) Wagner's conference with Todt (on 31 July). Question of supplying Todt Organization. -- Prisoners of war for road construction. -- Preparation of winter quarters (Baentsch).
- f) Rommel: Preparations seem to be under way now to set up Administrative Hqs in Rome and Tripoli.
- g) Food requirements for Army in the East. About 50% of the total needed comes from the ZI.

Gen. Mueller (zbV) :

- a) West: Most death sentences have been stayed. Revision of procedure is in interest of the Army. Request of G in C West for an amnesty\*\* is denied. Political question!
- b) East: Exploit violations of International Law for propaganda in foreign countries! Treatment of captured Commissars (are for the most part identified only in the prison camps). Partisan units are combat formations under International Law. Prosecution of criminal cases in AGp. Rear Areas turned over to the Wehrmachts - Befehlshaber .
- c) The crime rate is down\*\*\*In the period of tension before the start of the campaign there were more cases of desertion and self-mutilation.
- d) Rehabilitation Bn. To date 25% losses. 170 men as replacements.
- e) Special Field Bn. # is being used in the West. Mine clearing. Cleaning up of battlefields (450 strong).
- f) Propaganda under Schwatlo-Gesterding is getting started too slow. His scope for action is restricted, and all he can do is see to it that the Army is getting its due credit in the press.

Gen. Bogatsch: Air observation:

- 1.) Staraya Russa filled with trains. Perhaps we witness here the shifting of the "three Divisions" to the area south of Lake Ilmen, as indicated by the captured Russian Ia.
- 2.) Railroad movements toward Lodyeinoye Polje 3,000 cars and 40 locomotives standing on the line.
- 3.) Unloading of troops believed to be going on at Toropets and to the south.
- 4.) Yesterday's PW statement on the arrival of Divisions by rail and on foot on the front of AGp. Center have not been confirmed. Possible unloading around Bryansk and Orel, but we cannot make out where these movements originated.
- 5.) Railroad movements from Konotop to the northeast, possibly coming from Fifth Army area.
- 6.) Confusion at Pervomaisk - Kirovograd: Result of the encirclement at Uman.

Gen. Matzky: 1.) Current Attaché reports from Italy, Iran, Chile; nothing significantly new.

2.) Spanish Legion has arrived: Four Volunteer Inf. Regts., one Arty. Regt. Picked war veterans, Commander Munoz-Grande.

3.) Ukraine: In the Polish part independence movement, in the Russian part apathetic indifference. Activist committees only in the larger towns. Crops in the Russian part are estimated to be 60 to 70% of normal years.

Heusinger:

- a) Artillery for AGp. North. 2 How. Bns. with Renault tractors are still outstanding.
- b) Kholm - Toropets. Von Leeb does not want to detach for the southern position any of his forces in the Kholm group.
- c) Northern wing of Ninth Army at Velikie Luki will attack tomorrow.
- d) Proposal for radical change in the furlough policy for Africa! Relief after six months, without return.

Gen. Paulus tells me about Rommel's report to the Fuehrer. In the discussion of details there was not one which had not been repeatedly suggested by us. The only new feature is OKW's willingness to send German submarines and speedboats into the Mediterranean (which I believe is a mistake), and the Fuehrer's intention to have a meeting with Il Duce in the near future.

Evening situation: South: No reports from Eleventh Army. Seventeenth Army and Armd.Gp. 1 are cooperating in an enveloping movement of great depth; the formation of the pocket at Uman in progressing.

Sixth Army: Dniepr reached south of Kiev. The enemy was thrown back to the fortifications line of Kiev by the onslaught and lost all of his Artillery. Penetration into the fortifications line will be tried yet tonight. Northern wing is continuing its enveloping movement at Korosten.

Center: Very good progress of the attack on Roslavl (18 km). On the southern wing of AGp. Center, the number of deserters is increasing. Disorganized attacks against the eastern flank of Army Gp. Concentrations of troops brought up by truck against Yelnya. On the rest of the eastern front of Army Gp. only local attacks. South of Toropets three Inf. Divs. and two Cav. Divs.; attack at Velikie Luki scheduled for tomorrow.

North: Assault of Staraya Russa slated for 3 Aug. Bridgehead at Shimsk is to be abandoned. North of Luga the enemy is digging trenches. Nothing new at Narva. In the rear of the front between Lake Ilmen and Narva partisan raids are quite troublesome (railroad train). Further attack in the direction of Tallinn prepared.

Finland: No prospects of success at Salla. The attack must be broken off. Dietl's offensive against Murmansk makes sense only if another Mt. Div. arrives up there by the second half of August. This is technically impossible because the only Mt.Div. still available, the Sixth, is still in Saloniki and will not arrive in Germany before late August.

Ratio between friendly and enemy forces:

Finnish Front (Karelia): 5 Divs. : 5 Divs. = 10.

AGp. North: 20 Inf.Divs. )  
3 Armd. " ) against ( 13 Rifle Divs.  
3 Mot. " ) ( 2 Armd. "

Ratio about 3 : 2.

AGp. Center: 42 Inf.Divs. )  
9 Armd. " ) against ( 26½ Rifle Divs.  
7 Mot. " ) ( 7 Armd. "  
1 Cav. " ) ( 1 Cav. "

Ratio for Inf. 5 : 2.7, Armor about 9 : 7, Cavalry 10.

<u>AGp. South:</u>	41 Inf.Divs. )	( 29 Rifle Divs.
	6 Armd.Divs. )	( 8 Armd. " (2 with
	4½ Mot. " )	( out tanks)
	Hung. )	( 2 Cav. Divs.
	Rom. )	
	Ital. )	
	Slov. )	

) against (

Ratio for Inf. 5 : 3, Armor 1 : 0.

GHq Reserves: 0 \* : 28

Over-all ratio of German and Russian fighting forces:

Inf. and mot. Divs.	1.6 : 1
(without enemy GHq Reserves)	1.6 : 1
(without enemy GHq Reserves)	1.2 : 1
Armd.Divs.:	Approximately equal.
Cav. Divs.:	Approximately equal.

2 August 1941. ( 42nd day)

Situation: The morning situation shows no new developments.

In AGp. South, the pocket is forming according to plan. The confusion in the enemy movements is clearly appreciable. Here, too, the enemy is throwing into the battle whatever he can scrape together within a reasonable distance, but the time for a planned disengagement has passed. The southern flank of Eleventh Army bears close watching. Here we have no clear picture of the enemy situation, but as the main body of Eleventh Army is facing south, it is fair to assume that it is pinned down by enemy attacks. It would not be advisable to launch the attack on Kiev directly from yesterday's positions. Troops must first close up and regroup. The fortification line of Kiev apparently is weakly held. In Sixth Army no important changes.

Center: Has made very good progress against Roslavl. In addition to VII Corps, IX Corps also will attack today. Nothing new from the rest of the front, apart from reports that the Russians are building a bridge across the Dniepr\*\* east of Smolensk. The extreme left wing of Ninth Army has started off on the attack on Velikie Luki. The nearest rear Divs. are closing up.

North: No substantial changes. No developments in our favor. At Staraya Russa stiffening opposition; med. Arty. reported in action.

ObdH will be at Hq AGp. North today.

Radio intelligence reports in addition to the 28 Russian Divs. already known, 13 more Divs. in process of activation

in the interior of Russia, also new Army Hq, numbered 31.

Brig. Gen. Kleeberger (Adm. Div.) :

a) Food situation.

East: We started off with 20 days' rations. We have found no really substantial Russian provisions build-up. The Russians lived off the land. Only a few military depots, and these were destroyed. Provisioning of troops continues to run well; in particular it has been possible to organize good bread supply. Some trouble with canteen goods and tobacco. Building up a new supply base while attending to current needs is a difficult and slow business. Cooperation with the Economics Organization.\* Air Force on the whole satisfied. Occasional minor difficulties. Special foods for airmen are brought up by the Air Force itself.

Finland: Finnish Troops under German command are provisioned by us. We are helping out the Finnish Army. Also Sweden and Denmark help.

Romania: Food stocks for German troops will last  $1\frac{1}{2}$  month. Stocks of vegetables for our troops in Romania are sufficient for a whole year.

Government-General: Food situation very bad. We can take almost nothing for the Army. Situation of the civilian population very difficult. Exorbitant prices. Black market.

Serbia and Greece: Food situation in Serbia good, in Croatia very good; almost everything our troops need can be taken from the country. In Greece the food situation of the population is difficult. Bad administration. Italy is buying up food.

France: The deliveries for the German Army stipulated last year are being maintained.

Belgium: We can take nothing from the country. The population is badly fed. Heavy workers in industry.

b) Clothing:

Troops had been refitted; at beginning of the campaign they had a 5% clothing and 10% shoe reserve. Position now tight. Economies necessary in units in the West. Replacement units and newly-activated units must now be equipped with lace boots and leggings instead of shaft boots. Winter clothing: Results of drive to return of winter clothing issued last winter, which had to be turned in by May, was very disappointing. The West will have to shift for itself. For the East, sufficient stocks will arrive in depots of the Chief of Army Equipment before October. Problem of distribution. (Each man: two woolen vests, toques, earmuffs, gloves, scarves, chest warmers.)

- c) Quarters: Now available 150,000 wooden barracks; like number can be supplied again by fall. 255 trains needed to bring them to the front. The transport problem to move such quantities makes it desirable to build log cabins on the spot wherever possible. Organization Todt has been put on the job. Sample cabins are being erected; leading construction specialists have been assigned to the Armies, and tools and fittings are issued in large quantities. Later on, Organization Todt will carry out bigger projects on its own, e.g. troop training-centers in the Rear Area. Woolen blankets (up to three each man), bed linen, straw ticks, stoves, incidental furnishings (wash basins, jugs etc.) are held ready in large quantities; also kitchen kettles \*to save our field-kitchens, and lighting fixtures, lamps etc.

Gen. Stumme (Cav.) reports. Briefing on his missions within Hoth's Group.

Gen. Gercke reports on railroad position. The chronic critical situation seems to be due to the following factors:

- 1.) Shortage in Russian rolling stock. We have captured very little, and that mostly in unserviceable condition. Shortage particularly acute in locomotives, almost all of which are in need of repairs.
- 2.) Conflicting demands of the troops and of the Gen Qu. In view of the appallingly bad roads, the troops want the railroads built to follow them as closely as practicable (the same need is felt on the Russian side). The result are long lines, i.e. railheads close to the front, but a low capacity of the lines, which at best meet only current requirements of the troops. But the Gen Qu must stockpile i.e., he must assemble supplies in excess of current demands, and not too far from the troops. Such a program is predicated on railroad lines of high capacity. If then the railheads are farther behind the troops, the gap must be bridged by the 60-ton Truck Cms. These divergent claims, i.e., long lines with lower capacity, which fill only troop requirements, versus shorter lines with higher capacity, which make it possible also to accumulate stores, can be reconciled only by Army Gp.
- 3.) Shortcomings of the German operating personnel, who are too slow and lack resourcefulness. Just as we saw in France, we now see in Latvia, that the State railroads are run more flexibly and efficiently than our railroads.
- 4.) Shortcomings of signal communications. With the cooperation of the Army Gps, this situation will be remedied.

Forecast of developments in the near future: AGp. North will probably meet no unsurmountable difficulties. Center remains the main worry. South will have some tight spots but probably will be able to pull through.

Gen. Gause reports before leaving for North Africa. I impress on him the importance of the tasks of the General Staff and of a consistent personnel policy.\*

Lt. Col. Soltmann (Foreign Armies West) submits his report on England:

- a) Homeland: Check with captured Russian intelligence material shows that our information was right. Three or four Divs. appear to have left Britain, including two for the Near East, one evidently for Singapore, and one with undetermined destination. These Divisions possibly include one Armd.Div. The situation at home would probably allow the British to commit 10 - 12 Divs. overseas. According to our Naval Operations Staff they have sufficient shipping lift for eight Divisions. (One British Division of 14,000 men needs 238,000 gross register tons.)
- b) Near East: Counting also 23rd Div., newly arrived in that theater, a force of 21 Divisions is assumed to be in Egypt, including Seventh Armd.Div. and remnants of Second Armd.Div. Seventh Armd.Div. may now be regarded as refitted. Tobruk is probably receiving only supplies and exchange personnel, but no substantial reinforcements.

Gen. Bogatsch Air reports give rise to the following reflections:

- 1.) The enemy's defense system starts, north, in the Valdai Hills, adapts itself to the upper course of the Dniepr, then follows the Desna and after the latter's confluence with the Dniepr continues behind the Dniepr. Strangely this system of position which was built at the beginning of the war leaves the Leningrad area unprotected. Leningrad has only local fortifications. This might suggest that the Ukraine and Central Russia are considered of more vital importance than Leningrad.
- 2.) Movements from the area of the Red Fifth Army have been in progress for the past two or three days, partly in northeastern direction, east of the Dniepr, partly in southeastern direction. In the latter direction this movement has advanced as far as Cherkassi. In view of the threat to the Dniepr the movements, which for the most part probably go on by night, commenced about the time when Reichenau began strengthening his right wing for the attack to the north. The observations also indicate Clm. movements from Chernigov to the northeast, traffic of single vehicles northward along the Dniepr, and railroad movements (apparently improvised) from Kiev to the southeast, for the build-up of a Dniepr front.

Gen. Buhle reports on his tour to Guderian's Group. A significant development is the clamor for less replacements both by Armd.Divs. and Inf.Divs.

- 1.) Replacement situation:

AGp. South casualties:	63,000,	Repl. received:	10,000
AGp. Center	"	74,500,	Repl. received:23,000
AGp. North	"	42,000,	Repl. received:14,000.

Center asks for additional 10,000 replacements within 8 - 10 days. When they have been received, the situation will be as follows:

Army Hq 2, deficit	30,000 men
Army Hq 9,	" 15,000 "
Army Gp.2,	" 5,000 "
Armd.Gp.3,	" 4,000 "

Of the total Replacement Reserve of 300,000 in the ZI, 47,000 have to date been sent to the front.

- 2.) Road conditions. Dust ruins the engines.
- 3.) VII and IX Corps have apparently captured enough enemy vehicles at Mogilev to fill all their requirements.
- 4.) Situation is worst in Eighteenth Armd.Div. 30% are total losses!

Gen.Wagner (Gen Qu). Directives for cooperation of Gen Qu Hqs with the Railroad agencies. Army Gps. must be given a decisive voice in the control of Supply Services.

Evening situation: South: Satisfactory progress of the encircling operation, but unluckily weather is bad. Command shows a tendency to strike on Alyeksandriya. Wrong! At Kiev we must first of all attend to regrouping. In Sixth Army slight advances on the right wing.

Center: At Roslavl the attack is making good progress. Along the entire eastern front enemy is in the attack, but mostly without success. Unfortunately the enemy in the Smolensk pocket seems to have succeeded in forcing an escape route to the east. Four enemy Divs. reported fronting our left wing at Velikie Luki. Our attacks are making very little headway.

North: ObdH was there for a conference. It appears that the last sparks of clear understanding of the situation now are definitely gone. Army Gp. has made no advances in its attacks.

3 August 1941. ( 43rd Day)

Situation: South: Bad weather luck! The battle in the pocket which had such a promising start is hampered by rainstorms restricting the mobility of our Armor. Nevertheless prospects are good for a decisive success. The encircled 10 - 12 Divs. will probably be destroyed. Whatever escapes to the southeast now or later on will be severely crippled in its striking power. At Kirovograd the first of the

newly activated Russian units observed by our air reconnaissance (223rd Div.) has shown up in a counter attack and was repulsed. - The intention expressed by Army Gp. to drive ahead on Alyksandriya with III Armd. Corps should be reconsidered. Our first job is to win the battle at Pervomaisk and to the south. To assure this, also the Infantry of Seventeenth Army must move up to support the Armd. Divs.\* or else enemy pressure will become too much for them. - On the bank of the Dniepr south of Kiev, 132nd Div. is under attack from two sides.

At Kiev no new advances. In the northern sector of Sixth Army, the attacking wing is advancing at Malin. (LI Corps).

Center: Field Marshal von Bock on phone: von Bock accuses himself of foolhardiness, for making the attack on Roslavl, at a time when he has practically no reserves to meet the enemy attack on his eastern front.\*\* Guderian has carried off his 137th Div. for the drive on Roslavl. Ammunition still a major problem, because of failure of railroad deliveries.

Situation at Yelnya:

The troops are laughing off Russian attacks of Armor and Infantry, but feel very uncomfortable about the artillery fire, which they cannot return because of lack of ammunition.

We discuss three points:

- a) Plan of operation on Weichs' right wing. It ties up Inf. Divs. which are urgently needed on other sectors of the front. Reply: If operation against Rogachev has to be postponed for lack of ammunition, it is a decision for Army Group to make by itself. I believe it would be a mistake to scrap the attack, which is essential if we want to break up the unhealthy concentration of forces in Second Army on the southern wing, and if Army Gp. wants to launch any attack on an operational scale, either to the east or to the southeast.
- b) Velnya salient. Should it be abandoned? It has given us a dominant position, any evacuation of which would have embarrassing consequence for the sector adjoining to the north. Holding of the "bridgehead" has been very costly. Reply: This, too, is a local tactical problem and, as such, must be decided by Army Gp. or by Army Command. For my part I think that we should not only hold the bridgehead, but in addition neutralize enemy artillery by counter battery fire and by expanding the bridgehead.
- c) Velikie Luki. The attack was unsuccessful owing to failure of 251st and apparently also 253rd Divs. For the time being attacks are out of the question in that sector. We have been forced into the defensive, Stumme (XXXX Corps) should take over the command of this sector with the mission "protection of the north flank". The plan to reach Toropets must be dropped for now.

On the Yelnya situation Guderian reports: Rolling artillery fire. Large-scale attack is impending. The enemy regards Regt. Grossdeutschland and SS Division "Reich" as special troops of the Fuehrer. Should a "catastrophe" occur, there would be severe political repercussions. Army Gp. is not absolutely sure it can avert such a "catastrophe" with its present resources. The possibility exists that SS Div. Reich, 268th Div. and Grossdeutschland might be smashed, which would free enemy forces for heavy attacks farther to the north before the Smolensk pocket has been liquidated and Infantry has followed up behind Hoth's Group. Ammunition urgently needed!

The hole in the encircling ring east of Smolensk resulting when Seventh Armd.Div. was pushed back apparently is still open. Reports state that the Dniepr crossing leading out of the gap is under Artillery fire and air attack and the bridge is destroyed, so that the Russians are able to cross the river only on ferries.

North: Kholm has been taken. Elsewhere no change.

Gen. von Greiffenberg (Center) on phone:

- 1.) The Rogachev situation will be straightened out as soon as enough ammunition is on hand. Date will be set by Army Gp. For the reasons stated to Field Marshal von Bock, I think it would be wrong to abandon the operation.
- 2.) Our Yelnya position must be bolstered by introduction of 263rd or 292nd Divs. Both can be spared now that Roslavl is in our hands.
- 3.) Briefing on the difference between our and OKW's formulation of Army Gp.'s mission. Bock must be informed for tomorrow's high visitors. Caution in presenting the Yelnya situation. Guderian and Hoth must be called in for the Fuehrer conference to press demands for tank replacements.
- 4.) Hq I Corps ( Velikie Luki ) must be freed for AGp. North.
- 5.) Ammunition is now arriving. Four trains are on the way now, more are following.

Gen. von Sodenstern (South) on phone:

Warn him against undertaking drive with Armd. Gp. on Alyeksandriya. "Shoot at two hares and you hit none". First it would be necessary to fight out the battle of Pervomaisk and perhaps push Armd.Gp. on further south along the Bug river.

Care must be taken to have Armd.Gp. reinforced by Infantry from the rear, to counter the pressure coming from the west.\*

Brennecke (North) on phone:

- 1.) Kholm Group: The development of the situation at Toro-

pets has lessened the need for detaching forces in that direction. Brennecke reports that Army Gp., as a precaution, wants to move one Division (32nd) further east (Apolets), via Kholm; keep one Division (Twelfth) ready for later commitment against Toropets; and start off one Division (123rd) northward in the direction of Staraya Russa.

- 2.) Staraya Russa: 126th Div. will be used in this sector only to help stabilize the Staraya Russa front, and afterwards join the main effort north of Lake Ilmen.
- 3.) Army Gp. still wants to launch the main thrust in the Shinsk area, because here the Air Force can give effective support, whereas farther to the north, in the forest area, Army Gp. would not have that advantage.
- 4.) As Army Gp. Reserve they propose 123rd Inf.Div., after it has been moved up through Staraya Russa, 96th Inf. Div., which will reach Porkhov tomorrow, and SS Death-head Div.
- 5.) Eighth Armd.Div. and Third mot.Div. are to be placed under Hoeppner's command, earmarked for follow-up behind Reinhardt. I call his attention to supply complications; he is aware of them.
- 6.) Target date for the attack: 6 Aug. has been set tentatively. By 5 Aug. the commands concerned will report whether they are ready. A complete issue of ammunition will be on hand on 6 Aug.

Capt. Thilo reports on his tour to Sixth Army. XXIX Corps Hq: Kiev is protected not only by its fortifications but, to the south and west, also by dammed-up rivers and marshland. In the southwest, where natural protection is lacking, there are strong fortifications. The fortifications on the south front are the least strong. Corps Hq hopes that a breakthrough will be easiest on the eastern wing of the south front, along the Dniepr.

Kiev is probably garrisoned by fortress troops and MG Bns.; not very strong. The assault requires time and thorough preparation. Sixth Army thinks it cannot launch the attack on the south front until LV Corps has gained enough ground toward the north to become effective north of Kiev. I don't think this is a necessary prerequisite. If we wait for that, we lose too much time. As soon as we are strong enough we must cross the Dniepr south of Kiev and turn on the other bank toward Kiev, in order to secure the bridges.

His account of the fighting and of the condition of the troops corroborates previous reports: Highest morale, conviction of superiority, but the strain has been severe and some troops show fatigue. Losses are readily absorbed.

Gen. Wagner ( Gen Qu ).

- 1.) Ammunition situation: In North, ammunition arrivals

have suddenly stopped. On 2 Aug., out of nineteen supply trains only three were ammunition. On an average there should be seven or eight. It has been definitely established that on 1 August a call was sent to Railroad Operations for 10 ammunition trains, including four trains of Artillery ammunition. The Supply Area\* offered eighteen ammunition trains, including eight of Artillery. These eighteen trains would have amply covered all requirements. But the requisitioned 10 ammunition trains just got lost in the Marshaling Area, and no one can locate them now. Today four trains have been found in the Marshaling Area (Warsaw - Frankfurt/Oder). Now nine trains are on their way across the frontier. Together with the trains received today North will have twelve trains by tomorrow morning. Twenty-five more ammunition trains in the ZI are ready to be dispatched. They will be run with highest priority under supervision directly to Minsk-Molodeczno; 25 more trains are being assembled.

- 2.) Supply Assembly Area. Call system is too cumbersome. Trains which are no longer needed on arrival owing to a change in the situation, cannot be stopped en route under the present system. Must be changed. A Forward Marshaling Area must be established: About 30 trains east of Warsaw. -- Provide necessary storage tracks. -- Assign Transport numbers to trains.
- 3.) Situation in AGp. North. Eighteenth Army filled up. Armd. Gp. 4 will be filled up by 3 Aug., Sixteenth Army will take a few days longer. (Has to take care of VIII Air Fleet).
- 4.) Situation in AGp. South: At Uman no booty; fuel depots reported at Pervomaisk. No difficulties anticipated. Seventeenth Army: Flow of trains disrupted by collision; ammunition in Supply Bases. Has two fuel quotas, seven days' rations. Motor casualties are decreasing. Armd.Gp. 1: The Supply Clms. can move only on main roads. Troops have just about two fuel quotas and one issue of ammunition. Sixth Army 80% of first issue ammunition. Current expenditure can be supplied. 4,000 tons of ammunition are stored at Rovno against requirements for Kiev, including AC and Hv. How. ammunition. Eleventh Army filled up.
- 5.) Procurement of winter clothing initiated. Will be handled by Gen Qu (Sec.I)\*\*
- 6.) Tires: Newly allocated 44,000; will last us one month if stretched with captured material.
- 7.) Operational losses in Truck Clms. of AGp. North are on an average 39% (some Bns. as high as 56%).

Gen. Paulus: Talk on continuance of operation. AGp. Center will be regrouped, with Armd. wedges at the wings. Strong flank protection, with Armor. Liquidation of Rogachev and Velikie

Luki are prerequisites for securing effective disposition for eastward drive.

Evening situation: South has encircled sizeable enemy elements northwest and west of Pervomaisk and subdivided the pockets by cutting through them. This will hasten annihilation of the penned-up enemy. Schwedler is approaching the Dniepr. Obstfelder has torn a small hole into the fortified ring of Kiev. In sector of LI Corps, west of Kiev violent artillery duel, heavy expenditure of ammunition on our part. The enveloping attack against Korosten is continuing.

Center: The enemy Cavalry that was romping around in our rear seems to be at the end of its rope (radio message); it is bottled up in so small an area that it can do no harm from now on. Operation Roslavl has been a complete success. The Inf. relief for Yelnya is coming in. Infantry has penetrated into the Smolensk pocket and cut it in two. Resistance will soon be over, but some elements have probably made good their escape to the east. Attacks against von Bock's eastern front and northern flank have been weaker today. It has been possible to relieve some Armor by Inf., which has eased von Bock's tight situation.

North: No important changes. In Estonia, local gains.

Ammunition position appears to be less stringent in consequence of the energetic efforts of all agencies concerned. Center unexpectedly received seven trains of ammunition today and has unloaded them. Twelve more will come in tomorrow. Also in AGp. North, where the German railroad gauge is now extending to Pskov, the ammunition problem seems to have become less acute. The fuel situation in all Army Gps. appears to give no reason for anxiety.

4 August 1941. ( 44th Day).

Situation: No unexpected developments along the entire front.

In AGp. South we must accept the fact that fairly large enemy forces could not be cut off by the closing ring and now are streaming toward the Lower Dniepr. Perhaps this movement comprises on evacuation; however, in striking contrast to former reports, the roads are clogged with many columns on foot, at some points several abreast. Part of the movement is in the direction of Odessa and Nikolayev.

There are indications of a bridgehead at Cherkassi and AA defense on the Dniepr. AGp. South seems to be rather reluctant to push Armor further south, beyond Pervomaisk, and would rather have the Hungarian mobile units do the mopping up west of the Bug. This is understandable, because Army Gp. is thinking of objectives farther east and the capture of the Dniepr crossings. Nevertheless, it

will be necessary to employ strong armored forces in the southward pursuit, for the follow-through at least. In the Sixth Army nothing new.

Center: The Russian Cavalry on the extreme southern wing is collapsing. Small Russian elements surrounded in the Roslavl area. Minor attacks the rest of the front, directed chiefly against Hoth on the northern wing, are repelled.

North: Our attacks at Kholm and Staraya Russa, and also west of Lake Ilmen, are continuing. Preparations for the attack between Lake Ilmen and Narva planned for 6 Aug. are in progress.

Casualties: From 22 June to 31 July 1941:

Wounded	149,609	NCO and EM	5,464 Officers.
Killed	44,027	NCO and EM	2,443 Officers.
Missing	11,539	NCO and EM	219 Officers.
Total	205,175	NCO and EM	8,126 Officers.

Grand total: 213,301.

Major Brand (Op.Sec.) reports on his tour of frontline duty on the right wing of AGp. Center. Low rating of the enemy. Russians have lost their aggressiveness. They have now started building wire obstacles. Deserters. The enemy on this front, ten Inf.Divs. strong, is poor material. Artillery is good.

Gen. von Sodenstern (AGp. South) on phone:

Army Gp. has the impression that the enemy fronting XI and XXX Corps is seeking to withdraw in southeastern direction. In consequence, there would be no point in having Armor strike for the south beyond Pervomaisk, since there is nothing left to do south of the Bug. Moreover, sending Armor off on such distant operations would delay its availability for eastward operations.

In view the situation in an entirely different light: As long as Army Gp. has the mission to destroy a maximum of the enemy fighting forces west of the Dniepr, every effort must be made to cut off the largest possible number on the Bug. Should the enemy before Eleventh Army show no inclination to withdraw eastward to the Bug, it would be essential for Armor to strike across the Bug in southwestern direction to prevent organization of a Tobruk-like bridgehead, and annihilate the enemy. The forces required for that operation need not exceed an Armd.Corps. Naturally, this Corps for a while would not be available for continuance of the operation to the east, but this drawback must be accepted with a view to achieving our object of clearing the enemy from the area between Dniepr and Bug. In return, such action would free Eleventh Army for the eastward drive.

Army Gp. reports in the course of the day that it now sees eye to eye with my recommendations for the employment of Armor, but would like to have an order to this effect. Road conditions and the fuel situation are chief among the factors precluding a southward drive by Armored forces at the moment. Rehabilitation of the Armd. Divs. will take two weeks.

Col. Heusinger returns from the Fuehrer conference at Hq AGp. Center and reports:

- a) Guderian expects to be taken out of the line by 8 Aug.; refitting to take until 15 Aug. Both expects to be taken out of the line by 10 Aug.; refitting will take until 20 Aug.
- b) During that interval Army Gp. wants to carry out the following plans:
  - 1.) Rogachev operation. Extension of operation to Gomel with Armd. forces will be impracticable.
  - 2.) Capture of Velikie Luki, with main effort from the south. Twelfth Division will support attack from the north.
- c) At Roslavl things came off surprisingly well. Our Infantry had only to march. The resistance which the Russians put up eventually, was disorganized.
- d) The success at Roslavl is expected to ease the situation at Yelnya. Abandoning of Yelnya is ruled out.
- e) The pocket northeast of Smolensk has been open evidently for several days now, but only personnel, no vehicles, seem to have gotten out. Cleaning out of the pocket may further ease the situation at Yelnya.
- f) The situation of Armd. Gp. 3 is improving with every day due to the arrival of Inf. Divs.
- g) In the discussions with the Fuehrer, the need for holding Yelnya and ironing out the situation at Velikie Luki is acknowledged by Army Gp. Nothing was said about Rogachev.
- h) Guderian thinks that with the resources now available he can attain a combat strength of 50% for the next offensive. Both expects 60% in his Group.
- i) The Fuehrer
  - 1.) Gives the reasons for his tighthandedness in allotting tanks to the Divs. Still, he releases 350 engines for Tank III (without being aware, however, that OKH has already released them). Will be shipped by air.
  - 2.) Reiterates the familiar points of view determining the pattern of the continuance of the campaign; as before, the emphasis is on Leningrad and control of the South ( coal, iron, elimination of the enemy air base in the Crimea), with Moscow being brushed aside.

Major Pfister calls. He is the son of our old neighbor in Hohenzollernstrasse.\* Now railroad transport specialist. (Instructor for specialist officers).

OQu IV:

- 1.) Bansai\*\* stated that the Army and the Government are now determined to join in the war against Russia in spite of prevailing difficulties. He thinks it will be in September. By the end of August, 16 Divs. will be assembled in Manchuria (at present 10 Divs.). Capture of Vladivostok perhaps possible by November. The Chinese must be held in check during that period. Operations against Singapore have been prepared by establishing foothold in Indochina, but are being put aside for the time being.
- 2.) Attaché reports: Finland cannot conceal a measure of disappointment at the performance of the German troops both on the northern front and in support of the Karelian Army. The Romanians are in high dudgeon over a gratuitous telegram by Just\*\*\* on matters of military command.
- 3.) France: General atmosphere of crisis. Tension between Darlan and Weygand intensified.
- 4.) Italy holds herself ready for intervention in case of a British invasion of Corsica. (Alibi for Italian ambitions)

Talk with Heusinger and Paulus, (and along the same lines ... with ObdH in the evening):

Our command function is exhausted in details, which are really the responsibility of Army Gp. Hqs, where we should be giving them clear-cut missions and the material means for independent action. In order to remedy this situation it would be necessary for ourselves to have a clear idea of what the political command regards as the prime objectives in the campaign. What, in fact, is our chief object: To capture the Ukraine and the Caucasus as quickly as possible for economic ends, or else, to defeat the enemy decisively? If it is the former, we should have full liberty in the use of our resources, without that constant interference from top level. OKH's objective for this year is the area around Moscow, leaving the gaining of more ground to the development of the situation. Under these circumstances naturally we could not expect to reach the Caucasus before onset of this winter. For the former alternative, we would need strong forces for an invasion of the oil region, and then we would have to go all the way to Baku.

Evening situation: No substantial changes. AGp. Center is the only sector of the front where the enemy attacks in all directions, anticipated for today, have not materialized. Perhaps they will come tomorrow. No other important news.

5 August 1941. ( 45th Day ).

Situation: South: The Pervomaisk pocket is being liquidated with the enemy still showing plenty of fight. He is still getting supplies, by air, and fights desperately, but developments have already by-passed this center of resistance. Accordingly, AGp. Hq has already given the order for the next moves in the operation:

Eleventh Army is assigned the mission to destroy the enemy on its front by pushing Armor to the Bug at Vosnesensk. Eventually it is to occupy the coast.

Armd.Gp. 1 is ordered to strike with its main body for Alyeksandriya on the axis Kirovograd and Smela and secure the bridges at Kremenchug and Cherkassi. Three Armd.Divs. under Corps Hq XII must stand by east of Pervomaisk in order, if needed, to work their way along and across the Bug and effect a junction with Eleventh Army.

Seventeenth Army is to proceed eastward beyond the line Krivoi Rog - Alyeksandriya. The mission of Sixth Army remains unchanged.

Center: No major attacks except at Yelnya and on the northern flank of Army Gp. Army Gp. is endeavoring to straighten out the unsatisfactory situation on its right and left wings. Its central sector, i.e., the front facing east, is gradually developing some depth.

North: 8 Aug. has been set as date for resumption of the offensive.

Gen. Brand (Arty.):

1.) Distribution of Artillery in AGp. North:

Available for northern coast: 10 Hv. Arty. Bns. of Army Gp., including newly arrived

1	15 cm Gun Bn.
1	21 cm How.Bn.
1	K 3 Bn.*

Earmarked for Reval at present: 7 more Bns., viz.

2	10 cm Gun Bns.
1	Med.Fd.How.Bn.
2	Hv.How.Bns.
1	15 cm Gun Bn.
1	21 cm Gun Bn.

This makes a total of 17 Bns. of med.and hv.Artillery. They are sufficient if Reval is reduced first with the Bns. (10) earmarked for this purpose, and the other coastal fortresses are attacked successively. In addition we have the Division Artillery.

For the islands of Dagoe and Oesel we have:

1 Bn. 15 cm Coastal Guns of 4 Btrys.of 6 Guns each  
( still in transit)

2 Bns. 10 cm Guns ) already at AGp.  
1 Bn. 15 cm Guns )

- 2.) Enemy Artillery activity: On the increase. Fire direction is improving. Our troops are sending out distress calls for counter battery fire. Ammunition problem! Army ammunition distributing points in some instances 200 km behind the front. Of the Russian Artillery in existence at the beginning of the war, about one-half may be considered destroyed.

Major von Rumohr (Op.Sec.) reports on his tour to AGp. North, and X and I Corps. Roads extremely bad; terrain difficult, especially the very dense forests. Lack of drinking water! The troops are physically worn out but have superlative morale and feel superior to the Russians. Everybody wants to know what final objective they are supposed to reach.

ObdH is back from the Fuehrer conference.

He relates: The Fuehrer came out with the statement (i.e. we had it discreetly put into his head) that the present developments must of needs lead to a solidification of the fronts, like that in World War.I. To prevent this it is necessary to crack the front where it will hurt the enemy and cost us little, and so get out into the open and on the move again. We cannot do everything at once, and that not only in consideration of the Army but also because of the Air Force.

He sees the following possibilities for the three Army Gps.

- 1.) Take the Valdai Hills with support from Hoth: ( 1 - 2 Armd.Divs., 1 Mot. Div.), thereby advancing von Bock's left wing; such a move would cover von Leeb's flank. No further advance in northward direction. (The idea of providing cover for Leeb's flank is completely wrong, but evidently he was not talked out of it because that was his starting point. What really matters to us is that with the Valdai Hills in our hands, Hoth has a jump-off base for the eastward drive along the Volga.)
- 2.) Restore the situation at the southern wing of AGp. Center, if possible in conjunction with liquidation of Korosten, followed by advance toward Moscow. Mogilev-Kiev! This idea dispels a nightmare. Still, this desire to liquidate Korosten is a dangerous idea. It will continually draw away forces from the main object, the drive toward the east. Let's wait and see!
- 3.) Liquidation of the enemy forces west of the Bug. XIV Corps must swing toward LIV Corps while still west of the Bug, supported by the mecz. forces of the Hungarians and Romanians. Anything that becomes available must strike for the east, as originally planned by AGp.

In themselves, these decisions represent a cheering progress. But they still fall short of the clear-cut operational objectives essential to a sound basis for

future developments. With these tactical reasonings as a starting point, the Fuehrer was deftly steered toward our viewpoint on operational objectives. For the moment this is a relief. A radical improvement in the future is not to be hoped for unless operations become so fluid that his tactical thinking cannot keep step with developments.

Col. Just ( Mil. Attaché Bucharest ) comes in,

Reports on his impressions of the fighting in the Romanian sector; a satisfactory picture. -- Temporary bad feeling was caused by the cabled request of Eleventh Army for control of the Romanian troops north of the Dniestr. -- Morale in the country good. -- Crops satisfactory. -- Economic situation all right.

Col. Hausinger:

1.) Status of submarine operations:

Total available: 165 submarines, including  
45 needed for training,  
54 under repair,  
66 on operations ( against 75 originally hoped for).

Losses have been on an average of three per month in the past months ( estimate was 3 to 4), that is, five in March, one in April, two in May, four in June.

- 2.) Conference with Naval Operations Staff on the importance of the Crimea: A coastal shipping route in the Black Sea is out of question as long as the Crimea is not in our hands. ( air escort).
- 3.) The Reich Marshal wants the wooden stakes in the fortifications in East Prussia for civilian uses. Too early yet !

Wagner (Gen Qu):

- 1.) Road construction continues a problem; because the Armies are taking all manpower allocated to them to the front, leaving long stretches denuded. Ruling necessary which insures construction of the big through road.
- 2.) Tank replacements: It is reported that worn-out tanks are unofficially switched for new tanks from the ZI.
- 3.) 60-ton Truck Clns.: Difficulties about tires and spare parts. (An officer must be sent to the ZI.)  
Casualties in the columns of requisitioned civilian trucks: 30%. In the columns organized by the Army: 20%.  
Losses are particularly heavy in AGp. North.
- 4.) Railroad still functioning badly. Trains are going astray. Lie over in yards for hours; notification period required for dispatch is much too long.

5.) <u>Train arrivals</u>	on 3 Aug.	on 4 Aug.
North	19	17
Center	24	26
South	14	no report

6.) Supply situation:

	Ammo first issue	Fuel quotas
North	1½	5½
Center	1	3½
South	1 1/4	3½

Another sea convoy of 2,200 tons en route to Riga. In AGp. Center, the 60-ton Truck Cims. have been taken off the shuttle run between the frontier and Minsk.\*

Evening situation: South: Encircling operations are making good progress. A large fuel dump has been captured; will facilitate the movements of Armd. Gp. 1. Weather apparently not too bad.

Center: Attack on Rogachev set for 7 Aug. — Operations at Smolensk brought to a close. — No attacks on the eastern front, except at Yelnya. — Both takes over tactical control of left wing of Army Gp.

North: Advances at Staraya Russa. Otherwise nothing new. — Eighteenth Army is driving in the direction of Rakvere).

Sixth Mt. Div. will have returned to its home area (Mil. District XVIII) by 21 Aug.; thereafter Div. will go to Kirkenes, where it is due between 6 and 18 Sept.

6 August 1941. ( 46th Day).

Situation: South: Gratifying progress of the southern wing of Army Gp. The Bug line is closed as far as Vosnesensk by the right wing of Armd.Gp. 1. The left wing of Armd.Gp. is advancing on Alyeksandriya.

Sixth Army has almost reached the Dniepr with Schwedler's Group. Violent enemy counter attacks supported by tanks. At Kiev some progress. Against our Korosten Group (262nd Div.) enemy is putting on very strong counter attacks, with local successes.

Center: Enemy elements thought to be trapped at Roslavl have escaped. The Russians have an uncanny ability for moving on roads impassable for our troops and build concealed river crossings. At Yelnya we now have regular position warfare. Elsewhere minor attacks.

North: At Staraya Russa, signs of enemy demoralization (tanks desert to us !). Otherwise no change.

von Bock (Center) calls up: The drive on Rogachev, which Second Army wants to launch has no chance of success. He wants to postpone the project and first arrive at a better grouping. A conference will be held today at noon. He wants me to come.

1200 - 2000. By plane to Borisov (Hq AGp. Center). Conference with C in C AGp. Center and CG. Second Army.

The attack to straighten out the situation at Rogachev requires a strong right wing south of Rogachev. To have it that way we must await arrival of XXXXII Corps and parts of XXXV Corps (reduced).

On the northern wing we must form a strong Task Force with XII and XIII Corps; it will be given the necessary depth by addition of 162nd Div., and will be reinforced by an Armd. Div. and the Cav. Div. Then we have a chance that the attack, covered by the Dniepr, in the south, and by the Sozh river, in the east will be carried as far as the Gomel area. XXXV Corps (reduced) will move concurrently with the attack on the southern flank, south of the Beresina. Preparations could be completed between 10 and 12 Aug.

On the return flight I fill the plane with wounded soldiers; the young men, some with severe limb injuries, carry themselves splendidly. Superb spirit!

Fuehrer conference at Hq, AGp. South ( Gen. Paulus taking my place):

Following my request, C in C AGp. South raises also points of great strategy and emphasizes the importance of Moscow. The Fuehrer again showed himself absolutely deaf to these arguments. He still harps on his old themes:

- 1.) Leningrad, with Hoth brought into the picture, and
- 2.) Eastern Ukraine. Here Guderian will be brought in; Gomel and Korosten must be liquidated.
- 3.) Moscow comes last.

The successful operations now being conducted by AGp. South were outlined and approved by the Fuehrer. In particular he is pleased with the drive of Armd.Gp. on Krivoi Rog, because here he sees the promise of controlling the high-grade iron ore deposits and the large blast furnaces.

Antonescu is given a solemn reception and receives the Knight's Cross.

Evening situation: South: The enemy is falling back before Eleventh Army, but the main body of the fighting troops probably have already extricated themselves from the converging pincers of Eleventh and Seventeenth Armies, and are now fighting their way back to the Bug.

Armd.Gp. 1 has reached Vosnesensk and wants to charge down to the Bug estuary, while the main body of the Group strikes for Krivoi Rog and Alyeksandriya.

Sixth Army: Schwedler has reached the Bug. The line of fortifications at Kiev has been breached.

Center: Nothing new. Guderian is unwilling to part with any Armor for the Rogachev assault. This will have to be settled by OKH order (!).\*

North: We have entered Staraya Russa. In Estonia, the fighting round Rakvere is making good progress.

Enemy: A "Front Hq of the Reserve Armies" has been identified. Another sign of intensified consolidation of the command system.

I ring up Sodenstern at the request of ObdH, who is very angry over the eastward direction taken by the drive of Armd.Gp. 1, which is not in accord with his ideas. Von Sodenstern assures me that the forces operating along the Bug (including Hungarians) will be ample to block the river line.

Wagner ( Gen Qu ) reports on supply situation. Supply is adequate everywhere, and even good in AGp. North. A train collision has temporarily disrupted supply movements in AGp. Center. Stockpiling in the new bases will not really get under way before 10 Aug.

7 August 1941. ( 47th Day ).

Situation: South: Armd.Gp. 1 has reinforced the elements blocking the Bug line by turning off Ninth Armd.Div. The other movements are proceeding according to plan, against local opposition, such as in front of Schwedler's Group, in the Kiev fortifications line, in the sectors of the western front of Kiev, which have not yet been attacked, and, finally, on the northern flank of LI Corps. The enemy elements encircled by Seventeenth Army are fighting desperately.

Center: Apart from local attacks, heaviest at Yelnya, nothing new on this front. Behind the enemy front, a group of five Divs. has now taken up positions west of Vyazma; its mission apparently will be to defend this important railroad center at all cost.

North: Progress at Staraya Russa.--- The whole front heavily mined. --- We have penetrated into Rakvere.

Col. Gen. Fromm drops in on his visit for a brief talk on organizational matters. ( Fuehrer conference --- Winter program ).

Von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff problems. --- We discuss internal tensions.\*\* He assures me of his full confidence in my policies.\*\*\*

Gen. Schaal, new CG of Africa Corps, reports in. Briefing on his mission.

Field Marshal von Bock on phone, 1220: Guderian reported an hour ago that there is no enemy within a 40 km radius of Roslavl toward Bryansk and to the south; 75th Div. reports only weak Cavalry forces; Tenth Mot. Div. held up by marshes; only Seventh Div. meets stronger opposition. (This is Guderian's way of promoting his solution, i.e. advance on Gomel through Bryansk.)

Bock has ordered reconnaissance in force, to locate the enemy. So far identified one Guard Bn. 40 km south of Roslavl. According to PW statements and documents taken from a captured courier we must assume that there is an enemy Division at Bryansk. If necessary, i.e., if our assumptions turn out to be correct, Geyer von Schweppenburg's Corps could start off tomorrow.

1700 Talk with Gen. Jodl:

a) Strategic objectives: What do we want, beat the enemy or pursue economic goals (Ukraine, Caucasus)?

Jodl: The Fuehrer probably thinks that both could be achieved at the same time.

b) As regards individual objectives I state that Leningrad can be taken with the forces allowed for. We need not, nor must we, divert to the Leningrad front anything that we might need for Moscow. Leeb's flank is not in any way threatened from the Valdai Hills.

The question whether we should try to get Moscow or the Ukraine, or, whether it should be Moscow and the Ukraine, must be answered with the emphasis on the "and". We must do it, or else we shall not be able to eliminate this source of the enemy's strength before fall. And we can indeed do it, with Rundstedt's smashing victory in our favor and in view of the evident decline in the enemy's fighting efficiency. The Korosten Group cannot be an operational objective. \* It must be left to die in its own rot.

c) We must not allow the enemy's strategy to dictate our operational conceptions. Reacting to his flank jabs with all-out efforts, is rendering him the greatest service. We must aim at complete victory by keeping our forces together for distant, decisive objectives, and crippling blows, and must not fritter ourselves away on trivial objectives.

Over-all impression: Jodl is convinced of the soundness of these ideas and will pull with us in the same direction. We must come to see eye to eye on two ideas:

1.) Bock must drive with all his forces on Moscow. (Ask the Fuehrer: Can he afford not to reduce Moscow before winter sets in?). 2.) Minimize the importance of the Korosten Group.

1900 Conference with Wagner (Gen Qu) Baentsch and Bock:

a) Supply arrangements for the impending operation:

1.) Improvement of the existing storage track facilities for trains in the Supply Assembly Area. Capacity will now be increased

in AGp. South, to 80 trains (16 trains running daily)  
 in AGp. Center, to 90 trains (24 " " " )  
 in AGp. North, to 80 trains (18 " " " ).  
 Formation of a GHq Reserve of 135 trains.\*

- 2.) Replenishing of first issue and all supplies in the Operational Area.
- 3.) Extension of railroads to the front of AGp. South depends on capture of a serviceable Dniepr railroad bridge. Where we extend the railroad line will depend on which bridge we get. In AGp. Center extensions Bobruisk - Gomel, Smolensk - Moscow and Rzhnev - Kalinin. In AGp. North, through Novgorod or Luga.
- 4.) Starting from the railheads of lines now under construction, the 60-ton Truck Clms. can bridge a gap of about 400 km.  
 This would be as far as Poltava in AGp. South,  
 as far as Moscow in AGp. Center,  
 and as far as Leningrad in AGp. North.

b) Motor fuel situation:

As of 1 Oct. we shall have available:

From own production:	380,000 tons a month
Imports:	<u>320,000 tons a month</u>
Total	700,000 tons a month

Current requirements of the Armed Forces and domestic economy (without operations):	570,000 tons a month
For countries in our orbit:	125,000 tons a month
For Italy:	<u>130,000 tons a month</u>
Total	825,000 tons a month,
i.e. a deficit of	120,000 tons a month.

It is hoped to make up for the missing 120,000 tons by

cutting civilian consumption by	10,000 tons,
stepping up production in Germany by	40,000 tons,
cutting Italy	30,000 tons,
cutting other countries	15,000 tons,
cutting safety margin**	<u>25,000 tons.</u>
Total	120,000 tons.

On this basis the Armed Forces are in no position to embark on any large-scale operation.

- c) Rubber: We have in stock about 7,000 tons. Very little for our submarine and automotive program. Situation very tight.

Casualties: 22 June - 3 August:

Wounded	6,270 Officers	170,389 NCO and EM
Killed	2,685 Officers	49,140 NCO and EM
<u>Missing</u>	<u>233 Officers</u>	<u>12,272 NCO and EM</u>

Total: 9,188 Officers 231,801 NCO and EM. --

Round total 242,000.

Officer casualties: Wounded 3,65%; killed 5,45%;

missing 1,9%.

Evening situation: South: Continued good progress. The pockets are burning out. The Bug line is securely closed. "Coup de main Cherkassi" is unpractical; held strongly (new forces). Counter thrust of strong enemy forces on von Schwedler's southern wing has achieved a deep penetration. Boguslav!  
Korosten taken.

Center: Replacement of units is proceeding. The enemy has fallen back a little in the direction of Bryansk, but has by no means disappeared.

North: Successful blow at Rakvere. Enemy beaten. -- Leeb's attack, with VIII Air Corps in support, will start on 8 Aug.

Enemy forces behind the front are being coordinated by higher Hqs. One of these, east of Moscow, apparently controls three Armies (including the Army at Vyazma). Another one may be presumed southeast of Moscow, with three to four Armies. Evidently these forces are assembled to stand by in the main rear position, or are maintained in readiness for counter attacks (more likely!).

8 August 1941. (48th Day).

Situation: South: Satisfactory development in the operations by Eleventh Army, Seventeenth Army and Armd.Gp. 1. In addition to the CG of the Russian Twelfth Army, we have now captured also the CG of the Russian Sixth Army. All movements are hampered by the consequences of yesterday's torrential rains.

On the boundary between Kleist and Schwedler, the enemy has broken through all the way to Boguslav. Thr thrust shows remarkable nerviness, very impressive in its daring and is bound to become embarrassing for our troops. Construction and Replacement Bns., rapidly snatched together, are trying to check the enemy. There we now have the consequences of our wanting depth. However, these are the hazards which have to be taken in one's stride.

Sixth Army is making only very slow progress at Kiev.

Artillery fires from the eastern bank. River monitors in action.

At Korosten the enemy is now falling back. He will probably be able to get considerable elements to safety. The way he has delayed our advance is quite inconvenient, but we have only ourselves to blame.

Center: Nothing new.

North: The attack at Shimsk has been called off because of bad weather. Oddly, however, the left wing (Hoepfner) is going to start the attack in the Narva area. The Shimsk attack is now set for tomorrow, weather permitting.

A Fuehrer order returns Second Armd.Div. to the Zi. After releasing cadres for newly activated units the Div. will go to the West.

Gen. Koitcl (Personnel Div.):

- a) Officer reserve pool: 1.) Situation in Armd.Divs. not as difficult as anticipated. Mot. Divs. are less well off than Armd.Divs., but their position is not critical. 2.) As to Commanding Officers, situation is difficult, especially on Regtl. and Bn. level Armd.Divs. Also Artillery.
- b) New officers class: Will be finished 20 Aug. and go to the front early in September. Total of 4,900, including 1,600 Infantry, 900 Armor, 1,200 Artillery.
- c) Current problems. Birthday gift for ObdH.

Gen. Oehquist reports on his tour to the front of Reinhardt's Corps (XXXXI), and on progress on the Finnish front; requests leave to go to Finland.

Lt. Col. Kahlden reports on Armd.Gp. Hoth. --- Personnel questions. --- Briefing for visit to II Corps.

Gen. Buhle:

- 1.) Loss replacements: En route or in process of activation as Replacement Transfer Bns.:  
AGp. South 50 Bns.; border already crossed by 3.  
AGp. Center 33 Bns.; " " " " 8.  
AGp. North 14 Bns.; " " " " 5.
- 2.) Activation order to BdE on reorganization: Next fall 30 Armd., 15 mot. Divs.
- 3.) Superheavy flatbed trailers: Next spring 50 - 60, with own traction. They can haul: Tank IV, 10 cm Gun with prime mover, 8.8 cm AA Gun.
- 4.) Ground Forces AAA (Reply to a letter from the Reich Marshal, who wants to kill Ground Forces AAA). Demand for a total of 100 AAA Bns. Now existing 10; plus 20 by 1 Apr., plus 10 by 1 Aug., afterwards 2 Bns. per month.
- 5.) "Do" and heavy Rocket Launchers must be increased in the fall reorganization program!
- 6.) GHq Traffic Control Detachments must be increased and improved in the fall reorganization program.

7.) New policy on furloughs in Africa: Rotation system.

Bogatsch: Dniepr bridges, rear positions, movements during the day. Nothing new of any importance.

Personal questions ( staff of Air Force Officer, AGp.Center).

Evening situation: In AGp. South, the enemy facing Seventeenth Army has been liquidated. With 100,000 enemy prisoners and 200,000 killed, we may estimate that about 16 Inf.Divs. and 6 Armd.Divs. were eliminated. Armd.Gp. 1, with its main body in the Kremenchug area and near Krivoi Rog, and considerable elements on the Bug, is so favorably situated that it will undoubtedly catch some more substantial enemy bodies trying to get away to the east across the Dniepr. It is therefore fairly safe to assume that as the result of this operation, with the enemy's southern wing west of the Dniepr completely destroyed, he now finds himself confronted with an entirely new operational situation.

Sixth Army is now doing everything to seal the enemy breakthrough to Boguslav on the boundary line between Kleist and Schwedler. Sixth Army is now also inside Kiev. Its left wing has thrown back the enemy beyond Korosten, thus gaining freedom of movement also in that sector.

Center believes it can discern a change in the situation on its southern flank. Over large stretches of the front the enemy is distinctly drawing away from our line. South of Roslavl, VII Corps has started pursuit and gained ground in a half day's march, without any but negligible enemy opposition. North of Gomel, on the other hand, the enemy is holding and his Artillery is still active. Army Gp., in view of this situation, wants to launch with XXIV Armd.Corps from the area west of Roslavl on a drive in the direction of Gomel tomorrow and have XII and XIII Corps, from the north, and the forces west of Rogachev, from the northwest, join the attack on 11 Aug., with the object of cracking the enemy block at Gomel.

On the western front of Army Gp., the enemy has shown only local activity. On the northern flank, no change of the situation.

In AGp. North, the attack toward Novgorod and Luga has been postponed for another day, owing to bad weather. Reinhardt's Corps has expanded its bridgehead. The enemy beaten at Rakvere is being pushed back eastward. The Fuehrer, in spite of his indisposition, has given ObdH most detailed instructions as to how he wants the air components (VIII Air Corps and First Air Fleet) employed, namely: They must first strike in the direction of Novgorod, with Reinhardt's attack starting later at a specified interval, to have the combined air components free for support of this wing. As things stand now, however, Reinhardt has already started operations and cannot stop without getting into trouble, and our air strength in Reinhardt's sector is not enough to allow exclusive commitment of these air components on the northern wing.

The evening conference with ObdH produces wastful discussions. All of a sudden, Armd.Gp. 1 cannot be raced off fast

enough in the direction of Dniepropetrovsk, where all through the last few days the Group could not be slowed down enough to please him. AGp. Center, too, where the emphasis was on refitting of the Armd. Divs., is suddenly supposed to forget all about that and start attacking in all directions. It would be better to give the Army Gps. clear-worded, long-term missions, and leave them a free hand in carrying them out.

The enemy situation, as suggested by various indications in recent days, has evidently changed, or is in the process of changing. Although there is as yet no evidence that the enemy is reducing or taking back the forces on our front, it is obvious that he is regrouping all he has and can use, for a defense along the line Lake Ilmen - Rzhev - Vyazma - Bryansk. His policy is similar to that pursued by the French in the second phase of the Western Campaign, that is, to form strong islands of resistance (several Divs. under the command of an Army Hq), which would serve as the backbone of opposition in the new defense line.

Such tactics constitute a complete break with the former doctrine aiming solely at throwing back our front. The reasons for this change are possibly these:

- a) British influence, which from the start sought to promote a policy of conservation of manpower, so that the Russians could count on sufficient forces for the coming year.
- b) Recognition of the fact that the tactics pursued wasted away their strength.
- c) The fact that with Smolensk eliminated, they had to give up hope of gaining important successes by continuing their frontal attacks.
- d) The realization that with the southern wing completely smashed in the great battle in the Ukraine, they do not have enough forces to pursue an aggressive policy.

For further operations the enemy has only limited forces left. If we use the empirical yardstick that two Divs. can be raised for every million of population, the number of enemy Divs. which have appeared to date is the maximum that can be put up, and we need not anticipate any further large-scale activations.

The forces confronting each other:

In AGp. North 26 Divs. (including 6 of Armor)  
vs. 23 Divs. (including 2 of Armor).

In AGp. Center 60 Divs. (including 17 of Armor)  
vs. 70 Divs. (including 8½ of Armor).

In AGp. South 50½ Divs. (including 9½ of Armor plus  
numerous Allies)  
vs. 50½ Divs. (including 6½ of Armor).

This confirms my original view that North is strong enough alone to accomplish its mission, that Center must concentrate its forces to the last man to destroy the main body of the enemy's strength, whereas South is sufficiently strong to complete its mission; South may even be in a position to help out in Center.

9 August 1941. (43th Day).

Situation: In AGp. South, the pursuit on the southern wing is continuing. In the central sector of Army Gp. the picture is dominated by the measures instituted to counter the enemy breakthrough at Boguslav (one Inf.Div. and two Cav.Divs.?). No reports from the northern sector.

In AGp. Center, Third and Fourth Armd.Divs. have launched the attack in support of the Rogashev offensive, and have gained ground. The Inf. Divs. are to join in from the left wing. On the rest of the front of AGp. Center, local attacks continue.

In AGp. North Reinhardt has commenced operations for local expansion of the bridgeheads.

On the extreme west wing (Eighteenth Army), we have reached the coast and cut the enemy in two, with some portions being pursued to the east, while others are retreating in the direction of Tallinn.

Enemy situation: Owing to bad flying weather we have no important news.

von Bock, on phone (1215): Talks on plans for an attack on Velikie Luki. Since Hoth does not expect his tanks to be ready for operations earlier than 20 Aug., AGp. Center now thinks it will have to do Velikie Luki without Armor. The attack west of the lake region will be conducted as an offensive with limited objectives,\* with the main effort from the south.

I stress that the attack must be so conducted that by about 20 Aug., Army Gp. can detach from its front a Combat Group strong enough to be launched eastward through Toropets. For that is the date on which, according to the estimates of the Armd.Commands, they will be ready to start operations to the east.

Bock wants to check up once more on the timing of these attacks in relation to the plan of the entire operation.

Gen. Wagner (Gen. Qu): Daily report on the supply situation. Satisfactory. Also in AGp. South, where things usually are the toughest, train arrivals were larger today (20).

Gen. Matzky (OQu IV):

- 1.) Japanese questionnaires on appraisal of the situation and on our experiences.

2.) The importance of Boettcher's report must be brought home to the Japanese through the Mil.Attaché.

3.) Current reports and particulars of his work.

Gen. Gercke (Transp.Chief) reports on transport situation. Orientation on our ideas on continuance of operations in relation to the further extension of the railroad network. Continuance of the operation will have no adverse effect on the transport situation.

Major von Xylander, new Ia, Second Army. Detailed briefing on his new job and on the situation in Second Army. He reports on the situation in his former organization (30th Inf.Div.).

Heusinger: Various planning problems, among them prosecutions of the attack on Velikie Luki.

Evening situation: Only important developments: Eleventh Army is tending a little too much to the southeast (coast). In the northern half of AGp. South some tight situations seem to have developed (Boguslav, Kiev).

10 August 1941. (50th Day).

The situation is dominated by three developments:

North has started the offensive toward Novgorod and Luga against strong enemy opposition.

Center has scored good initial successes with XXIV Armd. Corps and is readying the other Corps, selected to take part in the follow-up of the offensive, so that they would be set to jump-off at the appointed lines.

South reports that the situation on the northern wing of Army Gp. (Sixth Army) had badly deteriorated. Next to the enemy group at Boguslav, which is estimated one Armd.Div., two Cav. Divs. and three Inf. Divs. strong (our old friend, the Russian Twentysixth Army) the enemy is attempting to cross the Dniepr near Tripolye. Opposition against XXIX and LV Corps, which have penetrated into the Kiev fortifications belt, has stiffened considerably. Enemy Artillery unpleasantly effective! Enemy railroad movements are reported running from Peltava to Kiev, and from Chernigov to Ovruch.

All this makes AGp. South think that the enemy wants to crush the northern wing of Army Gp. by attacks across the Dniepr, out of Kiev, and from the direction of Ovruch. Our exhausted Infantry is in no position to counter attack when the Russians come. Accordingly, AGp. South for the present has called off the attack on Kiev and ordered Sixth Army to pass temporarily to the defensive between Tripolye, Kiev and Korosten. Sixth Army will be regrouped and will await arrival

of parts of Armd.Gp. and Seventeenth Army before resuming the attack to destroy the enemy still holding west of the Dniepr. Army Gp. requests release of the Second Armd.Div. and early support by AGp. Center from the Gomel area.

In our opinion the railroad movements interpreted as frontward troop shipments do not have the meaning attributed to them; on the contrary, it seems that troops are being evacuated from the direction of Korosten across the Dniepr, to the east and southeast. It cannot be denied that in contrast to developments on the southern wing of Army Gp., where the enemy is giving way and is only straining to escape to the east, a distressing situation has developed in the central sector, and that troops are being used up fast at the northern wing. The disposition of Sixth Army no doubt is awkward and lacks depth; but we cannot speak of any crisis, present or developing.

1130 Sodenstern (AGp. South) on phone: von Sodenstern admits that the sudden reversal in the estimate of the situation is not so much the consequence of a change in the enemy situation as a revised assessment of the capabilities of our own troops. The plain truth is that they are exhausted and have suffered heavy losses. The southeastern wing has at last gained operational freedom of movement, but the northern wing must yet get out of the tight spot it is in, by regrouping and introducing new troops. It makes clear that half-measures will not do here. An Armd. Corps must be moved to and left at the northern wing, for once Reichenau has regained freedom of movement he will always have use for Armor, to protect his wing and flank. If that is not done, it will be the same old story again: the Infantry extended in enormous width to protect the flanks and no punch left in the whole front. ObdH is now considering calling in Seventeenth Army to take care of the enemy penetration at Boguslav, in order to take some pressure off Sixth Army. In the south we must soon capture Odessa, in order to shake off restrictions on our freedom in that sector. Occupation would then be left to the Romanians. Nikolayev also must be finished and done with.

Afterwards talk with Heusinger on my conversation with Sodenstern.

Major Pistorius reports on his visit to the left wing of Ninth Army (Velikie Luki): Schubert's Group is organized for the defensive. Unless new forces are brought up it will not be strong enough for attacking. High praise for 110th and 86th Divs.; 206th Div. is also good, but being Third Draft, its equipment is not up to the same standard.

The over-all situation in Ninth Army is tense. Stop-ping in the position now reached means no gathering, but rather a continuous draining of strength. Report

on the occurrences in 251st and 253rd Divs. It certainly does look like tactical mistakes were made, and at moments there were even panics; but the responsible factors must be sought less in the troops than in the dissensions between Hq I Corps and the units.

Gen. Jacob - Gen. Wagner: Policy decisions for the extension of through-highways. We shall not be able to build a highway from the ZI to each Army, but must limit ourselves to one or two roads, depending on the situation in the Army Gps. AGp. South would need two roads, the other Army Gps. only one each. We must re-examine the problem with Transp. Chief in this light.

Col. von Ziehlberg (first with Radke): Dispute with SS Death-head Div. Alleged disparaging remarks by a Gen. Staff Officer. The matter is of no fundamental significance and can be settled by a lower echelon.

(von Ziehlberg alone): Reassignments. --- Report on a trip to XII Corps (Ulrich) made on my request.

1800 von Sodenstern (AGp. South) calls up:

- 1.) C in C AGp. has not been able to make up his mind and send Seventeenth Army out with the mission to eliminate the enemy penetration at Boguslav. Seventeenth Army has to remain behind Armd.Gp. Kleist, which is charged with combing out the area west of the Dniepr bend. Here we must reckon with the appearance of newly activated enemy units.
- 2.) Army Gp. will detach an Armd. Corps (two Armd. Divs. and one mot. Div.) to restore the situation at Kiev and on the left wing of Sixth Army. For the time being, Sixth Army has been ordered to pass to the defensive, re-organize itself in depth and cover its flanks. On arrival of the Armd. Corps, the enemy group at Korosten must be isolated from the Dniepr and destroyed. This operation is designed to give us freedom of action against Kiev.
- 3.) The Boguslav bulge is to be wiped out by the joint attack of Schwedler's Group, from the north, and Kleist's Group, from the south. Army Gp. must coordinate their operations, because available signal communications would not allow Schwedler to control the whole operation. As soon as possible thereafter, Schwedler will be inserted between Sixth Army and Armd.Gp. 1, south of Tripolye as an independent group under direct control of AGp. South. This measure is designed to relieve Reichenau. Schwedler's Group will be brought to a strength of about nine Divs. by contributions from AGp. Reserve and by components of Seventeenth Army.
- 4.) The attack on the enemy group at Boguslav is scheduled for the morning of 12 Aug. It is estimated that we shall

need 2 - 3 days to conclude the attack, so that 15 Aug. would be the date when von Schwedler would be free for new operations.

- 5.) On the front of Eleventh Army, the enemy is falling back along the whole line. Army Gp. will move one Div. across the Lower Bug at the earliest to cut off the retreating enemy.
- 6.) Kleist who has to detach one Corps to Sixth Army, will be reinforced by Hungarian mech. forces and by Italians.

Evening situation: South: Nothing new since Sodenstern's report. The eastward drive of Eleventh Army is in full swing. Seventeenth Army will resume its drive tomorrow.

Center: Progress in the attack of XXIV Corps. The enemy is thin and tries to bolster his position by switching forces previously committed against Second Army. Between Roslavl and Bryansk, only scattered enemy forces. Our reconnaissance elements have penetrated far to the south.

North: The attack is making slow progress in bad weather and against very stiff enemy opposition.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu) calls up:

- a) Arrangements for the occupation of the area west of the Bug by the Romanians, in conformity with the Fuehrer 's letter to Antonescu.
- b) Tight situations in AGp. South, resulting from regrouping.
- c) Train requirements for supply must be harmonized with train requirements for movement of replacement units.

Casualties: 22 June to 6 Aug. 1941.

Wounded: 6,784 Officers 188,013 NCO and EM

Killed: 2,852 Officers 54,206 NCO and EM

Missing: 262 Officers 14,235 NCO and EM

Total: 9,898 Officers 256,454 NCO and EM.

Grand Total: 266,352.

11 August 1941. (51st Day).

Situation: By and large no change along the entire front since yesterday. Some advances are still being made on the right wing of AGp. South, where the beaten enemy is retreating across the Lower Bug.

Efforts have been stepped up on the attacking wing of Second Army, but developments are slow to materialize in XXIV Corps.

The results of the first day of the offensive in AGp. North were very insignificant. On the fronts not involved in the offensive movement reigns the quiet of exhaustion. What we are now doing is the last desperate attempt to prevent our front line becoming frozen in position warfare. The High Command is greatly handicapped in its capability for modifying the situation, as the Army Gps. are separated by natural obstacles (marshes)\*. Our last reserves have been committed. Any regrouping now is merely a shifting of forces on the base line within individual Army Gp. sectors. This takes time and consumes the energy of men and machines. The upshot is impatience and irritation on the part of the High Command and an increasing tendency to interfere in trivial details.

But this tendency to tinker with details, which, to be sure we are careful to dress up in the form of requests or suggestions, avoiding any kind of an order, naturally harbours a great danger. We are ignorant of the conditions under which action must be taken. If the delay is more than we think it should be, we at once suspect lack of good faith or even wilful disregard of our orders, especially in the case of Armd. commands, which, in the nature of the thing, are more liable to mechanical vicissitudes than are the other arms. My efforts to minimize this sort of meddling unfortunately have not always been successful.

The whole situation makes it increasingly plain that we have underestimated the Russian Colossus, who consistently prepared for war with that utterly ruthless determination so characteristic of totalitarian States. This applies to organizational and economic resources, as well as the communications system and, most of all, to the strictly military potential. At the outset of the war we reckoned with about 200 enemy Divisions. Now we have already counted 360. Those Divisions indeed are not armed and equipped according to our standards, and their tactical leadership is often poor. But there they are, and if we smash a dozen of them, the Russians simply put up another dozen. The time factor favors them, as they are near their own resources, while we are moving farther and farther away from ours.

And so our troops, sprawled over an immense frontline, without any depth, are subjected to the incessant attacks of the enemy. Sometimes those are successful, because too many gaps must be left open in these enormous spaces.

Lt. Col. Schwatlo-Gesterding:

- a) Positive achievements of his section since its inception.
- b) Report on work of the propaganda organization.

Gen. von Greiffenberg (AGp. Center):

- 1.) Supplies: By 15 Aug., complete first issue and, in addition, one day's quota. By 20 Aug., complete first issue and in addition a 3 day reserve on hand.\* Oil consumption has gone up enormously (normally 2% of fuel, now 5 - 7%).
- 2.) Loss replacements: By 20 Aug. replacements will have totalled: 22,000 of the needed 74,000, with 1,000 men arriving per day.
- 3.) Attack on Velikie Luki: Main problem: Should we use tanks? This will not be possible before 21 Aug. After the liquidation of Velikie Luki we would be able to reach Toropets by 28 Aug.; this means that the entire front will remain immobilized for another 2½ weeks. Waste of strength! Von Bock thinks it is necessary to employ tanks.  
Reply: Commit tanks! Even if we have to postpone the attack. An entire Armd. Corps should be necessary.
- 4.) Question as to whether VII and XX Corps, which seem to be opposed by a very weak enemy, should push through as far as the enemy rear position.  
Reply: No objections on our part, provided forces are sufficient to hold the new line.
- 5.) Guderian has a crackpot plan for an attack: He wants to break out from Roslavl and swing to the north on Vyazma. Thrown out!

Keitel (OKW) lies in ObdH's ears over our failure to advance on Nikolayev, on the capture of which the Fuehrer has set his heart.

Concerning the situation and plans on the extreme southern wing, von Sodenstern has meanwhile given the following explanation to Heusinger:

- a) As regards Odessa, Army Gp. has issued orders putting OKH's ideas into effect.
- b) It is now acknowledged that the movement of Eleventh Army toward Nikolayev is producing the predicted congestion of troops. Army Gp. will take action to restore the situation.
- e) Nikolayev: Eleventh and Sixteenth Armd.Divs. are reported already moving northward.\*\* Army Gp. does not want to continue the southward movement toward Nikolayev beyond the line reached by Sixteenth mot.Div., because there are no enemy forces left to catch. The whole area between the Bug and the Ingul river line is said to be heavily mined.
- d) Twenty-fifth mot.Div. and Fourteenth Armd.Div. have been ordered to advance on Krivoi Rog.  
Result: Direct order by teletype to Army Gp. to commit Sixteenth Armd.Div. against Nikolayev, giving it fuel

priority for this mission at the expense of any other mission.

Geheimrat Bahn, accompanied by Herr von Etzderf, reports on his experiences in Syria. An interesting point is that by intensive propagandizing, it was possible to reverse the original de-Gaullist outlook of Dentz and his officers. British generalship is described as mechanical and clumsy. He gives a graphic description of the activity of the bandit groups employed against Britain by playing on Arab nationalist aspirations. These gangs are good only for raids, not for any real fighting, but even so they give a lot of trouble to the British. In describing the oil supply installations he emphasizes the importance of the oil fields of Southern Iran for England.

Gen. Brand (Arty.): Artillery preparation of the attack by AGp. Center on its southern wing (Rogachev). XIII Corps is operating with the concentrated Corps Artillery; XII attaches particular value to shelling of enemy Command Posts. Observation posts are a success. Captive balloons are a great help. Enemy measures to frustrate observation: Against sound ranging, concentration of Btrys. delivering fire in a fan pattern; against light ranging, by wide spacing of guns (500 m) and simultaneous firing. Russian Artillery is rendered highly mobile by employment of farm tractors. We have captured a very good Russian 1: 50,000 map. Very useful fire direction map.

Evening situation: South: Good progress on the southern wing. At Kiev, heavy losses. Here we must take back the southern front. Boguslav will be attacked tomorrow from the south, and day after tomorrow from the north.

Center: The attack of XXIV Armd. Corps has resulted in the encirclement of 3 - 4 enemy Divs.; this action, however, will hold up the movement of the Corps to the southwest. The attack by XII and XIII Corps breaking out from the left wing, will start tomorrow. On the southern wing, south of Rogachev, the enemy has been thrown back across the Dniepr.

North: At Staraya Russa the enemy has now been thrown back, which enables us to take some forces out of the line. I Corps is making good progress at Shinsk, but south of Luga and at Narva advances are slow and difficult. In Estonia, slow but cheering progress.

Wagner (Gen Qu): South: Sixteenth Armd. Div. and Sixteenth mot. Div. fueled up. The resulting fuel shortage in the other commands of Kleist's Group will be rectified in two days. (Trains have arrived; moving up to forward areas takes two days. Then 3 - 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  fuel quotas.)

Schwedler has sufficient ammunition for the assault on Boguslav.

Seventeenth Army is fully replenished for operations.

Sixth Army has high casualties. 1,600 men daily, including 380 killed. Evacuation of wounded progressing smoothly.

Train arrivals: 21

Center: Only 13 trains have arrived (due to changing of gauge on lines and railroad accident). Will affect the supply situation.

North: Reports have not come in yet.

12 August 1941. (52nd Day).

Situation: In South; the Advance Combat Teams of Eleventh Army have reached the western outskirts of Nikolayev and cut off the landward approaches, while the Armd. Combat Gps., which were formed by calling off all operations and disrupting all units, are rushing down together with Sixteenth Armd.Div. from the north, with the object of cutting off the enemy's lines of retreat at Nikolayev. We could have just as well saved ourselves this attack. The same old story again!\*

In the other fighting sectors of AGp. South, no new developments.

In Center XXIV Armd. Corps is being halted to reduce encircled enemy elements, but soon will be free to continue to the southeast. XII and XIII Corps have had good initial successes. The southern wing operating south of Rogachev has reached the Dniepr. Local attacks in the other sectors have been repelled as usual. Several enemy penetrations have been wiped out.

North has continued its attacks and gained ground, scoring a good success along the shore of Lake Ilmen. No advances in the central sector, some progress on the left wing. In Estonia, new small advances in the direction of Narva.

Lt. Col. Langhaeuser (Liaison Off. AGp. North) presents report on behalf of C in C Army Gp.

- 1.) Personnel position tight. No reserves. Compelled to keep VIII Air Corps until the Leningrad - Moscow railroad has been reached. (About 25 Aug.)
- 2.) Situation in II Corps: Enemy offensive capabilities. "Bridgehead" \*opposed by three to four Divs.; one Div. north of it. The "bridgehead" cannot be held any longer. Twelfth Division must first wheel out its left wing before it can attack southward.
- 3.) Forming of main concentration: Army Gp. has the feeling that it lacks a definite concentration of weight. That is correct, and so it will have to organize the build-up. Can only be done by combining the Groups at Staraya Russa and Kholm, and by moving Third mot. Div. and SS

Deathhead Div. behind the attacking wing on Lake Ilmen.

- 4.) Requisitions for Artillery ammunition: Probably exaggerated requests by local organizations; check-up in progress.
- 5.) Minor aids: Motor torpedo boats on Lake Ilmen, mines, smoke, colored pyrotechnics.

Lt. Col. von Kahlden: (Liaison Off. Armd.Gp. 3) had been dispatched to II Corps to look over the situation there. II Corps is sitting in a stretch of marshland, with the enemy (3 to 4 Divs. strong) on the dune ridges to the south-east. Very wide front. Main battle line must follow the narrow strip of dunes and so can have no depth. Artillery emplacements are a problem.\* Southern wing (right wing Twelfth Div.) is effectively protected by our own minefields, but they hamper any advance in case the southern wing should be called upon to strike for Velikie Lukki. The enemy facing the northern wing (123rd Inf.Div.) is weak (only one Div. on the entire line to Staraya Russa). Supply to the troops seems to be all right.

Gen. Wagner, Gen. Gercke, Gen. Jacob: Conference on road building problems. The question is raised as to whether in the event of a rapid forward shift of the railheads which link up with the road construction projects of the Eng. Corps, it would be possible to push construction of selected roads of the Organization Todt II\*\* program, executed under responsibility of Transp.Chief, by concentrating all efforts on one road in each Army Gp.

Gercke doubts that this would be feasible, as the restricted mobility of Organization Todt II allows no shifting from one road to another. It might be advisable to ascertain whether the mobility of Organization Todt II would be improved by delivery of all trucks allocated to it, and also, whether it would not be possible to finish one road ahead of the others, without suspending road construction elsewhere, merely by bringing into use all available reserves.

Owing to the intransigence of the Transp.Chief, the discussion becomes quite heated.

Gen. Bogatsch: a) Air observation furnishes no indications that new enemy forces are on the way to the front facing AGp. South. The carefully watched movements on the enemy railroads show no increase in volume.

b) Air Strength:

Ju 88 in 8 Staffeln; 51 assigned, 31 operational

Me 110 " 5 Staffeln; 37 assigned, 14 operational.

Col. Heusinger: Discussion of a draft directive to AGp. South on the continuance of operations: Main points:

a) Eleventh Army must not turn southeast, but must advance

on Zaporozhe with its left wing, detaching elements in echelon formation to the right of Seventeenth Army, which is operating parallel to it.

- b) Armd. Gp. 1 must keep together its forces, that is, detach to the north not more than is absolutely necessary (one Armd. Div.). The elements ordered pushed on Nikolayev must advance along the Dniepr! Further missions: Take Krivoi Rog and clear the enemy out of the Dniepr bend.
- c) Seventeenth Army must cross the Dniepr at and north of Kremenchug; will be supported by Schwedler's Group.
- d) Sixth Army must free the wing now pinned down at Korosten and reduce Kiev, and then secure a lodgment on the eastern bank of the river.
- e) As the operation develops, Seventeenth Army will be the assault wedge, on its right a staggered echelon of Eleventh Army, on its left the echeloned Sixth Army. Armd. Gp. 1 echeloned to the left and forward. Most difficult is decision on how to resolve the problem of Kiev: Investment or assault?

Col. von Bermuth (Liaison Off. AGp. South) reports on the situation: The exceeding moodiness of CG Sixth Army has a bad effect on the operations, and it is no help if C in C Army Gp. shies from giving him orders. As regards the enemy, AGp. South expects that it will have to beat another strong enemy group before the industrial region is reached. It is not clear to me on what they base their assumption. We see no reason for such a belief here.

Evening situation: No significant new developments. The drives on the right wing of AGp. Center and in AGp. North are making good strides.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Supply situation on the whole satisfactory. Arrivals of trains in AGp. North total 11 instead of 20, in Center 18 instead of 33, due to operational breakdowns; in South 20 trains (normal).

13 August 1941. (53rd Day).

0615 leave for Loetzen; 0700 Take-off for Uman, for conference with the Cs of S, AGp. South, Sixth, Seventeenth and Eleventh Armies and Armd. Gp. 1 (accompanied by Chief, Op. Sec. and Chief, Foreign Armies East).

Arrival 1130. 1200 - 1400 Conference with Cs of S: New objectives for the Armies of AGp. South in the continuance of the offensive (in accordance with the draft of the new directive).

The consensus is that the projected missions can be carried out. At present we have no clear plans yet for solving the Kiev problem and for swiftly occupying the Crimea. The Cs of S will submit further proposals on these subjects, as well as on the timing of the operations.

Noteworthy: Reports of severe fatigue of troops; it would be desirable to allow several days of rest.

Proposals concerning improvement of propaganda in enemy territory.\*

Talk with Gen. Kuebler: Gives an account of the part played by the Mt. Corps in the battle of Uman.

1600 Return flight via Berdichev. Back at GHq 2130.

The new "Supplement to Directive 34" of the OKW has meanwhile been received. Attack on Moscow by AGp. Center is approved, but approval is made conditional on so many factors (e.g. conclusion of the operation against Leningrad) that the freedom of action which we need for the execution of the plan, is severely restricted.

14 August 1941. (54th Day).

Situation: Advances in South, which will culminate in cutting off two or three enemy Divisions at Nikolayev. Armd.Gp. 1 has reached town and district of Krivoi Rog. Local successes against the enemy groups at Kanev and Rzhishchev.

Center:

Gratifying: successes against the enemy in the Rogachev salient. At Yelnya the costly\*\*fighting continues. All quiet elsewhere on the front.

North: Advances on the wings of the assault force between Lake Ilmen and Narva. Progress in Estonia. A reinforced Cav. Div. has penetrated our front south of Staraya Russa.

Col. von Bernuth (Liaison Off. South): Orientation on yesterday's conference at AGp. South. Briefing on my ideas concerning the forthcoming tasks of AGp. South.

Lt. Col. Gehlen reports on impressions in Finland. Achievements of the Finnish Army as well as those of the entire country are truly remarkable.

Gen. Breith (Armd. Troops Chief) reports on visit to First, Sixth, Eighth Armd. Divs. Morale good. Technically satisfactory. Range of operations of the Divs. as far as Lake Ladoga. Repairs on the whole completed, but are only makeshift and will not stand up long.

Losses in the armored and rifle units considerable. The former have an abundance of personnel owing to tank losses, the former are short of men. -- Question of personnel replacement. High praise for armd. personnel carriers.

1100 - Phone talk of von Bock with ObdH (Entry delayed):

- a) He complains that Reich Marshal, in disregard of Army Gp. planning, has ordered air support shifted from Yelnya to Rogachev.
- b) Guderian wants to abandon Yelnya. Army Gp. cannot give him all the ammunition he wants. Army Gp. does not want to give up Yelnya.
- c) An attack by Guderian across the Desna does not fit into AGp. plans.

ObdH's comments: On a) No attack! Advisability of returning command to von Kluge should be considered.  
On b) Decision is left to AGp. Command. Written order will follow.  
On c) He will look into the matter. (Talk Heusinger - Waldau).

Evening situation: South: Attack on Odessa on 16 Aug. -- Sixteenth Armd.Div. has completed encirclement of Nikolayev. -- Krivoirog taken.

Center: Rogachev attack has made good progress, both from the north (XII and XIII Corps) and from the west. Great gains by Cav. Div. Coming down from the north. Attack on Velikie Luki planned for 21 Aug.

North: Good progress by I Corps at Novgorod and in sector to the left by XXVIII Corps. The attack at Luga has been broken off. (A bad idea.) Armd. Gp. 4 has fought its way north out of the forested country and is straddling the road and railroad to Narva. In Estonia progress is slow against stubborn enemy opposition.

Today's work is dominated by the following features:

- 1.) "Supplement to Directive 34" which indeed follows our conceptions by ordering AGp. Center to strike on Moscow and by calling off departure of forces from this Army Gp. to AGp. South, but on the other hand makes launching of AGp. Center entirely dependent on completion of the missions of AGp. North.
- 2.) The grave anxiety on top level over the enemy penetration south of Staraya Russa. The incident is inconsequential even in the view of Army Gp. Nevertheless the Fuehrer had Jodl call up to order commitment of one Armd. Corps (later reduced to one Armd.Div.) to contain the penetration. This reacting to all pinpricks frustrates any planning on an operational scale and prevents concentration of our forces.

von Greiffenberg (on phone): I warn him against abandoning Yelnaya. No matter how badly our troops are off, it is worse even for the enemy.

15 August 1941. (55th Day).

Situation: AGp. South: It appears that Army Gp. at Nikolayev did come up against a larger enemy group than expected. The advance of Sixteenth Armd.Div. on Kherson is held up as a result. Mopping up of the western Dniepr bend at Kanev is proceeding very slowly and takes the form of frontal compression instead of cutting off the enemy from the Dniepr. Otherwise no important changes in the situation. We must reckon with the possibility that the enemy will move troops from the north in the direction of Poltava. The object of these movements, the terminal of which has not yet been ascertained, probably is to assist in rebuilding the crushed southern wing.

Center: Army Gp. has not yet reached any decision on whether the Yelnya salient should be held or abandoned. Enemy attacks continue. To the south, the enemy apparently is weak. The Rogachev attack is making good progress. It appears that the northern group (XII and XIII Corps) and the group coming from the west (XXXXII Corps) will shortly link up north of Gomel. We probably can expect large bags of booty and prisoners soon. XXIV mot. Corps is making only slow headway. Fortunately the group is not essential for the final phase of the attack on Gomel. The northern part of the front of AGp. Center is relatively quiet.

North: Here we are paying again for our lack of courage to take risks. The Task Force Lake Ilmen-Marva has made very good progress in the direction of Novgorod. The enemy line has been breached, and there is nothing behind it. We shall need some extra reserves to cover the flank at Novgorod from the east. Army Gp. is doing nothing about that. They want to take Third mot. Div.\* out and shift it to the northern wing, which, with First and 58th Divs. and XXVI Corps, now coming over from Estonia is strong enough as it is. But on the southern wing they have no reserves, a situation brought on mostly by developments south of Staraya Russa, which pin down the Divs. in that area.

In the central sector, at Luga, they want to stop attacking at the moment, when we must contain the enemy to prevent his coming to the aid of his hard-pressed wings. Now OKW once again has put its finger in the pie. Everybody is in a terrible stew over the weak enemy elements which have broken into our lines south of Staraya Russa from the east, but meanwhile have already been stopped by units rushed in from all sides. The Fuehrer demands that mobile forces, a mot. Div. at least, be dispatched by AGp. Center. Once again they are making that old mistake which has the result that a single Russian Div., by an audacious thrust, ties up three to four German Divs. In view of our limited resources and the immense vastness of the territory in which we operate such methods are not conducive to success.

1230 ObdH has had a talk with von Leeb, who just came back from Hoepfner. He believes that three Divs. will be enough west of Lake Peipus. He wants to turn over command in this area to Kuntzen and after combining XXVI Corps (93rd and 291st Divs.) and XXXVII Corps under Hq Eighteenth Army, push them on the coast in order to cover Hoepfner's left flank. He thinks he cannot do without Third mot.Div. on Hoepfner's right wing, fearing that in its absence Hoepfner's right flank would be uncovered. The attack by I Corps has been slowed down, but not halted. Von Leeb is worried about the gap between XXVIII and I Corps. I Corps is to be pushed on farther. The promised Eighteenth mot. Div. is to follow up here, also SS Death-head Div.

Leeb again presses for additional troops (I am against this request as much as ever). South of Staraya Russa, two Russian Divs. are reported to have attacked 290th Div., two other Divs. are attacking farther west. Von Leeb expects to straighten out this matter but is unable to say when.

At the conclusion of the talk ObdH is urgently called to the Fuehrer. The idea seems to be that the Fuehrer wants to transfer Hoth's Armd.Gp. to AGp. North.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu):

1.) Train arrivals:

North: The promised 18 trains daily is enough for the continuance of the offensive; the actual arrivals in the last ten days averaged 17.1.

Center: The promised 24 trains daily are sufficient for current needs, but not for stockpiling; the actual arrivals in the last ten days averaged 22.7.

South: The promised 16 trains daily are just barely enough for current supply, but not for stockpiling; the actual arrivals during the past ten days averaged 18.

2.) Estimated requirements:

South: For the Dniepr crossing and Kiev we need about 30 trains. In order to get these trains to the front in 10 days, we must step up train arrivals from 16 to 22 trains daily, for 10 days.

65,000 tons of shipping will be loaded at Burgas and Varna. As a first instalment, 15,000 tons of ammunition, 15,000 tons of rations, 7,000 tons of fuel for Eleventh and Seventeenth Armies will leave as soon as possible for Odessa and Kherson. Will arrive 10 days after capture of Odessa.

Center: Requirements for preparation and continuance of the operation, 30 trains daily, instead of heretofore 24.

Beginning early in September it is planned to dispatch to the Army Gps. balanced supply movements of 8 trains for North, 12 trains for Center, 8 trains for South as the hard core of supply. The rest will vary.

3.) Replacement transports:

North: 8 to 11 Aug., 3 Bns. daily. (Cannot be kept up.)  
Center: 11 to 22 Aug., 2 Bns. daily.  
South: as of 15 Aug., 2 Bns. daily.

4.) Stockpiling:

South: On the whole good.

Center: On an average about  $3/4$  ammunition issue, 3 - 5 fuel quotas. Food situation tight. Hoth is the only exception, he has  $2 \frac{3}{4}$  ammunition issues, 6 fuel quotas, 11 days' rations, because he maintained a policy of systematic stockpiling. Eckstein has about  $1 \frac{1}{3}$  ammunition issues, 1 fuel quota,  $1 \frac{1}{2}$  days' rations.

North: On an average  $1 \frac{3}{4}$  ammunition issue (troops have only  $3/4$ ), 8 fuel quotas, 6 days' rations. Eighteenth Army has  $1 \frac{1}{2}$  ammunition issues, 7 fuel quotas, 7 days' rations.

Armd.Gp. 4: The following stocks are currently maintained:  $1 \frac{3}{4}$  ammunition issues, 6 fuel quotas, 7 days' rations.

5.) Army Gp. Rear Areas will be turned over to the Wehrmacht-Befehlshaber on 1 Sept.

Gen. Keitel ( Personnel Div.):

- a) Filling of vacancies: The number of Division Commanders who must be relieved, is steadily mounting. \*
- b) Scharl unfit for desert service. Cruewell will go instead.
- c) Letters from front: Naples to Mufnansk.\*\*
- d) Casualty replacements: Officer casualties have been 10,000 in 50 days, i.e. we have been losing officers at a rate of 200 a day.  
For the remainder of the year we need 16,000. -- Have 5,000.

1500: ObdH returns from the Fuehrer with the order to send one Armd.Div. and two mot. Divs. of Hoth's Armd.Gp. to AGp. North at the earliest. We shall have to figure out how to manage the supply problem. If it gives trouble, transfer must be cut to one mot. Div. in addition to the Armd.Div.

1700: Bogatsch reports on air observation. No important findings that would furnish a clue to the enemy's operational intentions. Tactical observations: Railroad movements piling up at Zaporozhe. -- Small railroad movements converging on Gomel from south and east.

1800 Field Marshal von Bock calls up:

- 1.) Good progress at Rogachev. Cav. Div. advancing on Gomel. Guderian now does not want to push on Gomel

XXIV Corps, which at last has fought its way through the enemy, claiming that the Armd.Divs. were not in any shape to make that long distance; \* if he were to do so, it would cripple the Divs. My reply is that, of course, we shall get Gomel also without XXIV Corps, but it would be a more complete success if XXIV Corps also were to get through and so smash everything that could still be caught on that enemy wing.

- 2.) I discuss with him the order just written out, which instructs Hoth to give up an Armd.Corps (one Armd.Div., two mot. Divs.) to AGp. North, and to do this at the earliest opportunity.

Bock is furious: The Divisions have stripped their tanks for overhauling, and only a few elements are ready to move. Von Bock had been playing an all-out gamble with the numerically superior enemy, but that calculated risk was justified in that it permitted him to pass to the offensive at any moment. Now AGp. is compelled to pass to the defensive and all it accomplished to date is wasted.

After a short interruption (trouble on the line) he formulates his report to OKH: The order transmitted to him by phone, the execution of which cannot be vouched for except as regards Eighteenth mot. Div., previously pledged, destroys the basis for offensive operation by Ninth Army and therefore probably also for a front-wide offensive by Army Gp. Moreover it should be taken into consideration that changing to the defensive is quite impossible in the present position. The front of Army Gp., with its 40 Divs. sprawled over a 130 km front, is exceedingly overextended, and a changeover to determined defense entails far-reaching planning, to the details of which no prior thought has been given. The present disposition and line is in no way suited for sustained defense.

1900 von Leeb reports to von Brauchitsch that a strong enemy attack from the south against Staraya Russa is now in progress. 290th Div. cannot hold out any longer. 30th and 290th Divs. must be taken back and a defense line facing south must be organized west of Staraya Russa. Army Gp. must pull out LVI Corps with Third mot.Div. and SS Death-head and send them on to Dno. The enemy is attacking with four Inf.Divs. and one Cav. Div., which were previously fighting X Corps at Staraya Russa, plus six new Divs. and two Cav. Divs. of Thirtyfourth Army, which according to PW statements are to push through in the general direction of Dno.

So then there will be no way of getting around issuing that order for the transfer to AGp. North of a mot. Corps. To my mind, it is a grave mistake for which we will have to pay heavily. Wild requests by AGp. North for Eng. Troops, Artillery, AAA, AT units (on top of the three Armd.Divs.) are turned down.

Evening situation: South: Advances at Odessa and Nikolayev.

The assault of Odessa will be launched tomorrow morning. Seventeenth Army will transfer the Mt. Corps with two Divs. to Eleventh Army and in return receive three Inf. Divs. (Mt. troops will be committed in the Crimea.) At Krivoi Rog, we have captured a newly activated Russian Div. Our attack on Kanev is making some if slow progress.

Center: Promising developments in the situation north of Gomel are reported. Two sizeable pockets have been formed; several thousand prisoners can be expected from them. On the southern wing, preparations are being made for a three Div. attack on Mozir. In Guderian's sector, 78th and 137th Divisions are being shifted behind the Yelnya salient.

North: Field Marshal von Leeb outlines the situation at Staraya Russa. I Corps supported by VIII Air Corps has battered its way into Novgorod. No change in the situation at Luga.

XXXXI Corps has now broken through the enemy fortifications belt. First Div. is committed against Kingisepp, in order to help 58th Div. gain some elbow room and force the Narva "bottleneck" \* from the east.

In Estonia, the two Divs. attacking eastward are slowly pushing the enemy on Narva.

16 August 1941. (56th Day.)

Situation: Developments continue according to plan. In the sector of AGp. South the enemy in frontwide retreat, and it is evident that an evacuation, which is now extending also to the Crimea, is being attempted.

In Center, the effort in the direction of Gomel is scoring a nice success, but has not yet achieved the objective, Gomel. Against Mozir we will now concentrate two Divs. (293rd and 45th). Rest of the front quieter than usual.

North: Enemy fighting forces in action now are 4 - 5 Divs. in the attack on Staraya Russa, 1 Div. to the westward, and 1 Cav. Div. at Veretye. Penetration has been precariously sealed.

Our attack is making good progress, especially north of Lake Ilmen. The only feature causing anxiety is a steadily widening gap between XXVIII and L Corps.

In Hooppner's sector, the left wing of the attack (First Div.) is now across the road to Narva.

Selected for transfer from Center to North: Twelfth Armd. Div., Twentieth mot., Eighteenth mot. The movement will start tonight with the first elements of Eighteenth mot. Div.

Wagner (Gen Qu):

- 1.) Discussion to clarify the discrepancies between the claims of ample supplies reaching front and the actual shortages reported.
- 2.) Some of the intermediate agencies overdo the hoarding of supplies.\*
- 3.) Situation in AGp. North: Pskov base is relieved by Dorpat-Lake Peipus route. Tight situation in X Corps; the enemy is astride the supply route. Armd.Gp. 4 all right. Has captured trucks!
- 4.) Train arrivals: 

North	18	(promised 18)
Center	27	" 24
South	24	" 18
- 5.) Expenditure of ammunition: The volume of ammunition transported since 1 Aug. equals the total ammo contingent of Barbarossa (340 trains).

von Ziehlborg: Liaison officers in Romania and Italy. -- Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

Col. Housinger:

- 1.) Should a directive be issued to AGp. Center, and what sort of a directive? Obviously, a command knowing its business would put out a directive now. But my repeated representations to CbdH have produced no results other than the expression of concern lest we anticipate decisions that top level would want to take. We ought to talk that over with Jodl.)
- 2.) Corps Schmidt will transfer to North with a med. Arty. Bn. and a Bridge Construction Bn.
- 3.) The reinforcements needed for the attack on Tobruk could reach North Africa early in October.

von Mertz (Org. Sec.):

- 1.) Replacement of men: After 1 Oct. we shall practically have touched bottom of our trained replacements and then would have to call up age group 23 for training. It is doubtful that returnees from hospitals would tide us over the winter. A combing-out drive is necessary.
- 2.) Replacement of tanks for Armd. commands from the ZI. (We have requisitioned 100 Tanks III, 40 Tanks 38 Czech, 40 Tanks IV).

Major Menzel, Capt. Ziervogel: Report on visit to troops in the Yelnya salient. Our forces are overextended and harassed by enemy shelling. Own expenditure of ammunition is low.

Shortage of mines and barbed wire. Despite losses, our troops feel indomitable.

Evening situation: Good progress of our attacks on the southern wing of South, on the southern wing of Center and on the northern wing of North. At the pressure point south of Lake Ilmen the danger appears to have passed, if there ever was any,

17 August 1941. ( 57th Day.)

Situation: South: Nikolayev in our hands. Assault on Odessa by Romanians not before 18 Aug. Sea-borne movements from Odessa to Sevastopol. Kherson jammed with enemy retreat movements. Evacuation of the Crimea appears to be in progress. Armd. Gp. has started the attack to clear the Dniepr bend, and is mopping up the enemy still holding out on the Dniepr banks at Kanev and Rzhishchev.

Center: The attack on Mogilev is successful, as is the drive of XXIV Corps; but Corps rather is reaching out too far eastward.

North: The transfer of Schmidt's Corps to North has been initiated. Regrettably Army Gp. is holding back Third mot. Div. because of the enemy penetration south of Lake Ilmen, instead of having it follow I Corps.

Enemy: Puzzling railroad movements on the loop Gomel, Nezhin, Kursk, Orel, Bryansk, for which no adequate interpretation can be offered.

Gen. Jacob: Road construction.

Field Marshal von Bock calls on phone. He talks about Schmidt's transfer to AGp. North, which I protested, and on the opportunities for future operations against Moscow afforded by the success of the Gomel operation.

von Leeb talks with ObdH: He claims that Third mot. Div. is being used to repel the enemy attack in the sector of Sixteent Army and can therefore not be moved behind I Corps. (As a matter of fact it is not so at all.)

Message: Narva and Kingisepp taken.

Casualties: 22 June to 30 July.

Killed	3,292 Officers	64,778 NCO and EM
Wounded	7,964 Officers	224,364 NCO and EM
Missing	315 Officers	17,670 NCO and EM

Losses: 318,333, or, 9.63% of the Eastern Army.

Evening reports: South: Clearance of the Dniepr bend is proceeding. South of Kiev, mopping up of the western bank is not yet completed.

Center: Army Gp. has called off the attack on Mozir. Wants only to keep a watch (?). Reason not given. At Yelnya and on the front to the northward, strong local attacks are reported. Northern wing quiet.

North: At Kholm, a new enemy Div. has arrived fresh from Siberia. An attack appears to be imminent. No deterioration of the situation in the area of the enemy penetration. Good progress on the attacking wings.

Wagner (Gen. Qu): Complaints on deficient train arrivals in North (19 instead of the 21 needed) and Center (18 instead of the pledged 35).

18 August 1941. (58th Day).

Situation: South: The Black Sea coast has been reached at Ochakov (50th Div.). Von Kleist's front reports good going in the great Dniepr bend at Nikopol, near Dnyepropetrovsk (here enemy bridgehead) and Zaporozhe. Heavy air action against our spearheads. At Cherkassi enemy has still a bridgehead. Western bank at Kanev has been cleared; at Rzhishchev not yet. No important developments elsewhere in Sixth Army, nor any retrograde movements.

Center: All of a sudden, small enemy elements (Bn. strength) have made their appearance in the Pripot Marshes near Turovo far behind the left wing of Army Gp. (Must be rounded up, then!) Reports from XXXV Corps (reduced) are not clear. First they speak of enemy attacks from the south; then of own attacks on Mozir. (Let's hope the latter is true.)

The enemy pocket east of Zhlobin, where the enemy put up fierce resistance, appears to be burning out. -- The Cav. Div. together with Seventeenth and 131st Divs., have worked their way close to Gomel. Opposition is weakening on the front of XXIV Corps. Corps is swinging a little eastward before making the westward wheel. Guderian's Group is regrouping behind the Yelnya salient. North of the highway to Moscow, in the sector of 161st Div., the enemy put on heavy attacks, with local successes, yesterday afternoon. Nothing new at Velikie Luki. The enemy has evidently discovered the gap on the boundary with II Corps.

North: Sector of II Corps is more active. -- In the bulge, our troops have repulsed a tank attack and an attack on Staraya Russa. -- Third \* mot. Div. and SS Deathhead are standing about idle in the rear! -- Strong enemy attack from the east on Novgorod. Apparently difficult tactical situation. Luga unchanged. Apparently no danger in that

sector. On the northern wing, XXXXI Corps resumes movement toward the high ground south of Leningrad. Narva taken. This means that XX Corps can move up at last. — 254th Div. has returned to the Estonian front. Consequently we can now expect progress in the direction of Tallinn.

Enemy: a) Railroad movement Gomel-Konotop, 36 trains, Apparently enemy is forming an intermediate group between Bryansk and Kiev out of the remnants of the forces beaten at Gomel. b) Railroad movement from Kalinin to Chudovo, 26 trains.

Transport situation: The railroad connection with Romania through Cernauti has been restored (German gauge, 12 trains).

Col. Ochsner:

- a) New enemy weapon: Multiple projector similar to our Do Rocket Projector. It is not clear yet whether it fires rockets. 12.5 caliber, range 2,000 - 3,000 m.
- b) Report on tour to AGp. Center:
- 1.) Rocket ammunition will be cut 66% for a period of four to six weeks due to low heat resistance of rocket in the shipments from two manufacturers.
  - 2.) Each Decontamination Bn. now has one Btry. of frame-type Rocket Launcher.
  - 3.) The Division Commanders like to have the Chem. Mortar Bn. under their direct command. That's the right idea!
  - 4.) The Russians are using smoke candles. New!
  - 5.) The efficacy of the Do Rocket Projectors and frame-type Rocket Launchers is highly praised.

- OQu IV:
- a) Briefing of Boetticher.
  - b) Northwest and West Africa: French defense capabilities.
  - c) Possibilities to close the Strait of Gibraltar.
  - d) Various Attaché reports.

ObdH: I submit Memorandum of Op. Sec. on continuance of operations in Center, embodying the ideas put forth at the conference with Heusinger yesterday.

1800 Field Marshal von Leeb calls up: Very gloomy picture of the situation in X Corps. The last man has been thrown into the fighting, troops are exhausted. The enemy keeps on pushing north of Staraya Russa. Only the Eng. Cos. are left for commitment. CG, X Corps and C in C, AGp. think they are lucky if this front holds another day. They expect relief from a counter attack initiated by von Manstein with SS Deathhead and Third mot. They will get ready for attack tonight.

Withdrawing one Div. would take until tomorrow night. We could anticipate Eighteenth mot. Div. to arrive by that time from the south.

I Corps: Chudovo will fall tonight. To the east of I Corps is the Russian Fiftyfirst Army, which is known as the

Volkhov Army. I Corps must get its front to face east. Then First and 21st Div. will each have a frontage of 40 km. XXVIII Corps, west of the Luga river, is faced by four enemy Divs. This enemy cannot be by-passed. 269th Div. is too weak to attack. Police Div. is not in a position to attack. Therefore XXVIII Corps must attack in western direction. Armd.Gp. 4 must bring elements to bear against Luga from the north.

Purpose of the call was to inform us that Army Gp. cannot before tomorrow furnish the Armd.Div. which OKH ordered to be moved behind I Corps.

Reply: Army Gp. is held answerable for taking Chudovo and containing the counter attacks from the direction of both Moscow and Leningrad. Moreover it must assume responsibility for securing its flank at Novgorod and on the Volkhov river line. The details of carrying out this directive are left to the judgment of Army Gp. It also remains understood that the drive on Leningrad must be continued as soon as possible after capture of Chudovo.

- Gen. Bogatsch:
- 1.) Reconnaissance in the Chudovo area. Railroad movements are being watched.
  - 2.) At Velikie Luki intense activity throughout last night.
  - 3.) On Vyazma-Smolensk line, materiel shipments to the west.
  - 4.) At Sukhinichi, arrival of materiel for the Divs. of the GHq Reserves.
  - 5.) The railroad movements in the area Bryansk, Gomel, Bakhmach, Kursk can be interpreted as a large-scale folding back of the front to the line Bryansk - Kremenchug.
  - 6.) Enemy forces taken back across the Dniepr at Zaporozhe have now been returned to the western bank at Dniepropetrovsk.

Gen. Brand (Arty):

- 1.) Report on artillery preparation for the attack at Velikie Luki by XXXX Corps.
- 2.) Kiev to be turned "to rubble and ashes": Half the job must be done by the Air Force. For Artillery's share of the work, 9 trains of heavy ammunition and 7.5 trains of Fd. How. ammunition will suffice. Proposal to use in the place of the heavy German guns, which ought to save their ammunition for Isabella: French 15 cm med.Fd. How., range 11,900 m (longer than German Fd. How.), French 21 cm How., range 10,800 m (less than German How.). Recommends employment of three Bns. I think we need five.
- 3.) Enemy artillery activity; The enemy's chief artillery effort until early in Aug. was at Yelnya and on both sides of Lake Ilmen.

4.) Ammunition expenditure by our Artillery in this campaign: Total todate: 3 - 4 issues.

Col. Metz (Liaison Off. Eleventh Army). Attack on Odessa will run into trouble if there no German Hq on the scene. -- Armd.Gp. 1 was too late in coming from the north to Nikolayev. -- Friction with Antonescu over alleged excessive use of the Romanian supply route for German supply movements. -- Supply difficulties. -- Russian arms and Artillery are good. -- Life of the German communities: \* depopulated, steppe country. Mounting medical casualties (footsoreness). -- Problem of supply of horses. -- Tension between Ukrainians and Romanians. Outrages of Romanian soldiers. --

Casualties: Above normal in 198th, 72nd, 22nd Divisions.  
Normal in 76th, 50th, 73rd Divisions.  
Below normal in 239th and 46th Divisions.

Award of decorations.

Evening situation: South: Assault of Odessa has commenced. Attack on Ochakov (50th Div.) in progress. Eleventh Army will launch attack across the Bug tonight. SS Adolf Hitler at Kherson; good progress in the Dniepr bend; at Cherkassi only restricted advances, none at Rzhishchev. Sixth Army no change.

Center: XXXV Corps is coming up against stiff resistance; Gomel has been outflanked to the east. New enemy forces are attacking XXXVII and XXIV Corps from direction Bryansk and Trubchevsk. Army Hq 4 will be committed between Second and Ninth Armies as of 22 Aug. All quiet at Yelnya. Minor penetrations north of the Moscow road. All other enemy attacks repulsed (including those against XXXX Corps).

North: In sector of II Corps, enemy Cavalry of the same unit as in sector of X Corps. Enemy attacks at Novgorod repulsed. Enemy still in Chudovo. Good progress by XXXXI Corps. The enemy is in disorderly retreat to the east.-- XXVI and XXXVIII Corps revert to Eighteenth Army.

19 August 1941. (59th Day).

Situation: South: Heavy opposition at Odessa (Romanians). Enemy counter thrust at Ochakov (50th Div.) Kherson strongly held by enemy (SS Adolf Hitler). Eleventh Army has started crossing the Bug last night with XI Corps. In the Dniepr bend, heavy enemy air attacks against our spearhead. Ninth Armd.Div. is 1 km west of the Zaporozhe dam, Fourteenth Armd.Div. has penetrated into the Dniepropetrovsk bridgehead. Fighting still going on at Cherkassi (bridge not yet destroyed). Rzhischev still in enemy hands. Kiev sector has only air attacks to report. Night air reconnaissance: March movements on all roads from the area

of Russian Fifth Army in eastward direction, toward the Dniepr (!). For days now we have been warning against this possibility. AGp. South has always denied that it could happen.

Center: Minor advances on Mozir. -- At Gomel, our Cav. Div. is already to the east of the town. This Div. and the Inf. Divs. following it are regrouping for new attacks. Advance of XXIV Corps slowed by bad roads. 161st Div. lost several guns in the enemy attacks north of the Moscow road. Seventh Armd. Div. placed under VIII Corps.

North: Enemy reported regrouping on front facing II Corps. Continued heavy attacks on Staraya Russa. -- Von Manstein will counter attack today at 0700. -- Novgorod: The enemy is holding out in the eastern part of the town. Chudovo has not yet been reached. In I Corps\* no important changes in the situation. Armd. Gp. 4 made progress to the east today and will soon be on the Luga highway, south of Leningrad.

- Lt. Col. Radke:
- a) Fuehrer order on attitude to be observed by our troops with respect to religious activities of the population.
  - b) Religious activities by troops of our Allies and in the Free Corps.\*\*
  - c) Church questions. Anti-Church activities at home.

Capt. Fromm (Commander of an AAA Bn. in the Africa Corps) reports on battle of Solum.

1700 Message: Gomel taken by Second Army.

Gen. Buhle:

1.) Reports on tour to AGp. South:

- a) Replacement situation: Replacements urgently needed. The first shipments have arrived. Reported to be of indifferent quality.
- b) Horse position: Bad. Artillery can no longer keep up with the advances.
- c) Truck situation: Two-thirds in operational condition. On the whole sufficient.
- d) Tank situation: On an average 60% in combat condition. Very tight.
- e) Divisions: Particularly good: 99th, 100th, 101st and 111th; 71st good; 24th less good; 262nd poor.

2.) Procurement of replacements: Combing-out drive will be necessary next winter.

3.) North Africa: Trucks obtained from Tunisia cannot be used for activation of mot. Bns. (Only 28% adapted for purpose; as a result 21st Armd. Div. and Fifteenth

Armd.Div. will have to be reduced to one mot. Regt. and one MG Br. each.

Evening situation: South: Zaporozhe bridgehead. Dam partly demolished. Enemy counter attack at Dniepropetrovsk, put on with 100 tanks, repelled; 52 knocked out. No other new developments.

Center: XXXV Corps has advanced a few kilometers in the direction of Mozir; has pushed into Gomel.-- First Cav. Div. in Dobruch. -- The enemy is retreating southeastward and southward before 167th, 34th, and 258th Divs. Parts of the retreating enemy cut off by XXIV Corps; the mainbody of the enemy forces is pulling away southward. -- At Yelnya, attacks have been repulsed. In sector of VIII Corps, heavy enemy attacks; although they were repelled, the situation remains tight. Otherwise no change.

North: In the shift of troops to Army Gp. ordered by top level, Advance Group Kuehnert is followed by Eighteenth mot. Div., Twelfth Armd.Div. and Twentieth mot. Div.-- Novgorod is now cleared of the enemy. Chudovo still in enemy hands. We now have at last succeeded in getting three Regts. to the Volkhov river; in Novgorod we have also three; but at Chudovo, just where we ought to have more to get through, there are only two. Minor advances at Luga, larger advances east of Luga. Northern wing (Hoepfner) getting on well.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Insertion of Army Hq 4 in AGp. Center. Organization of Supply.

20 August 1941. (60th Day).

Situation: South: Odessa remains the sore spot. The Romanian Border Div. has edged closer to the northwestern outskirts of the city, but it remains to be seen whether the Romanian Command and its troops are equal to the task; our High Command wants no interference in the conduct of operations by the Romanians. So we shall have to wait and see how things turn. Otherwise developments run according to plan. Fighting is still continuing west of Dniepropetrovsk, as well as west of Cherkassi.

Center: Stubborn resistance on front of XXXV Corps, east of Gomel and on the front of XII Corps. In the sector of XXIV Corps, the enemy is trying to break out to the east. Elsewhere on the front, minor attacks at Yelnya, heavier ones to the north, in sector of VIII Corps.

North: Corps Schmidt is arriving. Great gains by Manstein's Corps, south of Lake Ilmen. On the Volkhov river, no major enemy counter attack.

Gen. Gercke: Conference on preparations for Mussolini's visit.

Gen. Ott: Report on inspection of troops south of Kiev. -- The troops do not like AT Rifle 41 and the Hollow-change Rifle Grenade.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Supply situation and future organization Supply Services. Ammunition stocks very satisfactory (apart from some unimportant categories). -- Preparations for Mussolini's visit.

Lt. Col. Krumpelt (OQu Fourth Army): Statistics and expences of Supply Service in AGp. Center (Fourth Army).

Gen. Brand: Artillery in the assault on Kiev: Including tactical requirements, requisitions run up to 25½ trains of ammunition and two trains of material. To destroy the city by artillery bombardment, would take a minimum of five days.

Gen. Bogatsch: Air reconnaissance: Fifth Russian Army is believed to be falling back. Formation of a central group around Konotop is reported, to cover the gap between the Desna and the Dniepr fronts. Obscure movement at Velikie Luki. No troop movements discernible in sector of AGp. North.

Gen. Oehquist: Report on his latest visit to the Finnish Army. Good progress; vigorous forward surge east and west of Lake Ladoga.

OQu IV: New sub-section Near East will be set up.

Evening situation: South: No important news.

Center: Worries about the central sector of the eastern front. Troops must be shifted from Guderian's south wing to the area east of Smolensk. The railroad movements around and to the north of Bakhmach are interpreted merely as evacuations. Attack on Velikie Luki has been postponed.

North: Chudovo taken. -- Striking from the west, Reinhardt's Corps has crossed the Luga-Leningrad road south of Krasnogvardeisk. Progress at Luga.

21 August 1941. (61st Day).

<u>Casualties:</u>	<u>First and Second year of World War I</u>	<u>1 Sept. 1939 - 31 July 1941</u>
Wounded	2,399,804	298,497
Killed	406,672	90,441
Missing	<u>371,321</u>	<u>29,867</u>
	3,177,797	418,805

Wounded: 8 times.  
Killed: 4,5 times.  
Missing: 12,4 times.

Situation: South: The Romanians think they cannot take Odessa before beginning of September. That is too late. No Odessa, no Crimes.- Eleventh Army has started its offensive across the Bug.- Armd. Gp. 1 is still engaged in cleaning out the Dniepr bend. Serious fighting west of Dniepropetrovsk, where the enemy is throwing in newly activated Divs. lacking any combat value. Seventeenth Army has closed up to the Dniepr. Sixth Army is preparing an attack against Red Fifth Army.

Center: Stubborn enemy resistance in sector of XXXV Corps, in the area east of Gomel, and in sector of XII Corps. In Guderian's zone, enemy elements have effected a breakthrough in the Unocha area. In Ninth Army sector, heavy attacks against VIII and V Corps, partially successful. Fighting continues. On the rest of the front, patrol activity.

North: Sixteenth Army: No change in II Corps. The attack of LVI Corps brings in 4,000 prisoners, 60 tanks, 40 guns. I Corps has captured intact the railroad and roadway bridges at Chudovo. XXXIX Corps has reached the area south of Pskov. Armd. Gp. 4 has beaten off an enemy counter attack supported by tanks. Advance continues.

Sodenstern (on phone): Field Marshal von Rundstedt emphasizes necessity for speeding the capture of Odessa. Antonescu obstinately opposes any help from us. The Fuehrer must step in.

Kcitol (OKW) on phone:

- a) Fuehrer has made no decision yet on the next moves in the campaign. All he has said so far is that he insists on reaching of the northern objective (Leningrad) and on liquidating the Russian Fifth Army.
- b) Crimea -- use mobile forces for a coup de main! Essential for our effort, deprives enemy of his air base. I reply: Without Odessa, no Crimea. Logistical reasons.
- c) Recommends we let Antonescu settle the question of administration of the areas between Bug and Dniestr and between Dniepr and Bug. I promise him to look into that.
- d) Protest against arbitrary action (by WbdL in shifting Air Force in AGp. Center.

Messages 1230: The enemy seems to be falling back on Ovruch before the left wing of Sixth Army. XVII Corps is attacking. Frontwide attack of Sixth Army scheduled for day after tomorrow.

1700 Ochakov captured by 50th Div. Large booty.

Schmidt-Altenstadt: Policy on use of PW labor in the operational zone (Gen. Staff Group zbV.) and on cooperation with the PW organization of OKW. The crucial question is that of Guard escorts: In the operational zone Guards are 2%, in the ZI 11.5%. Reduction in the ZI by 1% would release 20,000 Guards for the Army. OKW will send 84 Reich Labor Service Bns. for Guard duty.

ObdH, back from AGp. South, gives his impressions. Strain on troops partly very severe, but morale keeps up. — Some of Hq Staffs over-taxed by the immensity of the tasks.

Evening situation: No important news. To our surprise, Sixth Army now suddenly is so firmly convinced that the enemy is falling back that they want to start off in pursuit right away tomorrow. In Center, more defensive fighting on the eastern front. Casualties are increasing. In North, local advances. Satisfactory over-all picture.

2330 Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu):

- a) Supply situation in Eleventh Army. Lack of shipping prevents utilization of the Bug river.
- b) Supply for entire AGp. South: Until start of operations across the Dniepr (probably 5 Sept.) first issue is insufficient / see/. Stockpiling assured provided flow of trains continues at the present rate. But supply for Kiev and the Crimea can be assured only after completion or at the expense of stockpiling.
- c) Additional zones of AGp. Rear Areas will be turned over to the Wehrmacht Befehlshaber effective 1 Sept., 1941.
- d) Army demands for the event that the area up to the Bug should be turned over to Antonescu.

22 August 1941. (62nd Day).

Fuehrer Directive of 21 Aug. (WFST\* L No.441412/41) is received. It is decisive for the outcome of this campaign: "The proposals of OKH for the continuance of the operation in the East, dated 18 Aug. do not conform with my intentions. I order herewith:

- 1.) The principal objects that must be achieved yet before the onset of winter is not the capture of Moscow but rather, in the South, the occupation of the Crimea and the industrial and coal region of the Donets, together with isolation of the Russian oil regions in the Caucasus and, in the North, the encirclement of Leningrad and junction with the Finns.

- 2.) The operational situation, uniquely favorable to us, which was brought about by our reaching the line Gomel-Pochep, must at once be exploited for a concentric operation by the inner wings of AGps. South and Center. The operation must be so conducted that the Soviet Fifth Army is not merely pushed behind the Dniepr by an attack of Sixth Army alone, but rather that this enemy is destroyed before he can break out to take shelter behind the line Desna river - Konotop - Sula river. This would make it safe for AGp. South to establish itself east of the middle Dniepr, and to continue the operation in the direction of Rostov - Kharkov with its central portion and left wing.
- 3.) Regardless of subsequent operations, AGp. Center must employ forces on a sufficient scale to achieve the object of destroying the Russian Fifth Army, while retaining enough troops to be able to repel enemy attacks against the central sector of its front in a position that can be held with a minimum of losses. There is no change in the plan to advance the left wing of AGp. Center to the high ground around Toropets, where a link-up is to be effected with the right wing of AGp. North.
- 4.) Capture of the Crimean Peninsula is of paramount importance for safeguarding our oil supply from Romania. Therefore all available means - including Armor - must be employed to cross the Dniepr quickly in the direction of the Crimea, before the enemy can bring up new forces.
- 5.) Not until we have tightly encircled and destroyed the Russian Fifth Army, shall we have set the stage and can we free the forces for attacking and beating the enemy Army Group Timoshenko with any prospect of success, as specified in the supplement to Directive 34 of 12 Aug.

Situation: South: Advances of Armd.Gp. 1 in the Dniepr bend. A bridgehead has been established across the Sukhaya Sura. Progress at Cherkassi. The attack of Sixth Army against the retreating Russian Fifth Army is in progress.

Center: The enemy is continuing his efforts to disengage himself from Second Army. Guderian is holding fast against enemy elements trying to escape eastward. Ninth Army has repelled heavy enemy attacks. Serious losses in Seventh Armd. Div. (30 tanks are knocked out). Stumme has commenced his attack (Velikie Luki).

North: Pursuit south of Lake Ilmen. The enveloping movement to the right of Luga is continuing. Hoepfner is severely hampered by developments at Narva, where enemy elements are still giving trouble; this necessitates an excessively long flank and slows the frontal advance.

Adm. Canaris. Over-all evaluation of the situation. Impressions on foreign and home affairs.

Lt. Col. Hermann, Ia, AGp. North: Talk on cooperation with Center and on operational questions.

Memorandum of the Fuehrer to ObdH. He reproaches ObdH for failure to conduct operations on the lines desired by the Fuehrer and tries to show that the shifting of the main weight to South and North is a prime necessity, whereas Moscow is of secondary importance, both as an objective and for the timetable of the campaign. The Memorandum is bringing with self-contradictory statements and pointedly sets the Reich Marshal above ObdH. ObdH is accused of lack of leadership in that he allows himself to be swayed by the special interests of the individual Army Gps.

Afternoon and evening are spent in conferences with ObdH and Chief Op. Sec. Of the operational instructions that now should go to AGps. South and Center, we must for the time being confine ourselves to ordering AGp. Center to throw all forces available at Gomel against Chernigov, with a view to cutting off the Red Fifth Army before it is too late. Details of the operation and its implications for von Bock's eastern front will be discussed tomorrow.

I regard the situation created by the Fuehrer's interference unendurable for OKH. No one but the Fuehrer himself is to blame for the zigzag course caused by his successive orders, nor can the present OKH, which now is in its fourth victorious campaign, stain its good name with these latest orders. Moreover, the way ObdH is being treated is absolutely outrageous. I have proposed to ObdH to request his relief together with mine. ObdH refuses on the grounds that the resignations would not be accepted and so nothing would be changed.

The afternoon discussions are interrupted by telephone talks with Field Marshal von Bock, who again emphasizes, that he can maintain his front against Moscow in the long run only by remaining in the offensive.\*

Evening situation: South: Hard fighting at Dniepropetrovsk and Cherkassi. Fighting pursued by Sixth Army which now is opposed only by weak rearguards of Red Fifth Army.

Center: Regrouping in the southern portion is in progress. Russian attacks against the eastern front \*\*scoring some success in sector of VIII Corps. Good progress in Stumme's drive, who reports having cut into Russian preparations for an attack, but at the same time speaks about an enemy withdrawal. Further developments will have to be awaited.

North: Minor local changes. On the whole, no continuation of the advance movements.

23 August 1941. (63rd Day). -- Iran! --

Situation: South: No important changes on the Black Sea Coast. At Dniepropetrovsk violent fighting on the western bank of the Dniepr, engaging strong forces of Armd.Gp. 1. Sixth Army pushes on behind the enemy, who has now only rearguards left on the western Dniepr bank.

Center: Regrouping of the southern wing. Relatively quiet in the Yolnya salient. New heavy attacks against VIII Corps. Some activity also in sector of VI Corps. Stumme's attack continues with satisfactory results. At Velikie Luki the enemy is still holding out.

North: II Corps reports no change. At Staraya Russa the enemy appears to have collapsed completely. No important advances on the northern wing and in the central sector.

By plane to Hq AGp. Center (1200 - 2000): Discussion of possibilities of offensive operations on the lines of the OKW Directive.

Evening situation report shows no important new developments.

24 August 1941. (64th Day).

Conference with Gen.Obst. Guderian: Guderian had the interview with the Fuehrer arranged for him by me last night.

At the conference at Hq AGp. Center, Guderian stated it would be impossible to strike with XXIV Corps southward through Starodub, 1) because supply of fuel could not be maintained on roads in their present state, and 2) because his men were in no condition to attack before they had had a pause for rest and rehabilitation. Now, this morning, having been confronted with the categorical demand of the Fuehrer to strike at the earliest in support of the southern effort, he declares that XXIV Corps could very well launch a drive south through Starodub. He says he would have to put aside his original qualifications. My reply to him is that I had no sympathy for such a 100% change of mind. His retort was: What he told us yesterday was framed with a view to furnishing OKH with arguments against the ordered operation to the south. Now, having become convinced by his interview that the Fuehrer was firmly resolved to execute this drive to the south, it was his duty to make the impossible possible in order to put these ideas into effect.

This conversation shows with devastating clearness with what complete irresponsibility official reports are twisted to fit any specific purpose. ObdH as a result has issued very strict orders governing the drafting of reports.

Not that they will do any good, for you cannot change men's characters with orders.

Situation: South: Very heavy fighting at Dniepropetrovsk. The enemy is throwing into the battle all newly activated units in the vicinity, so that our Armd. Divs., having to bear the brunt of the fighting alone, make very slow headway. Fighting is still going on at Rzhishchev, south of Kiev. The enemy is making counter thrusts across the river. The drive of Sixth Army is making rapid progress. Eleventh Armd. Div. has captured the Dniepr bridge at Gornostaipol and carried the thrust to the Desna crossing at Oster; its Commander was seriously wounded in this action. The bridge at Oster has been set on fire by the Russians. The Gornostaipol bridge was subsequently set ablaze by Russian planes. The entire Sixth Army is pushing east.

Center: Good progress is made on the northern wing at Velikie Luki. In the other sectors isolated attacks on the eastern front and local advances at Gomel.

North: Unfortunately only insignificant local gains.

- Gen. Buhle:
- a) Decline of combat strength in Inf.Divs., on an average 40%, in Armd.Divs., 50%.
  - b) In the near future it will be necessary to withdraw some Divs. from front (French materiel), have them turn equipment over to other units and return personnel to the ZI for refitting with new equipment.
  - c) Activation of two new Armd.Divs. by expanding Armd. Brig. 101. To accomplish this we must take 17 Inf. Cos. from Divs. in the west. Looks feasible to me.
  - d) "Service Companies"\* to attend to the needs of traveling Civilians and Army personnel, furlough personnel, etc., on railroad stations, etc.
  - e) Moving of Replacement Brigades "Sixteenth Draft" to the Army Cp. Rear Areas.
  - f) Unauthorized new activations in the West.

- Gen. Fellgiebel:
- a) Tasks of Signal Service in Romanian occupied territory between Siret and Bug.
  - b) Main trunk cables.
  - c) Allocation of Signal Troops to North, Center, South.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu):

- a) Train requirements for stockpiling and current supply in AGp. South will not be fully met. 60-ton Truck Cms. must help out. Accordingly, AGp. South will get 7,000 tons additional 60-ton Truck Cms., including 2,000 from the

Refitting Depot (Danzig) and 5,000 tons from AGp. Center.

- b) Reconciliation of conflicting German and Romanian claims in the area between Dniestr and Bug.

Capt. Leyke (Navy): Reports on tour on the Black Sea Coast. Navy agencies there want to administer and salvage enemy equipment instead of organizing a coastal shipping route.

von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

Evening situation: No important new reports. Progress north of Kiev. Progress at Velikie Luki.

25 August 1941. (65th Day).

Situation: South: No important changes. Fighting still going on in the Dniepr knee. The Dniepr crossing north of Kiev is firmly in our hands (Group Staff). Enemy retreat movements eastward from Kiev and Chernigov. This does not necessarily mean, that the enemy would not make a stand for the Desna river line.

Center: The southward drive by Second Army and Guderian's Group is slowly gathering momentum. We must expect that Guderian will soon be under enemy pressure from the east. More attacks against the center of Army Gp. A forward correction of the frontline will probably be necessary here.

It appears that considerable enemy elements did manage to escape encirclement at Velikie Luki. The trouble is that our Arm'd. Divs. now have such a low combat strength that they just do not have the men to seal off any sizeable areas.

In AGp. North, the situation as usual shows no developments. The enemy is now gradually building up a front on the Volkhov river.

von Bernuth: Training program for the coming winter. -- Personnel of Tng. Section.

Gen. Jacob (Chief Eng. Off.):

a) <u>Sybel ferries</u> :	Constanza	50	(including 6 for Navy)
	Africa	15	some sunk
	Riga	27	one sunk
	Channel reserve	<u>3</u>	
		95	

Turned over to us by Air Force 5

Total : 100 instead of the 125 called for  
in original program.

- b) Riga: Up to now this question has been given hardly any attention. AGp. North must take the matter in hand. Chief Eng. Off. had readied: Landing Co. (from Replacement Army). -- Eng. Regdl. Hq. -- Armament for ferries. -- 42 speedboats. --
- c) Production of armor plate for frontier fortifications has been stopped.

Message (Gen. Konrad): At Dniepropetrovsk two Inf. Cos. have crossed over to the east bank behind Armd. Cos. Army Gp. is reluctant to establish a bridgehead, would rather take back the troops. An order is issued to hold, if possible expand the bridgehead.

1615 - 1830 : Il Duce visits OKH as the Fuehrer's guest. Reception at the Station. -- Visit to the war room of Op. Sec. . Outline of situation by Transp. Chief and Signal Chief, and visit to the Signal Center. -- Presentation of report by Gen. Qu. -- Afterwards tea with ObdH.

The Russians and British have entered Iran.

Evening situation: South: Bridgehead at Dniepropetrovsk now held by three Bns. No changes along the Dniepr up to Kiev. North of Kiev, 111th Div. had to abandon its bridgehead over the Desna at Oster under pressure of Russian counter attacks.

Center: Advances of Second Army toward Chernigov. -- Advances of Armd. Gp. 2 in the direction of Novgorod Severski; the intention of Armd. Gp., to reach out with its left wing beyond Trubchovsk and to strike in the direction of Belopole, will take it too far east. What counts now is to assist Second Army across the Desna and subsequently Sixth Army across the Dniepr. Accordingly, an order goes out to Army Gp. to direct Armd. Gp. 2 toward Konotop. -- At Velikie Luki the ring is closing after some elements have escaped east and north.

North: Some progress south of Lake Ilmen. -- Advances from Chudovo toward Leningrad. -- Luga taken. -- On the northern wing, the pressure on Narva has been eliminated. -- Hoepfner's Group has made no substantial advances.

26 August 1941. ( 66th Day ).

Situation: The fronts report no important developments affecting the over-all situation.

Gen. Brand (Arty): We discuss the requirements for an assault of Kiev. Revised calculations set ammunition requirements at 20 trainloads. Our earlier plan, to use French heavy guns, must be dropped because of ammunition difficulties. Test firing showed 50% duds.

Capt. (in the Gen. Staff\*) Nagel and Capt. von Baer report on what they saw at Sixth Army in the days of the initial advance. -- The troops felt deeply disappointed by the preceding fighting in which no major successes were scored. Army Command certainly bears its share of blame in this lack of successes. The high casualties and the unremitting strain on the troops manifestly are additional reasons for the remarkable break in morale and drive.

Lt. Schiess (Op. Sec.) reports on his temporary assignment to the frontline. (Fifth Div., Fourteenth Inf. Regt.)

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu):

- a) Settling of the principles of the administrative set-up in the Black Sea area. Arrangements with the Romanians. We shall set up a Hq to safeguard German interests.
- b) Supply troubles on the right wing of AGp. South.
- c) Armd. Gp. 1 cannot be transferred to the rear for rehabilitation, but must refit on the Dniepr.
- d) Tightness and growing difficulties in rubber supply.
- e) Truck position getting difficult. Replacements can be furnished only to a very limited extent.
- f) Shifting of ammunition stocks\*) from France to East Prussia and Poland.
- g) Vienna base must be replenished for the Southeast.

Lt. Col. Langhaeuser (Liaison Off. North): Exhaustive discussion of the overmethodical working methods of Army Gp. -- I agree to the plan to attack in the direction of the Valdai lake district. -- See possibility of subsequent cooperation of that force with the Volkhov front. -- Stress on the necessity to move out to link up with the Finns at an early date. -- Speeding up of the advance on Leningrad essential.

Col. Heusinger: Current matters. He wants my approval for the plan of AGp. South to make the main crossings of the Dniepr at Dniepropetrovsk and Kremenchug, instead of at Kremenchug and Cherkassi. Now that is exactly what I have been preaching for days.

Evening situation: South: Eleventh Army wants to commence operations across the Dniepr at Berislav on 28 Aug. Sixth Army is making preparations for building a bridge at Gornostaipol.

On the rest of this front no occurrences of operational importance.

Center: The Inf. of the Assault Group on the south wing is making slow headway against stiffening resistance. Armd. Gp. 2 has captured an intact Desna bridge at Novgorod Soverski. In the central sector, a relatively quiet day. At Velikie Luki the encircling battle has been brought to a successful close with a haul of 30,000 prisoners and several hundred guns.

North: LVI Corps has started off on its attack, X and II Corps will follow tomorrow. Elsewhere only slight gains.

Replacements:

Received todate by:	<u>Army Gps.</u>				Total
	<u>South</u>	<u>Center</u>	<u>North</u>	<u>Norway</u>	
a) From organic Field Replacement Bns.	25,000	28,000	12,000	1,000	66,000
b) Until 25 Aug.	27,000	38,000	16,000	5,000	86,000
c) Scheduled to arrive before 31 Aug.	27,000	25,000	19,000	-	71,000
d) After 31 Aug. through Field Replacement Divs.	40,000	40,000	20,000	-	100,000
	119,000	131,000	67,000	6,000	323,000

Enemy Air strength: On 21 Aug. 1941 we must estimate actual enemy strength at 750 fighters, 650 bombers, 300 other planes, and 700 planes from the Far East, giving a total of 2,400 planes plus 1,100 trainers, plus 200 planes on factory airfields. We must therefore still reckon with possibly 3,700 planes operating in the area under observation. Of these we may assume 225 fighters and 195 bombers to be ready for action.

27 August 1941. (67th Day).

Situation: No important news. The situation in the bridge-heads of Dniepropetrovsk and Oster (north of Kiev) is tense. The attack by Second Army and Guderian's Group is making headway, though slowly. Supply difficulties (oil!)

Enemy: In the area of the Valdai Hills, around Voroshilov the enemy is now attempting to regroup his forces beaten south of Lake Ilmen. The substitution of mot. for horse-drawn units and the siting of the position on Lake Valdai

suggest that they are regrouping for defense in anticipation of a German attack from the direction of the Volkhov river. But following Russian doctrine, this defense would be conducted aggressively by the elements in direct contact with the enemy. On the front facing AGp. Center, a major attack seems to be in the making against the area north of Smolensk.

Southeast of Bryansk, the enemy is still very weak. Reacting to the southward advance of Guderian's Group, he is trying to man the Desna position. (At Neveorod Severski we have already broken through it !)

In the Desna bend he will try to block our crossing of the river with the typical Russian doggedness. But it is not impossible that he might postpone any sustained defensive effort until we are on the line Sula-Konotop. It is difficult to figure out the role assigned to Kiev in this set-up.

Only weak forces on the Dniepr between Kiev and Zaparozhe. Also at our bridgehead at Dniepropetrovsk, the enemy has not yet sufficiently recovered from the heavy losses inflicted on him, to put on any serious pressure.

On the lower Dniepr (Russian Ninth and Eighteenth Armies) a systematic river defense is being built up, though only with weak forces. Behind it the Crimea is being evacuated and prepared for defense.

Phone talks with AGp. Center (von Tresckow): Push tanks on the northern wing in direction of Toropets and keep them in readiness for a thrust to the north. Don't let Guderian race off to the east, but keep him close by for support of the crossing of the Desna river by Second Army (Konotop).

South (von Sodenstern): Make preparations for Kiev. Sixth Army should not become locked with enemy at Kiev, but must move the main body of its forces eastward north of Kiev.

North (Brennecke):

- a) Keep contact between Ninth and Twelfth Armies! With northern wing of AGp. Center advancing northeast, we need not worry too much about the success of the drive against the Valdai lake district!
- b) Attack on Leningrad. Strong right wing on the Neva!
- c) Junction with the Finns must be effected soon, regardless of what happens at Leningrad.
- d) Roval: Attack islands only with Infantry.
- e) Preparations for Dagoe - Oesel.

Capt. Loyko (Navy) - Capt. Obermayr report on their observations on the preparation of the attack on Oesel and Dagoe. The preparations by Navy seem to be quite far advanced. Those of the Ground Forces are getting under way. Forces required: One Div. and elements of another Div., as covering force. Time required for the preparation: At

least two weeks. Invasion force will strike from Werder on Moon and then on Oesel.

Gen. Matzky: Temporary assignments of Portuguese Army personnel to the German Artillery School and the German combat forces.

Gen. Bogatsch: Air observation. Mainly railroad movements (nothing new!) and fortifications. The outstanding feature is the construction of a second Russian defense line facing the front of AGp. Center.

Evening situation: "Phone talk with Field Marshal von Bock: Guderian is hollering that attacks on his left and right flanks kept him from advancing, and shouts for the rest of the Armored Divs. belonging to his group. Von Bock thinks it impossible to comply because he could not let go of the reserves behind his front, which is now under attack. I agree and instruct him not to yield to Guderian's request, at least not while the Divs. of LIII Corps have not arrived to form a reserve behind von Bock's defensive front. I ask him also to keep Guderian on short reins and move the rear Divs. of XXXXVII Corps behind XXIV Corps, as soon as 31st and 67th Divs. have arrived, and not behind Seventeenth Armd.Div., which has bogged down.

At ObdH's review of evening situation, it turns out that the Fuehrer has ordered him to send the Armd.Divs. of XXXX Corps from Velikie Luki to the northeast, into the rear of the enemy facing II Corps. At the moment this is out of the question. These Divs. must first be shifted to the area north of Toropets before any new disposition can be made on their employment. From the very tight situation caused by today's enemy penetration (5 km deep) in the sector of 26th and Sixth Divs., it looks that we might have to call upon the Armor around Toropets to pull us out. As long as this situation is not rectified, these Divs. cannot be sent up north.

<u>Casualties:</u>	Officers	NCO's and EM
22 June - 13 Aug.: Wounded	9,161	264,975
Killed	3,714	76,389
Missing	356	18,803

i.e., 10% of the Eastern Army, at an average strength of 3.448 million.

28 August 1941. (68th Day).

Enemy intelligence: To date identified at the front: 110 Divs. (equalling 65 Divs. in combat strength). In the Rear Area, 40 Divs. Since the battle of Velikie Luki, the number of

Frontline Divs. has been kept up by bringing Divs. from the Rear Area, where 21 remain now.

Supply situation: South: Within six days one Armd. Corps, of two Armd. Divs. and one mot. Div., will have a complete initial issue; and in nine days another Corps of the same strength will be so replenished.

Situation: South: The enemy situation is obscure. We cannot make out yet whether the enemy on the Lower Dniepr is building up a defense line or whether he is only leaving rear-guards on that front and will confine himself to defending the Crimea. The frontline troops of course tend to believe the former, because they hear the shooting, but I think, the enemy has chosen the second alternative, for I can see no chance for the enemy to reform his smashed southern wing. - At Dniepropetrovsk, too, the situation is confused. Enemy movements are observed from there to the southeast, but there are also frontward movements. I believe that the enemy will try to hold on in that sector. - On the rest of the Dniepr front, nothing new. Sixth Army is still bunched too closely around Kiev. But AGp. South reports that it has given orders to move across the Dniepr, north of the city, all troops that can be spared from the Kiev front.

Center: Satisfactory progress of Second Army and Armd. Gp. 2. Heavy enemy attacks, resulting in local penetrations, continue against the eastern front, east of Smolensk. On the northern wing, the drive on Toropets is now under way.

North: South of Lake Ilmen, the drives by Hansen and von Manstein's Corps are making satisfactory strides. II Corps postpones its jump-off to 30 Aug. Schmidt's Corps is now advancing on Leningrad. On the rest of the front, slow advances.

1030 Field Marshal von Bock calls up, highly excited: Defenses of Army Gp. are near breaking point. Army Gp. cannot hold its eastern front if the Russians continue attacking. Fresh Divs. moving up from Gomel cannot arrive in the threatened sector of V Corps before 3 Sep. It is doubtful whether we can hold the sector that long. But if Ninth Army withdraws, Fourth Army must fall back, too. The only chance to hold the front lies in committing Armor. AGp. North after continuously putting him off to some later date has now again postponed the attack of II Corps. Operations cannot be based on the cooperation of so unreliable a partner. - I cannot approve a thrust by Stumme's Armd. Corps to the northeast. It appears now fairly certain that it will be impossible to avoid taking back Ninth Army. If the Russians keep up the attack, the only solution is to push with the northern wing as far as the Upper Dvina and then attack southward with Stumme's Armd. Group.

In reply to my question: The danger spot of the eastern front is between the boundary line Fourteenth mot./28th Inf. Divs. and the left wing of 129th Div. The combat

strength of 161st Div. is now only 25%. 87th Div. must replace Fourteenth mot. Div. That leaves only SS Reich in reserve. Abandoning the Yelnya salient is under consideration! Very hard decision, because it means losing a base for future operations. The final decision is up to Fourth Army.\*

Gen. Buhle:

- a) Strength reports as of middle of Aug. : Inf. Divs. all fit for operations. Combat strength about 66%. Between 20 and 27th Aug. replacements totalling 63,000 men crossed the German frontier. This means that of 380,000 casualties, 175,000 will have been replaced (including replacements from Field Replacement Bns.).

Deficit of motor vehicles (16 Aug.) 38,000; 50% in Armd. Forces, and 25% each in GHq Troops and one-fourth of Inf.Divs.

Tank position:

- Armd.Gp. 1: Average 50%. (Sixteenth mot.Div.poorest)  
Armd.Gp. 2: Tenth Armd.Div. 83%  
Eighteenth Armd.Div. 57%.  
All other Armd.Divs., average of 45%.  
Armd.Gp. 3: Seventh Armd.Div. has only 24% left.  
All other Divs., average of 45%.  
Armd.Gp. 4: Best (Czech materiel!) on a average between 50 and 75%.
- b) Report on firing test at Arys on 27 Aug.: Roechling shell is a super-long projectile with folding fins. Very deep penetration. 21 cm R Projectile penetrated 3,5 meter of reinforced concrete. Has superior effect (with HE shells) and at long range also in small calibers.
- c) Rifle grenade (hollow charge) for anti-tank fighting. Effect good, but accuracy poor. Must be tried out in combat.
- d) Russian 7,62 cm Gun\*\* with 5-ton prime mover very good (Africa!); Penetrates 60 mm armor at range of over 1000 m. Can perhaps be used as med. AT Gun for Inf. Trial order for 20 guns.
- e) Assembly of half-track motorcycles and carts for airborne operation in the Crimea.
- f) Revised order of battle of 21st and Fifteenth Armd.Divs. (North Africa).
- g) French Legion\*\*\* comprizes one reinforced Inf.Regt. Will complete preparations on Training Center in Government-General by mid-October.

Afternoon Visit to Gen. Himer's family on his Stettenbruck estate.

Gen. Bogatsch reports considerable increase in north-south traf-

fic through Kursk. Kursk-Kiev line badly clogged. Apparently effect of our air efforts. Enemy movement in the direction of Guderian's Group. Enemy forces at Cherkassi and Kremenchug believed receiving reinforcements. Considerable train traffic in direction of Toropets. This, in my opinion, does not by any means justify the conclusion that the enemy is reinforcing his Dniepr front.

Col. Clausius reports as new C of S of LI Corps (to replace Ochsner). Briefing on his mission.

Evening situation conference presents the astonishing picture of AGp. South suddenly imagining that the enemy in its sector is withdrawing and so ordering an attack on the entire line.

Tension in the bridgehead north of Kiev slightly eased. Tough resistance reported in some places by Second Army and Armd. Gp. 2. On the eastern front of AGp. Center, north of the Yelnya salient, local attacks throughout day; were repelled with one exception. Northern wing of AGp. Center is making good progress toward Toropets.

In AGp. North, advances south of Lake Ilmen and in the direction of Leningrad. Reval has been cleared of the enemy, except for harbor district.

Telephone talk with Gen. Paulus: At his visit to Armd.Gp. 2, Paulus teletyped a recommendation for giving Armd.Gp. its last Corps, withdraw Hq Second Army from the front, and put the entire Assault Group under Guderian's command. I fully appreciate the difficulties of the situation, but wars after all are made up of one difficulty after another. Guderian wants to have no Army Commander over him and expects that everybody up to top level should give way to the ideas born of his restricted scope of vision. Unfortunately, Paulus has allowed himself to be taken in. For my part, I have not the slightest intention to yield to Guderian. The plan of campaign for this drive was his own. Now let him worry how he gets through.

29 August 1941. (69th Day)

Situation: South: Enemy situation on the lower Dniepr unchanged. We still have no clear idea what the enemy is up to. The puzzling withdrawal movements of tanks from Dniepropetrovsk to the east continue. On the rest of the Dniepr front no important actions. Kiev no change. West of the Desna, coming from the north, an enemy advance is reported against the bridgehead at Gornostaipol.

Center: Guderian's situation is not too pretty. He is being hardpressed from the west by the enemy elements evading the thrust of Second Army, from the east by the

newly arrived enemy forces, and on top of that has to cope with frontal opposition. And this front consists only of Third Armd.Div. and Tenth mot.Div., which are rather far apart at that. It is all Guderian's own fault. He devised this plan of attack and even the most naive enemy could not be expected to stand by passively while an enemy flank is parading past his front. So the attacks from the east are only what he might have anticipated. Moreover, with Guderian straining away from Second Army instead of keeping close to it, a gap has developed through which the enemy is escaping to the east; that in turn accounts for the attacks against Guderian from the west. But in any case it is the enemy who is being thrown into the battle desperately and without a plan.

Relative quiet reigns on the eastern front of Army Gp. On the northern wing, progress is reported in the direction of Toropets and in the sector of VI Corps.

North: No advances south of Lake Ilmen, apparently owing to bad weather and poor roads. Schmidt's Corps is advancing both north of Chudovo and in the direction of Leningrad, where it is approaching the outer line of fortifications. Slow progress at Luga; in Hoepfner's sector and in Eighteenth Army sector enemy opposition appears to be weakening. The Finns are making encouraging progress on Leningrad from the north. Port Baltic taken. Some fighting is still going on in the harbor district of Reval.

Gen. Brand and Col. Ehlfeldt report on their tour to Ochakov and the Black Sea coast.

- Findings:
- a) The Romanians have sufficient Artillery for the assault of Odessa.
  - b) The Coastal Btrys. at Ochakov, still in enemy hands, are no serious threat.
  - c) The question as to who will be responsible for coast defense (the Romanians or we) is still to be settled.

Gen. Paulus reports on his experiences at Armd.Gp. 2. He is completely under the spell of Guderian's lopsided ideas.

Gen. von Greiffenberg (on phone): He informs me on plan to shift 45th Div. and Cav. Div. to Guderian's Armd. Gp. (An hour later Armd.Gp. reports that its western flank is no longer threatened; so, 45th Div. is assigned to AGp. Reserve). I call to his attention that the decision whether Vietinghoff's Corps should be moved to Guderian, rests with Army Gp. Army Group alone is the judge of whether it needs Vietinghoff's Corps for completion of its mission.

General von Waldau/ ObdL: Talk on enemy strength and intentions; own capabilities; air-borne operation on the Crimea is vetoed\*.

Gen. Wagner, Capt. Zimmermann (Ammunition):

- a) Block requisitioning of ammunition by trainloads will be discontinued; requisitioning now by individual orders

specifying quantities. Ammunition Supply Areas will be organized for Army Gps., where they can handle distribution themselves. Gen Qu Ammunition Reserve in ZI.

b) Organize sea route to Odessa with shipping belonging to the Ground Forces!

Evening situation! In South: Optimistic estimate of the situation. The belief is held that the Dniepropetrovsk bridgehead affords great opportunities for exploitation. A general retreat of the enemy is considered possible.

In Center: Tension in Guderian's sector eased. -- Command set-up must be reorganized for drive of Second Army and Armd. Gp. 2 across the Desna. OKW interferes with command in sector between Toropets and Lake Ilmen. Our order for an enveloping attack from north and south is the answer!

In North: No change. Owing to bad weather no significant advances.

<u>Casualties:</u>	Officers	NCO and EM
Wounded	9,616	277,472
Killed	3,874	79,643
<u>Missing</u>	<u>362</u>	<u>18,957</u>
Total :	13,852	376,072.

Total of casualties for period 22 June - 13 Aug., 1941:

389,924 = 11.4% of strength of Eastern Army.

30 August 1941. (70th Day)

Situation: South: Eleventh Army has started off on the attack across the Dniepr at 0550. No other news.

Center: Relatively quiet night.

North: No important advances. Bad weather. Nevertheless, Eighteenth Army is gradually working its way east, and shortens the flank of Armd. Gp. 4, which, however, has not moved yet, although opportunities for effecting a breakthrough certainly exist.

Gen. Thomas Fuel on hand for operation will last to the end of the year. Discussion on questions of economic policy.

von Greiffenberg (on phone): Clarification of the missions of Army Gp. I request an estimate of the forces required for holding the defensive front.

OQu IV: Attaché reports from all countries. — Briefing of our Washington Attaché.

Schroeter - Kinzel: Analysis of air reports. Enemy troop movements indicate a reaction to our pressure on Leningrad and our advance on Roslavl. No reaction yet to the southward drive of Second Army and Armd.Gp. 2 and, curiously, also no reaction yet to the collapse of the enemy southern wing. The eastward movements away from Dniepropetrovsk remain a mystery.

Evening report: South: Eleventh Army has established a bridgehead and wants to expand it tomorrow. Armd.Gp. 1 is preparing an attack to enlarge the Dniepropetrovsk bridgehead. Combat reconnaissance across river. On the rest of the front no important developments. Seventeenth Army wants to force crossing of the river on 1 and 2 Sept.

Center: Continued advances of the Desna Assault Group, which will be reinforced by Regt. Grossdeutschland. In Fourth Army sector heavy attacks (23rd Div.). Enemy attacks against Ninth Army weaker than on previous days. At Toropets, feeble enemy resistance.

North: Slow local gains. II Corps is reported to start off tomorrow.

Conference with ObdH, who has had a long personal talk with the Fuehrer. He says they discussed also the issues which caused the grave dissonances of the past few days. It seems that the Fuehrer sidestepped the arguments, which probably were not pressed with sufficient earnestness and emphasis, by explaining " he had not meant it that way." In any case, the result is bliss and harmony. Everything is just lovely again. Of course: nothing has changed, except that we are now supposed to wait upon not only the Fuehrer but also the Reich Marshal with separate reports on the railroad situation, Supply, Signal communications and Ground Forces replacements. On the operational side, it is now advanced that the forces of AGp. Center driving against the Desna should not at all be used for continuance of the operation in the south, but instead should be made available as soon as possible for the operation against Timoshenko. Even if such an intention should exist, it would only serve to drive home the lesson that troops once they are committed against the enemy must stay committed. It is the enemy who determines when and how they can be shifted again.

31 August 1941. (71st Day).

Situation: The morning picture is dominated by a decidedly uncomfortable development in Guderian's Group. Carrying out his drive as a flank movement along the full length of the enemy front, he squarely invited heavy attacks into his eastern flank; then his advance, striking far to the east and leading him away from Second Army, produced a gap which was exploited by the enemy for attacks also from the west. These two developments have reduced his power to strike south to a point where his movements are paralyzed. Now he is blaming everyone in sight for his predicament and hurls accusations and recriminations in all directions.

He could be helped only by having Inf. relieve his Eighteenth Armd.Div. and subsequently also elements of Seventeenth Armd.Div., to the south of the former, and have forces of Weichs' left wing, close the gap to Armd.Gp. 2. All this would take some days and meanwhile Guderian would have to stay put, all as a result of his faulty planning.

But I think it would be all wrong to try to help him by this method; the original object of his operation, namely to assist Sixth Army across the Dniepr, would be attained quickest by sharply speeding up the advance of Second Army on Chernigov.

The other sectors show no significant changes. eleventh Army has established a bridgehead on the southern bank of the Dniepr.

Seventeenth Army is attempting a crossing south of Kremenchug.

In Sixth Army the situation is as tense as ever, but it is not critical.

Nineteenth and Twentieth Armd. Divs. are starting off from Toropets northeastward in the direction of Dubno. But their counterpart, von Manstein's Corps, which strikes from the direction of Staraya Russa, has not made any headway, chiefly because of the weather. In the other sectors of AGp. North, some progress has been made. North of Luga, resistance of the remnants of the encircled enemy appears to be dying down.

Field Marshal von Bock 1030 (on phone): on the situation of his Army Gp. He is fully aware of Guderian's plight and wants to help him by pushing 45th and 112th Inf.Div. in a south-eastern direction. While we are talking I receive a message stating ObdH's wish that AGp. Center should place XXXV Corps (45th and 293rd Divs.) under Guderian's command, to give him Infantry reinforcement. The Divs. are considered unnecessary in Second Army.

von Bock justly protests against such interference in his command function and states that the measures initiated by him will produce the desired result quicker than would the eastward shifting of XXXV Corps. ObdH at last agrees that it must be left to the judgment of AGp., by what methods it wants to straighten out the situation.

von Greiffenberg on phone: OKH is most concerned that Guderian should be helped as quickly as possible and that steps should be taken to relieve him also by Infantry reinforcements, from the north, to take over cover of his flanks. It is left to Army Gp. to decide how this should be done. Another important move is to drive Second Army sharply toward Chernigov, to effect a junction with Sixth Army and assist it across the Desna.

Gen. Cruewell and Col. Bayerlein ( German Africa Corps ) report in and are briefed on their missions.

1430 Phone talk with Field Marshal von Bock: Personal relations between Hq of Army Gp. and Guderian are increasingly deteriorating. Guderian is striking a tone which von Bock cannot tolerate on any account. He even appeals to the Fuehrer for a decision, so as to get his head. This is unparalleled cheek. First Cav. Div. is put under Guderian's command. Von Bock was thinking of sending him SS Reich.

At noon lunch with Cruewell ( new CG, Africa Corps ) and Col. Bayerlein ( his C of S ).

1700 Col. Housinger: We discuss possible course of operational developments:

- a) My phone talk with Jodl, in which he insisted that after the conclusion of the "episode", Second Army and Armd. Gp. 2 should be committed against Timoshenko. This could not be done before the latter half of September. The drive is part of the great strategic plan for the eastern front of Army Gp. and bears on the possibility of forming a strong northern wing. All these plans are still too vague to permit of giving Army Gp. any concrete data for firm operational planning.
- b) Keitel's (OKW) letter on Leningrad. Effects on command and troops.
- c) Withdrawal of the Italian Armd. forces from front.

von Zichlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

Evening situation: South: Eleventh Army is making good progress in expanding the Berislav bridgehead (four Bns. put across). Armd. Gp. 1 enlarges the Dniepropetrovsk bridgehead. Seventeenth Army has crossed the Dniepr with 100th Lt. Div.; 97th Div. is following. Sixth Army will start construction of bridge tonight. Hq believes, that the attack across the Desna can be launched on 3 Sept.

Center: No important news from Second Army and Guderian. The latter hopes to be able to continue his drive tomorrow. Inf. Regt. Grossdeutschland has already closed up to Armd. Gp. The penetration in the sector of 23rd Inf.Div. turns out to be much more serious than previously assumed; it has been carried to a point on line with Hq of VII Corps. The counter attack by Tenth Armd.Div. is in progress.

In the Yelnya salient, attacks are coming from all directions. To the north a large-scale attack (Stalin) is apparently imminent. Under the pressure from Toropets, the enemy is falling back before VI Corps.

North: South of Lake Ilmen only local gains. On the Volkhov river, advance to the north. The enemy group at Luga finally has been liquidated. At Krasnoye Gvardeisk, only local gains. In the coastal sector north of Armd.Gp. zone, the Infantry is gradually closing up to the east. Haapsalu in Estonia has been taken. With the exception of the Werder area, we have reached the entire coastline.

2300 von Greiffenberg (on phone): Exchange of views on the continuance of operation Timoshenko with the support of Second Army and of Guderian's Group, which soon will be available again from the south. This Group is not to be counted on for new operations before 10 Sept. It will have to roll up the enemy defense on the Desna from the south, and so is not likely to reach the line of Bryansk before late in September.

Army Gp. will have to adapt strategy and expenditure of forces on its eastern front to the necessity of holding on with a minimum of losses until that time, and shift its main weight to the wings before launching the attack. On the northern wing, too, the strong enveloping group that is to be formed after the conclusion of the Valdai battle, will not be available before mid-September. It would be undesirable to strike against Rzhev now, so as not to direct the enemy's attention to the plan of that envelopment. It would be hard to estimate at this time how strong this northern group could subsequently be made with forces shifted from the Leningrad front. It is quite possible that eventually our attack on Timoshenko might find its best opportunity in that sector. While this wing could not become effective much earlier than would an enveloping wing advancing through Bryansk, it would in any case be nearer to the enemy group we want to destroy, and so ultimately produce quicker results than might an enveloping attack through Bryansk.

Conference with ObdH on prospects of operations of AGp. North against Timoshenko. We discuss the assault of Leningrad. This question is still open. The policy outlined in Koitel's letter to ObdH, viz, that inasmuch as we are unable to feed the population we have to drive it from the city, cannot be carried out in practice and therefore is wholly pointless.

1 September 1941. (72nd Day).

Situation: South: Eleventh Army reports good development of the Berislav bridgehead (five Regts.), and progress also from the Dniepropetrovsk bridgehead, where also the eastern (damaged) railroad bridge appears to have been taken.

With the crossing of 100th and 97th Divs., we now have three Regts. on the far bank of the Dniepr. But owing to enemy air superiority it is not certain yet when we can build a bridge.

Unaccountably intensive Artillery activity on the northwestern front of Kiev. (relief of troops?).

Gonostaipol bridge has been swung into position.

Center: The enemy is manifestly trying to organize his resistance on the Desna in order to hold the river line. Heavy attacks in the Yelnya salient and to the south; apparently coordinated large-scale attack (Stalin). North of Yelnya (Ninth Army), the front is still quiet. Facing the northern wing, there are even withdrawals (on the front of VI Corps) SS Reich has been attached to Group Guderian.

North: Situation in the main unchanged. Heavy rains. Local gains.

Finns do not want to carry attack beyond their old frontier on the Karelian Isthmus.

Lt. Col. Bayerlein. Briefing on the function of the C of S of Africa Corps on the peculiar features of the organization,

Gen. Buhle and Count Stauffenberg: Stauffenberg reports on his tour to the Armd. forces of AGp. North. His account is very cheering. In XXXXI Corps, the most pressing need is personnel replacements. The materiel situation of both Corps is very good because their equipment received careful overhauling during the periods of comparative quiet, so that after conclusion of current operations, a short rest period of no more than 3 - 4 days would suffice to put Corps into shape for new operations.

Gen. Buhle:

- a) Over-all replacement situation. By the beginning of winter we shall have used up our available replacements. This would leave us only disbanding of Divisions as a means for covering our winter requirements. Twelve Divs. would have to be taken. Age group 22, called up now, must not be sent to the front before spring, 1942!
- b) Employment of the foreign contingents.
- c) Coastal Artillery: Additional 31 Bns. needed.

Noon: Had Gen. Oquist for luncheon in celebration of the fall of Viborg\*.

Gen. Cruewell calls on his promotion to Gen. Lt. and decoration with the knight's cross with Oak Leaves. (Comes from Fuehrer Hq).

Gen. Wagner. Discussion on operational objectives.

Evening situation: Good progress in the bridgeheads of Eleventh and Seventeenth Armies; bridgehead of Sixth Army under severe enemy pressure. In sector of Second Army, enemy

opposition is stiffening; still it seems that the enemy wants to withdraw behind the Desna.

Also Guderian's Group has encountered stubborn resistance, and has made hardly any advance. Enemy pressure on its eastern flank was less today.

In the sectors of Fourth and Ninth Armies penetrations by strong enemy groups could be repelled, (Stalin offensive.)

At Toropets no new enemy, and advances are good.

Throughout AGp. North, small advances which do not substantially modify the over-all picture.

Finns have changed their mind and now will continue the drive beyond the national frontiers also on the Karelian Isthmus, but only with limited objectives conformable to their demands for frontier corrections.

Evening Talk with ObdH on the courses of action open to us in continuance of the operation against Timoshenko.

The talk is occasioned by an operational outline submitted by von Leeb, which is completely out of harmony with our strategy, both in planning and in the direction of the attack.

2 September 1941. (73rd Day).

Situation on the whole unchanged. The promising bridgeheads of Eleventh and Seventeenth Armies across the Dniepr will need time to bear fruit. Also in Sixth Army, some time will have to pass before crossing of the Desna can produce results. Situation of Second Army and Armd.Gp. 2 on the Desna completely fouled. Second Army is dispersing its forces instead of keeping them massed for the drive on Chernigov. By striking across the Desna, Armd.Gp. 2 has become so deeply involved with the enemy on its east flank that its southern drive has come to a standstill. In fact, Armd.Gp. even had to give up some ground gained on the south bank of the Desna. In Fourth and Ninth Armies, hard defensive fighting. On the Valdai Hills front, slight gains. AGp. North reports minor advances. Here, too, we see the absence of any purposeful concentration of strength. Army Gp. shies from taking risks and so pushes on only by inches.

0800 - 1800 with ObdH by plane to Hq AGp. Center.

Conference:

- a) Situation on the eastern front. Outcome: The Yelnya salient will be abandoned and the offensive of the northern wing discontinued for the time being. C in C reports heavy casualties. Very few reserves are left after everything that could in any way be spared was transferred to Armd.Gp. 2. 183rd Div. is placed under the control of Army Gp.

- b) Discussion of operational possibilities against Timoshenko on the southern wing ("minor solution" and "major solution") and on the northern wing, where elements of AGp. North would cooperate.

Evening situation: Nothing new. Dispersion of forces in Second Army has reached such a degree that I have to ask Greiffenberg to take matters in hand himself.

The Fuehrer is preoccupied with the following questions:

- a) Shifting of forces of Sixth Army, now north of Gornostai-pol, in the direction of Chernigov.
- b) Needless involvement of Guderian's Gp. on the eastern bank of the Desna.
- c) Commitment of elements of Reinhardt's Corps in AGp. North in order that he might pinch off the enemy retreating eastward along the coast.

About b) ObdH has a talk with Keitel.

About c) Chief Op. Sec. talks with AGp. North.

Word is received that Hobe-Ohrfeld's youngest son has been killed in action.

3 September 1941. (74th Day).

Situation: No significant changes in the morning. Good advances, if only of a tactical nature, on the Dniepr. No advances on the Desna, where the situation is completely messed up.

Col. Toussaint called in to discuss the Hungarian demand for relief of their Armd. Corps. This demand has no political motivations. Inasmuch as AGp. South finds that their equipment is not in any way worse off than that of our Divs., a letter is dispatched to Col. Gen. Werth requesting him not to insist on recalling the Hungarian Armd. Corps for the time being.

No decision at the moment as to whether his offer of a Hungarian "River Guard"\*\*\* and Hungarian occupation forces to take the place of German troops in Serbia should be taken under consideration.

Gen. Jacob reports on his inspection tour to Constanza (Sybel ferries) and on personal observations at the crossing of the Dniepr by Eleventh Army at Berislav.

We discuss curtailment and stoppage of work on the eastern fortifications.

Gen. Oehquist: Orientation on my views regarding cooperation by the Finnish forces in the Karelian Isthmus and east of Lake Ladoga.

<u>Casualties:</u> 22 June - 31 August.***	Officers	NCO and EM
Wounded	10,080	292,741

Killed	4,006	83,483
Missing	371	19,317
Total	14,457	395,541

409,998, i.e. 11.5% of the Eastern Army, at an average strength of 3.78 million.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu) reports on his tour to AGp. South. Gratifying, positive impressions. Armd. forces are in operating shape; they have yet to sweat through a period of shortages, until Sept. 12, but then the new railroad program goes into effect. Meanwhile, Eleventh Army and Armd. Gp. 1 will have to put up with some difficulties. Armd.Gp. 1 is ready to commence operations with III Corps on 7 Sept. and with its main body on 10 Sept.

4 September 1941. ( 75th Day ).

Visit to AGp. North (Pskov): C in C Army Gp. outlines the situation for us. Fighting on a wide front in an area of forests, lakes and marshes wears out troops at a rapid rate. But with replacements now arriving in a steady flow, maintenance of fighting strength is assured.

Army Gp. Command envisages the offensive in three phases:

- 1.) Liquidation of the pocket north of Luga and breaching of the Leningrad defense line.
- 2.) Capture of the coastal fortifications.
- 3.) Northeastward thrust to join hands with the Finns.

Such a methodical plan takes a very long time to develop. But in view of the characteristics of Army Gp. North\* it would be too much to expect a suppler and more fluid type of operation.

Afterwards discussion of possibilities for a supplementary operation in the area of the northern outriders of the Valdai Hills, by an Assault Group formed by Sixteenth Army. No final decisions are arrived at, except that LVII Corps is placed under AGp. North and shifted to Kholm.

Situation: During my absence there was again some great to-do. The Fuehrer is very exasperated about Guderian, who stubbornly sticks to his notion to push southward with XXXXVII Corps, east of the Desna. Order is issued\* to direct Guderian to withdraw to the west bank of the Desna. Strained relations between von Bock and Guderian. von Bock requests ObdH to relieve Guderian of his command.

The fighting in South is making satisfactory progress. Seventeenth Army in particular has gained much ground on the northern\*\* bank of the Dniepr. In Sixth Army sector, the

attack along and across the Desna will be continued tomorrow. Little progress reported by Second Army and Guderian. On the eastern front of AGp. Center, the enemy apparently is taking time out from his attacks. In AGp. North, local gains.

5 September 1941. ( 76th Day ).

Situation: Expansion of the bridgeheads of AGp. South. The enemy thrust at Berislav has been driven back across the Dniopr. Seventeenth Army and Armd.Gp. 1 apparently have no major enemy forces opposing their bridgeheads. The enemy's southern wing has not yet received any substantial reinforcements.

Second Army and Armd.Gp. 2 are edging on slowly. Enemy counter attacks have ceased, but opposition is still very stubborn. In the Trubchevsk sector the enemy is apparently bringing in reinforcements.

On the front of Fourth Army and on the road Roslavl-Bryansk, two more Reserve Divs. and an Armd. formation have been located in addition to the original two Rifle Divs. However, apart from reconnaissance efforts, there have not yet been any attacks.

The Yolnya salient has been abandoned. For a long time the enemy kept firing on the evacuated position before his Infantry cautiously started probing the line. The execution of the withdrawal from the salient was a great piece of staff work.

In the sector of Ninth Army VIII Corps the enemy is keeping up his furious attacks reminiscent of the battles of World War I.

The Toropets Group has thrown back the enemy across the Upper Dvina. No enemy does not seem to have received reinforcements.

AGp. North reports advances by Sixteenth Army on the right wing (II Corps), and by Eighteenth Army north of the Narva-Leningrad road.

Gen. Keitel (Personnel Div.):

- 1.) Officer replacements: Officer casualties are at a rate of 200 a day. Until November we need 11,000 more officers. Eight thousand will come in from Officer Candidates Training Courses and from the West.
- 2.) Division Commanders: Change Heunert, Balzer, Kriebel, Stumpf.
- 3.) Decorations: Relation of Iron Cross to Distinguished Service Cross. Intermediate decoration.\*

Afternoon, 1730 Fuehrer conference:

- 1.) Leninrad: Our object has been achieved. Will now become a "subsidiary theater of operations". Chief target

is Schluesselburg. Investment along the outer siege line (up to the Neva, 6 - 7 Divs. necessary). As much Infantry as possible must be put across the Neva. Investment from the east, junction with the Finns. Armor (Reinhardt's Corps) and Air Force units must be released. Mop up coast. Junction with the Finnish Army must be sought through Lodyeinoye Polye.

- 2.) Timoshenko offensive: Must be a close envelopment. The operation should if possible be launched in 8 - 10 days. (Impossible!!). "Defeat and destroy by envelopment". One Armd.Div. and two mot. Divs. must strike southward from Leningrad. Sixteenth Army, later on, must strike independently from the Valdai Hills. (Very obscure business!)
- 3.) Battle in the South: Main feature: One Div. must strike against Chernigov, west of the Desna, so as to destroy the enemy elements still operating between Dniepr and Desna. Seventeenth Army will attack on the axis Poltava - Kharkov (Eight Divs.). Armd.Gp. 1 will drive northward and Armd.Gp. 2 southward for a junction at the Sula river, and then jointly attack the enemy in the Dniepr - Desna arc from the rear. Once this battle ("biggest battle in world. history") has been won, the forces no longer needed can be shifted northward to participate in the Timoshenko battle. Second and Fifth Armd.Divs. could be added to the build-up, provided new Armd. Divs. are activated in the West.
- 4.) Turkey will not be against us any longer. -- France is no threat any more. -- Spain not before December - January.

Evening with Heusinger and Paulus. We discuss how these ideas can be carried out. It will be the end of September before the offensive against Timoshenko gets under way.

6 September 1941. ( 77th Day ).

Situation: No substantial changes. Good progress by Seventeenth Army, and also by Second Army and Armd.Gp. Guderian, on the Desna. The eastern front is relatively quiet, which must not however deceive us about the threat, chiefly at Trubchevsk and Bryansk. Some trouble seems to be brewing in that sector. AGp. North reports good progress west of Leningrad. Guderian's action is a clear case of insubordination to von Bock (First Cav. Div.)

Gen. Fellgiebel: Telecommunications link between Reval and Helsinki. -- Current matters. -- Briefing on operational intentions.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Major von Both presents report on Dniepropetrovsk. -- Fieldpost problems. -- Christmas packages and additional liquor allowances. -- Conference at AGp. South (Uman).

Report to Fuehrer ( with Heusinger): Operational dispositions based on yesterday's conference are approved. Tanks can be retained for continuance of assault on Leningrad, as desired by von Leeb. Afterwards orders to this effect are sent to AGp. North.

Air situation: Air reports between 18 and 29 Aug. indicate the following respective air strength:

<u>Area</u>	<u>Figures</u>	<u>Friendly</u>	<u>Enemy</u>
<u>North</u>	Fighters	202 )	115 )
	Bombers	604 ) 886	15 ) 133
	Rcn.	80 )	3 )
	Cargo	---	10
<u>Center</u>	Fighters	151 )	373 )
	Bombers	281 ) 457	158 ) 549
	Rcn.	25 )	18 )
	Cargo	---	136 )
<u>South</u>	Fighters	213 )	403 )
	Bombers	324 ) 573	70 ) 493 )
	Rcn.	36 )	20 )
	Cargo	---	263 )
		1916	1175

excl. of cargo planes.

7 September 1941. ( 78th Day ).

Situation: No substantial changes. It would be indicated to check whether the transfer of LVII Corps should not be stopped.

- Buhle:
- Report on status of Divs.: 50th, 68th, 71st, 93rd, 95th, 268th, 269th have suffered losses and are tired. Otherwise battle fatigue seems to be on the decline.
  - An average of 400 medical casualties per Div. must be added to combat casualties.
  - Truck situation slightly eased.
  - Of the Divs. in the West, five are now in a condition where they could be used for defense in the East, if needed.

By plane to AGp. South (Uman) for a conference on the initial dispositions for the enveloping operation in the Dniepr-Desna arc. Army Gp. is in broad agreement, but opposes the proposal for the bulk of the Infantry of Seventeenth

Army to march off to Kharkov, away from the battle.

8 September 1941. ( 79th Day ):

Conference with AGp. South:

- a) Army Gp. thinks it will be able to debouch from the Kremenchug bridgehead with one Armd. Corps on 11 Sept. and the other Armd. Corps on 14 September.
- b) Army Gp. requests that Second Army and Armd. Gp. 2 be placed under its command. (They will stay with AGp. Center, as heretofore.)
- c) Small investing forces for Kiev. But if the enemy should begin to withdraw, he may be attacked.
- d) The Dniepropetrovsk bridgehead must be held at least as long as it is essential for our advances on Poltava to have the enemy contained in that sector.

Back to Loetzen by plane: 1400 - 1900. Stop-over at Berdichev.

Situation: Good progress in the northern part of the Dniepr-Dosna arc. The enemy is still holding against Armd. Gp. 2; the "bridgehead" of Seventeenth Army has been expanded substantially to the west and north. AGp. Center on the whole had a quiet day. North has taken Schluesselburg (Schmidt's Corps). The Finns are now outside Lodyeinoye Polye.

9 September 1941. (80th Day).

Situation: AGp. South reports good advances along the whole front, from Eleventh Army to Sixth Army and also by Second Army and Armd. Gp. 2. Heavy rainfall is hampering supply movements east of the Dniepr.

The eastern front of AGp. Center is unusually quiet. Only Ninth Army reports local attacks. In Sixteenth Army sector mopping-up operations are in progress in the area west of the Valdai lake district. On the Volkhov river, only local fighting (Eighteenth mot. Div. has to give up a railroad bridge). In AGp. North, the assault against the outer ring of the Leningrad fortifications on the eastern and south-eastern side of the city, has started with good initial success.

Visit of the Hungarian Regent, accompanied by the new Chief of the General Staff. They are shown around GHQ. Discussion of the question of continued participation or of the

Hungarian Armd. Corps in the operations becomes at times a little warm. The new Chief of the General Staff takes the self-centered position that withdrawal is essential to conserve Hungary's strength for her Balkans mission. This argument apart, the Hungarian Armd. Corps seems to think that it is now the turn for other Hungarian units to do some fighting. Of course, there can be no denying that their losses in materiel are very hard to replace. We wind up with an agreement whereby Armd. Corps will remain at the front until conclusion of current operation, and that replacements would be forthcoming if the Corps should be withdrawn later on.

Report of a Gen. Staff officer dispatched to Serbia. Very distressing situation. The country appears to be in open revolt. The German forces are weak. The Divs. of the Fifteenth Draft are poorly adapted for these tasks.

Enemy intelligence (Bogatsch): Enemy is shifting around his forces south of the Dniepr knee, to spread them more adequately. Some of the reinforcements reaching the front facing Seventeenth Army, are from Dniispropetrovsk, which relieves pressure on that bridgehead. On the front of Sixth and Second Armies, a confused welter of units (three pockets!). An attempt is made to bolster the front against Armd. Gp. 2, but surprisingly no new forces are thrown against the continually lengthening east flank of Armd. Gp. New forces are moving toward Bryansk. No indications yet for new attacks. At Toropets new forces from the Smolensk front, have appeared in the attack. The Russians are perhaps also bringing reinforcements to the Valdai Hills. New troops moving from the east against Schlussselburg.

OKW Memorandum on strategic situation in fall, 1941.

von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

10 September 1941. (81st Day).

Situation: AGp. South: Eleventh Army continues its advance. Seventeenth Army has captured the bridge site at Kremenchug. It will be able to build another 16-ton bridge, which will enable Kleist's Group to debouch rapidly tomorrow. Apparently the enemy is throwing in a new Inf. Div. and Armor through Kharkov, while evacuation and refugee movements are running in the direction of Kharkov. Sixth Army is crossing the Desna on a wide front.

AGp. Center: Second Army has made the crossing of the Desna, smashed several enemy units and started moving in a south-eastern direction. Armd. Gp. 2 has taken Rommy and is clamouring for its opposite number, Kleist; \* Curiously, there are no attacks against its east flank. Perhaps this

has something to do with the extensive railroad demolitions by our air effort. On the defensive front, the danger zones west of Bryansk and east of Smolensk stand out as before, but temporarily at least there is a lull in the attacks. Nevertheless, resumption of the attacks must be imminent in view of the railroad movements from Moscow or Tula to Bryansk, and of the very heavy motorized movement toward Smolensk. Preparations for such attacks appear to be in progress particularly in the Yelnya area.

In the Toropets area, the enemy is bringing in more forces, probably with defensive intentions.

AGp. North: Several movements on two railroad lines toward the Volkhov river suggest the arrival of new Divisions, on top of 286th Div., which was identified yesterday. It is not clear whether this is a last attempt to turn the fate of Leningrad or merely a defensive step.

Enemy air activity surprisingly is a little less intensive in South and Center, but this may be due to the weather. In Estonia, the island of Worms has been taken.

Capt. Zimmermann (War Service Cross, First Class) and Lt. Col. Lieckfeld of the Counter-Intelligence Service, who is joining Section Foreign Armies East, come in. L. has interesting things to tell about Russia, the country, in which he was born and reared.

von Etzdorff: Japan: Still undecided. The Fuehrer does not want to be pressing, so as to avoid the impression that we need the Japanese. The Army has cold feet and will probably do nothing for the time being. The Navy wants to pick off Thailand, Singapore, Borneo and Manila, one after the other, and believe that the U.S. would be unable to do anything to stop them. There are also internal dissensions. Perhaps change of Cabinet, in any case delay.

Il Duce's visit: Military questions are in the foreground. Il Duce wants "Realization of the new order in Europe", i.e., he wants to secure his loot. Claims that it is no longer in his power to steer Italian public sentiment as he would like to.

England: Churchill is forming a group of bitter-enders, and is governing against the moderates and also against Labor.

Turkey: The situation in that country is considered to be developing in our favor. "Wait and let things develop in our direction".

U.S.A. Policy obscure. Unlikely to enter the war now.

Sweden sticks to the "Swedish line", i.e., keeps all possibilities open.

Iran: Germany is trying to get all German residents out of Iran.

Col. Ochsner:

- a) Russian Rocket ( torpedo-shells fired from launching rack, 14 in top row, 12 in the middle, 10 at the bottom, total 36 rounds.
- b) Russian incendiary agents (thermite, phosphorus).

Buhle:

- a) Casualties: Over 4,000 in 14 Divs.  
" 3,000 in 40 Divs.  
" 2,000 in 40 Divs.  
Under 2,000 in the remainder of 142 Divs.  
(excl. Security Divs.).
- b) Arrival of replacements: Bad in South, will take to 15 Sept.  
Good in Center, will be in time for the offensive.  
Best in North. It was possible to switch replacements for XXXI Corps to Center.
- c) Graphs showing casualties and replacements.

Bogatsch - Kinzel:

Behind front facing AGp. North continued arrival of enemy railroad transports. Shifting of forces before Smolensk. I do not believe that the Assault Group has been broken up.  
At Bryansk, westward movements and shifting of forces to the south, toward Guderian's Group.  
Orel - Kharkov: Possibly arrival of new Divs.?  
Extensive railroad destruction by our Air Force.

Casualties: 22 June - 26 August 1941.

Wounded:	10,792 Officers	334,858	NCO and EM
Killed :	4,264 "	89,958	" "
Missing:	381 "	20,847	" "
Total:	15,437 "	425,663	" "

Grand Total: 441,100, or 11.67% of entire Eastern Army at a strength of 3.78 mill.

Evening situation:

In AGp. South, the weather is disappointingly bad again. Eleventh Army reports local gains. In Seventeenth Army sector, heavy enemy counter attacks against the Kremenchug bridgehead from the direction of Kharkov; partly successful. Sixth Army has made some progress in eastern direction.

Center: Second Army and Armd. Co. 2 have inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy and are now meeting only disorganized opposition. Fourth Army sector reports enemy attacks with slight local successes at three widely separated points.

In Ninth Army sector only minor enemy activity.

North: South of Lake Ladoga, enemy attacks and hard fighting. Penetration into the western front of Leningrad.

11 September 1941. ( 82nd Day).

Situation: South: Eleventh Army begins to feel pressure on its flank. Dniepropetrovsk has become quieter. Also the Artillery effort against the bridgehead appears to be less intensive.

In Seventeenth Army sector, two new Divisions have been identified; these are the Divs. which caused a temporary reverse on the right wing of Seventeenth Army yesterday. There is also more movement in the gap between Armd.Gp. 2 and Seventeenth Army.

Sixth Army is advancing slowly east and southeastward, as planned, with its direction becoming more markedly south-east.

Center: Second Army and Armd.Gp. 2 are advancing. On the rest of the front of Army Gp. new attacks against XII and XX Corps are expected. Otherwise the day was fairly quiet.

North: In the Valdai Hills we seem to have succeeded in closing the pocket.

Eighteenth mot.Div. is apparently under pressure at Soltsi. XXXIX Corps on the other hand has gained ample elbow room by counter attacking. Still, in this sector the situation will remain tight for some time to come. The attack on Leningrad by XXXXI and XXXVIII Corps is making very good progress. A splendid feat of our soldiers!

Enemy situation: Pressure on the east flank of Eleventh Army. Troop movements from the east into the gap between Seventeenth Army and Armd.Gp. 2. (Apparently one Division, Fifth?).

The eastern flank of Armd.Gp. 2 practically pressure free! Enemy traffic from the east in the direction of Bryansk has diminished. Heavy movements toward Smolensk. In the direction of Toropets apparently concentration of forces, probably to cover the flank.

Reinforcements (one Div.) are moving from the northeast to the Ostashkov area. North of the Leningrad-Moscow railroad line, two new Army Hqs and movements in northwestern direction.

- Lt. Col. Radke:
- a) Political tensions at home, measures against Protestant Church in the Reich, religious activities in occupied territories.
  - b) Frictions with the SS. Bernhard case (AGp. South). —
  - c) Troop morale questions.
  - d) Discipline. Outrages against PWs in AGp. Rear Area. Misconduct of soldiers in Holland. —
  - e) Press and Propaganda.

Gen. Bogatsch reports on air observation. No important new findings. Railroad movements from Voronezh to Kursk. Unusually strong fighter defense around Roslavl.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu):

- a) Meat supply situation (deficit in the ZI). — Preparations for the winter. — Fieldpost questions. One kg parcels are allowed effective 15 Oct.; this necessitates operation of a special Fieldpost train in each Army Gp.
- b) Supply position: Average train arrivals between 1 and 9 Sep. in AGp. North:  $15\frac{1}{2}$ ; Center: 29; South:  $14\frac{1}{2}$ . Stockpiling: North: 1.1 ammunition issues, 3 fuel quotas, 10 days' rations. Center: Over 1 ammunition issue, 4 fuel quotas, 5.7 days' rations. South:  $1/5$  ammunition issue, 1 fuel quota,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  days' rations.
- c) Fuel problems: In order to secure the first issue for the new operation; to shift and regroup the units and to have sufficient reserves on hand, we need 27 fuel trains daily until early October; after start of operations, 29 trains daily.  
OKW believes it can promise  
22 trains daily, until 16 Sept.  
27 trains daily, 17 to 30 Sept.  
22 trains daily, during Oct. (maximum)  
During Nov. a total of no more than 90 trains, i.e. 3 trains daily.  
Under these circumstances the Fuehrer must be requested to assure supplies by cutting deliveries to neighboring countries and domestic fuel rations.
- d) Tire supply is running normal. 1,600 oversize tires for 60-ton Truck Clms. are made available.
- e) Tanks and trucks: At the start of the operation we shall have an over-all shortage of 40% in tanks, 22% in trucks, over 30% in prime movers.

Evening situation: In South; new advances.

In Center, the same on the attacking fronts. XII Corps repels enemy attacks. Enemy concentrations behind the front facing XX Corps. Sector of Ninth Army relatively quiet.

In North consolidation of the situation on the Neva. Good progress in the fighting around Leningrad.

12 September 1941. ( 83rd Day ).

Situation: Identified by radio intelligence: First Close-support Air Div., south of Kharkov.

Reported by air reconnaissance: Opposite Eleventh Army

the enemy is falling back to the southeast. Movements of about two Divs. away from Seventeenth Army in the direction of Lubni and Lokhvitsa.

Elsewhere air reconnaissance was hampered by bad weather. Enemy forces are apparently moving in the direction of Toropets and Ostashkov. AAA protection, The movements on Novgorod, which have been running for days, have again been observed (supply?).

On the lower Volkhov, bivouac fires and movements, Railroad movements in the direction of the southern shore of Lake Ladoga continue.

Shore railroad station east of Leningrad !

Frontline reports of the day: Attack against Seventeenth Army repelled. Advances in Sixth and Second Armies and Second Armd.Div. Enemy preparations for an attack at Yolnya. To the north, local attacks.

Opposite Sixteenth Army, the Red 249th Inf.Div. has been identified in the lake district. Our Eighteenth mot.Div., which had hard going at Soltsi, is being reinforced by a Regt. from Novgorod. On the Leningrad front, the shifting of enemy forces to the southwestern front makes itself felt.

Col. Count Dohna reports on the experiences of Corps Feige at Salla. Apparently serious mistakes were made in the selection of troops (SS) and in the planning of the drive. Evidently it was the Finns who eventually turned the tide in our favor. The high degree of mobility of the Finns across country and waterways is remarkable.

Col. Krabbe (Mil. Attaché Madrid) reports about Spain, Portugal, North Africa. The only news is a cooling in the Gibraltar question, and the fact that Spain is not doing anything of her own accord to counter British violations of neutrality, while Portugal is in no position to do anything.

Breith ( Armd. Troops Chief) reports on his tour to AGp. South. It would appear that teamwork between Armor and Air Force is not always too good (Greim). Russian Tank 34 (25 tons) is remarkably good and fast. Unfortunately no intact tanks have been captured yet. Hard feelings between Ninth Armd.Div. and XIV Corps.

1630 von Sodenstern calls up!

- a) Von Schobert killed in an accident.
- b) At Perekop, prepared positions with two Divs. Coordinated attack by LIV Corps (73rd and 46th Inf.Divs.) will be necessary. XXX Corps, with 72nd Div. and SS Adolf Hitler, is moving eastward.
- c) One reinforced Bn. turned off in western direction! Will join weak forces at Kherson to force the crossing near that city shortly.
- d) Owing to restrictions on movements, only some elements of Seventeenth Army are attacking now, while the main body will not start before tomorrow.
- e) Sixteenth Armd.Div. has broken through the enemy and is charging northwestward.
- f) Enemy mot. movements flowing eastward through Lokhvitsa since this morning.

1700 von Bock ( on phone): In compliance with a phone call from Hq AGp. South, Guderian has been ordered to gather up everything within reach and drive from Romm on Lokhvitsa. Eighteenth Armd.Div. if relieved and started off now, would arrive too late.

Air reports through Bogatsch: Heavy movements against the left wing of Eleventh Army since this morning. Rearward movements to the north on the front facing left wing of Seventeenth Army (two Divs.?). Continuous mot. movement Piryatin -- Lokhvitsa. Intensive movement during night behind front in Ninth Army sector; heavy AAA fire on Fourth Army front, as also south of Ostashkov.

OOu I: Conferences now in progress at Rome regarding transportation questions and the attack on Tobruk. The Italian Second Expeditionary Corps will not come. -- Situation in Serbia. It is necessary to send German troops.

Brennecke ( C of S North ) on phone (called at noon): Concerning his situation estimate: OKH must insist on release by Army Gp. of the troops required for the fall offensive. Dates are still open for discussion, but the deadline must be generally adhered to.

Evening situation: In South, Armd.Gp. 1 has really got going. Link-up with Guderian may be expected tomorrow. AGp. South suspects that the enemy in the Desna-Dniepr arc is beginning to break away to the east, and has ordered pursuit without, however, abandoning the idea of a large-scale encirclement on the Sula-Romen river line. The heavy withdrawal movements (at some points three vehicle columns abreast) eastward through Lokhvitsa must be regarded in part at least as evacuations and as movements of Labor Detachments (fortification construction) and refugees.

In the east, the enemy is maintaining the concentration opposite the sectors of the XX, IX and VIII Corps. On this 120 km front, AGp. Center believes the enemy has 27 Rifle Divs., 5 of Armor and 7 in reserve in the rear, i.e., a total of 29 Divs.

In North very good progress in the drive on Leningrad. The enemy begins to soften on the front of Reinhardt's Corps. It would appear that the population does not want to take a hand in the defense. The situation of Schmidt's Corps has improved, but in Eighteenth Div. it is still somewhat tight.

Matters submitted for decision: C in C AGp. North is insisting vehemently on keeping Reinhardt's Corps and VIII Air Corps. Of course, we shall always give him the means to bring his operation to a successful close, but the build-up for the new operation in Center must have priority. C in C AGp. Center presents a critical review of his operational instructions in which he tries to prove that the plan could not accomplish an envelopment on his northern wing. True, it will be a hard job for the northern wing, but the

scheme underlying our directive nevertheless remains the only possible solution.

Enemy air strength, 11 Sept. 1941: 670 fighters ) )  
 600 bombers ) 1710 ) 2940  
 440 other craft ) )  
 1230 training craft ) )

If 40% are operational, effective strength may be estimated at 270 Fighters, 240 Bombers.

Probable distribution of actual strength of 1,700 airplanes:  
 Southern theater: 850 (Crimea, Donbass, Voronezh and east).  
 Central theater: 450 (Orel, Tula, Vязьma, Bryansk, Moscow).  
 Northern theater: 400 (east of Lake Ilmen, Ribinsk, some around Leningrad).

If training aircraft (1250) and aircraft on factory air-fields (350) are included, 3300 is the total of aircraft which our air reconnaissance has discovered.

Own operational airplanes on 6 Sept.:

	Bombers	Dive- bombers	Fighters	Long-range Fighters	Rcn.
Air Fleet 1 :	203	60	166	39	13
Air Fleet 2 :	141	55	44	-	11
Air Fleet 4 :	96	71	85	-	21
Air Fleet 5 :	25	29	11	7	7
Total (without 5):	<u>440</u>	<u>186</u>	<u>295</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>45</u>
Compared with enemy:	44 (7%)		- 336 (100%)*		

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Supply position in South: Flow of trains disrupted by railroad damage (washout of embankments and bridges, collision), but supply of Eleventh Army is nevertheless assured. Today we succeeded in getting supplies into Nikolayev for the first time; two trains scheduled for tomorrow.

Seventeenth Army and Armd.Gp. 1 were today supplied without Air Force assistance; 60-ton Truck Clms. are brought into full use.

Second Army fully supplied. With the Chernigov bridge threatened by floods, Sixth Army might not be able to get additional supplies from Gomel today. Not supply difficulties in Armd.Gp. 2.

Decision: One Div. in France will be alerted for transfer to Serbia; also three Regional Defense Bns. for Croatia.

13 September 1941. (84th Day).

Extract from an OKW Memorandum on the strategic situation as of late summer, 1941, approved by the Fuehrer.

1.) It is too early to say how many of our troops in the East

will become available at the onset of winter and what forces would be needed for continuance of the campaign next year.

- 2.) Should the campaign in the East fall short of achieving total annihilation of the Soviet fighting forces in 1941 - an eventuality which the Supreme Command now pretends was taken into account from the outset - the military and political effects on the over-all situation might be the following:
  - a) Delay in Japan's entry into the war against Russia. On the other hand, the U.S. might furnish Japan the immediate cause for entering the war. (Unlikely!)
  - b) It will be impossible to prevent a link-up between Russia and Britain through Iran.
  - c) Turkey will look at this development with great misgivings. Nevertheless she will maintain her cautious attitude until she is thoroughly convinced of Russia's collapse.
  - d) Military action against Turkey is out of the question for us. We must try to win her over by political means.
- 3.) In the Mediterranean theater we see no signs of a material change in the situation. British drive against Solum and breakout from Tobruk are doubtful. In the absence of a serious German threat from the direction of Syria and Irak, the British position on the Suez Canal will become progressively stronger. Britain will be able to build up strong offensive forces in Libya undisturbed (American aid). The situation of the German-Italian forces in Libya will become increasingly difficult unless we succeed in greatly stepping up the scale of supply shipments across the Mediterranean, or take Tobruk yet before the British launch an offensive. (Impossible before October)
- 4.) Spain will not take any positive steps to enter the war until the German-Italian combination has achieved unchallenged mastery of the Mediterranean, or she is directly attacked.
- 5.) France is watching developments and will in the meantime take advantage of any shift in the Axis position to better her own.
- 6.) Britain and the U.S. realize that Germany cannot be beaten on the continent. Their strategy therefore is to aggravate our supply difficulties and so, with the added effect of air attacks, gradually weaken the external and domestic position of the Axis powers. "They know that the "invasion threat" can be safely discounted at the moment while, at the same time, the erstwhile German air superiority has been caught up with. The situation in the Mediterranean and, beyond that, the great strategic picture can be profoundly modified only if, by destroying German-French collaboration, the following objectives are achieved:

- a) Elimination of the German-Italian bridgehead in North-Africa.  
Capture of the entire North African coast.  
Sea and air domination of the Mediterranean.  
Access to the African theater of war for the Americans in French Morocco (Casablanca) and French West Africa. Critical curtailment of the strategic capabilities of the Axis powers by the preceding means.  
Tightening of the blockade of Central Europe.  
Building up pressure on Italy until the country collapses.

In addition, direct contact with Russia must be established through Iran in order to sustain Russia's will to resist and to prevent Germany from gaining access to the Caucasian oilfields." (Probably the line of reasoning of our Anglo-Saxon enemies.)

- 7.) Own decisions: Our goal as before, is to defeat and force Britain to sue for peace. The Air Force alone cannot achieve this. Other means: invasion and Siege warfare.

Invasion: Surest means to finish the war quickly.

Prerequisites:

- a) Air mastery.
- b) Large-scale employment of all weapons that have so far been successful in sea warfare, to eliminate effective British naval action against our transport fleet.
- c) Mass production of first-class self-propelled vessels.
- d) Creation of a powerful parachute and airborne force. All this is possible only at the sacrifice of other armament projects. We would need time until late summer 1942.

Our Arms program now would have to be readjusted in accordance with the decision to attack Britain in her outlying positions or in her island. The means of attack in one and the other case are vastly different. A decision needs to be made now, but we are not yet in a position to do so. Our arms program therefore must be one that would leave both possibilities open.

Siege warfare requires sinking of enemy shipping at a rate of one million tons a month. Navy wants large sea reconnaissance units and an air Geschwader\* in the Atlantic for operations against supply convoys on coastal routes and the high seas, large-scale employment of the new aerial mines and torpedoes, and continuance of the systematic attacks on ports and shipyards. These plans cannot yet be fully realized in 1942.

Adequate air forces for a siege of Britain will not be available until the Eastern campaign is substantially concluded and the Air Force is refitted and enlarged. In the judgment of the Navy it is therefore all the more

important to acquire new bases in strategic locations in order to improve the prospects for a successful continuation of the battle of the Atlantic (Bizerte, Ferrol, Gadiz, Gibraltar, Casablanca, Dakar). These bases can be obtained only with the political consent of Spain or France. Spain would perhaps accede to our pressure, but in the French colonial empire we lack any means for applying such pressure. Occupation of the whole of France would do us no good if the French African colonies and the French Navy were to go over to the enemy.

"In view of the fact that the enemy has abundant military and political means to achieve the same end and that the possession of these French bases may be of crucial importance for the outcome of the war, it would be necessary as well as justified to risk high political stakes, provided the political gains could be exploited in the military field. Whether or not such political stakes can be played, depends less on our own desires than on those of the French Government."

Of equal importance with the battle of the Mediterranean is the battle of the Atlantic. Russia's defeat is the prerequisite of victory in either.

Britain's situation becomes hopeless immediately the conflicting political interests of France, Spain and Turkey among themselves and in relation to Italy, can be reconciled to a point where the three States would join in the war against England. This ultimate objective will perhaps never be fully achieved.

If Turkey enters the war on our side, we shall have to support her with ammunition and war material. Also Spain would be a heavy economic burden. In return she offers the naval bases at Ferrol and Cadiz and elimination of the British naval base at Gibraltar. The political benefits so would be very great, but the limiting condition is that there must be no change in the present attitude of the French colonial empire in Africa. The plan of controlling France's African possessions by force from the Spanish bridgehead would be difficult of realization. Spanish Morocco would probably be lost to a joint Anglo-French operation before German forces could be on the ground. And with North Africa in Anglo-French hands, possession of Gibraltar would lose its strategic importance for us.

France's entry into the war on our side would at once ease the situation in North Africa. Having the French Navy at our disposal would be a very great asset. On the other hand, France's military resources in West Africa are limited, whereas a constantly growing British base is building up to the south. If therefore France were to enter the war on our side, she would first have to be given the possibility to strengthen her position in West Africa, and we would have to be in a position to back her up there. Our capabilities in that direction would be restricted.

Conclusion: Turkey's entry into the war any time at all is of great military advantage for us, but the sooner it happens, the better. Even without German aid, Turkey is strong enough to resist on land, on the sea and in the air anything Britain and Russia could put up against her now; moreover, her assistance would be an important factor in controlling the Black Sea.

The situation is entirely different as regards France and Spain: Unless we are able to furnish material aid, the entry of these countries into the war would be of problematic value. Even the convenience of using Spanish ports would not greatly alter the picture. The great advantage of having a broader basis for our supply movements to the Italian theater of operations would be offset by the very real danger of losing Dakar to the British, since the French forces at Dakar, and French air power in particular, are inadequate at this time.

- 8.) To sum up: Britain's two major political and military aims are: 1) To sustain Russia's will of resistance and so block Germany from the oil region by establishing a line of communications through Iran. 2) Sooner or later to gain all of West and North Africa as an area of operations. Spain and Turkey are to be maintained at least in the status of non-belligerents.

We must therefore draw the following conclusions for our own war strategy:

- 1.) The collapse of Russia is our immediate and paramount objective. On achieving that goal we must concentrate all forces that can be spared from other fronts. In so far as this object is not fully attained in 1941, the continuance of the Eastern campaign in 1942 must be accorded first priority. Territorial gains on the southern wing would have far-reaching political and economic effects. We must persevere in our efforts to change Turkey's political attitude in our favor. Such a change would substantially improve our military situation in the Southeast.
- 2.) Not until Russia has been eliminated as a military factor can we bring all our forces to bear against Britain in the Atlantic and in the Mediterranean, possibly also from French and Spanish bases. Even if Russia should be substantially defeated already this year, neither the Army nor the Air Force would be available for decisive operations in the Mediterranean, in the Atlantic and on the Spanish mainland before spring, 1942.
- 3.) Between now and next spring it will be our business to keep the political and military relations with France and Spain not only from lapsing but, on the contrary, to do everything to intensify them; to

hold France under firm control and, finally, to bring further influence to bear to make her send military reinforcements to West Africa so as to be in a position to meet any Anglo-British attack. Our relations with France are complicated by the necessity to give due attention to the legitimate interests of our ally, Italy. But from the military point of view, France's contribution would be essential to an early defeat of Britain and so is something we cannot afford to neglect.

- 4.) Having thus broadened our base, we would still have to wait for next spring before our progressively mounting submarine effort could count on any large-scale air support to continue the siege of Britain with telling effect.
- 5.) Operations in the Eastern Mediterranean will be impracticable before Trans-Caucasia has been reached.
- 6.) The invasion of England will again be the subject of serious consideration if despite Russia's collapse our efforts had failed to secure Spain's and France's participation in the war on the Axis side and as a result the battles of the Atlantic and Mediterranean had not achieved the successes that made it appear likely that Britain's defeat could be brought about by that campaign.

Situation: Interesting air observations: March Clms. (10 - 12, Inf.) moving northeastward, west of Mariupol. Rail movements southwestward from Kharkov. Eastward movements out of the Dniepr-Desna arc, but apparently only supply Clms. East of the Valdai lake country, large-scale trench digging at night.

Operational situation: Strong elements of Eleventh Army are turning eastward, north of the Crimea. Seventeenth Army is regrouping for the next phase of the offensive. Armd.Gp. 1 is moving briskly northward. Sixth and Second Army and Armd.Gp. 1 are now converging for a link-up. Our Divs. are gradually moving out of the Dniepr front to follow Seventeenth Army. All quiet on the eastern front of AGp. Center.\* From Ostashkov, local attacks in western direction.\*\* Heavy air attacks on Eighteenth mot. Div. Advances by Schmidt's Corps. Good progress is made by the attacking wedge thrusting from the west against Leningrad. Von Leeb's northern flank is under pressure.

Bogatsch-Heusinger: Allocation of Bcn. and AAA units to the Armies for the fall offensive.

Noon: Work on the reply to Field Marshal von Bock regarding objective and zone of action\* of his fall offensive.

Col. Heusinger: Withdrawals from AGp. North for the fall offensive.

Gen. Paulus: Situation at Leningrad. I agree to leaving Armd. Corps Reinhardt \* on this front for the continuance of the drive. Eighth, Armd.Div. is to start transfer movement.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu) with Altenstadt: Allocation of security forces for the AGp. Rear Areas in the fall offensive.  
(Wagner alone:) Logistical preparations for the fall offensive.

Evening situation: In the South, Armd.Gps. 2 and 1 have come within sight of each other. The ring closing around the enemy in the Dniepr-Desna arc is now practically complete. The wringing-out process is yet to follow. The rest of the front is strikingly quiet; the enemy air force in particular is unusually inactive. Good progress at Leningrad. It looks pretty certain that the "inner ring" will be reached.

14 September 1941 (85 Day) (Sunday)  
Landing on Moon Island

Situation: Owing to bad weather, air reconnaissance covered only the southern portion of the front. On the front of Eleventh Army, one part of the enemy is retreating eastward, the other southward.

In the Dniepr-Desna battle area a wild confusion of enemy columns fleeing in the direction of Poltava. In the other sectors only isolated enemy attacks.

The movements of Eleventh and Seventeenth Armies have been slowed by supply difficulties.

There are some indications that the enemy might be passing to the defensive on the entire front. His aggressive effort on the central front has markedly decreased, but we have no evidence that he is moving elements out of the line to shift them to the south.

Casualties: 22 June - 10 September 1941.

Wounded	11,125 Off.	328,713 NCO and EM
Killed	4,396 Off.	93,625 NCO and EM
<u>Missing</u>	<u>387 Off.</u>	<u>21,265 NCO and EM</u>
Total:	15,908 Off.	443,603 NCO and EM

This puts the grand total of losses (excl. medical casualties) at 459,511, i.e. 13.5% of the Eastern Army, at an average actual strength of 3.4 million.

Tank strength of Armd. Gr. 2 is reported as follows:

Third Armd.Div.:	Fit for combat	20%
	Repair and total loss	80%
Fourth Armd.Div.:	Fit for combat	29%
	Repair and total loss	71%
Seventeenth Armd.Div.:	Fit for combat	21%
	Repair and total loss	79%
Eighteenth Armd.Div.:	Fit for combat	31%
	Repair and total loss	69%

Gen. Matzky: Current Attaché matters and minor military-political questions.

Gen. Olbricht (Chief, Gen. Army Office) reports on manpower and truck position, and gets his briefing on situation and intentions.

Gen. Wagner with Baentsch, Finkh, Buhle, von Below and Oqu I: Presentation of report on centralized Gen. Staff planning in preparation for winter: Quarters, furnishings, individual equipment.

Field Marshal von Bock (on phone): Planning for the fall offensive. Lateral boundaries of Fourth Army sector in its eastward drive. Point of convergence of the outer wings is Vyazma.

von Arnim (Comm. Seventeenth Armd. Div.) calls en route to the front, after recovery from his wound.

von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

Evening situation: In the South, the battle of encirclement develops on truly classic lines. Unusual quiet along the entire eastern front. On Lake Ladoga front, appearance of new enemy forces has required commitment of Eighth Armd. Div. Good progress at Leningrad.

15 September 1941 ( 86th Day ).

Situation: Air reconnaissance: Enemy is unloading troops behind front facing XXXXVII Corps.

- AAA defense at Bryansk. -- Troops arriving at Bologoye (trains with tanks and trucks).
- AAA defense at Cherepovets and Tikhvin (entraining and detraining).

Situation: South: South of the Dniypr, enemy positions between Yelisavetovka and the Utlyuf river indicate that the enemy will attempt to make a stand on that line. On the Dniepr northwest of Kremenchug, the river defenses are reported reinforced. Seventeenth Army is making good headway with its left wing, while its right wing evidently has trouble again on its flank.

Armd.Gps. 1 and 2 have linked up; but the situation around the bridge at Sencha (south of Lokhvitsa) is still obscure.

Center: Enemy is digging trenches opposite IX and VII Corps. Rest of the front quiet.

North: The liquidation of the enemy on the extreme right wing of Sixteenth Army is taking unaccountably long. The enemy evidently has moved reinforcements into this area and is intent on holding up our advance. Continuing heavy attacks against 30th Div. would point in the same direction. Corp Schmidt ~~\*\*~~ in hard fighting against attacking enemy (Twelfth Armd. Div.). The attack against Leningrad is proceeding according to plan. Eighth Armd. Div. has been shifted eastward for commitment in Schmidt's sector.

Over all enemy situation: The enemy is probably changing over to the defensive. The reasons for ~~this~~ change in policy are not clear. Perhaps high losses, perhaps the desire to get forces for a reserve, now that the original reserves have all been committed. We have no indications that he is freeing forces for the built-up of a new southern wing.

In the Valdai lake district the enemy is expecting our attack; he is moving up forces for the defense and is digging trenches. At Leningrad he is throwing new forces into the battle. He may do this for prestige, or he may be trying to hold Leningrad as long as possible so as to pin down large German forces.

Distribution of enemy air strength according to air reports for the period 29 Aug. through 10 Sep.:

	Total	Fighters	Rcn. craft	Bombers	Transp.
South	949	533	28	165	223
Center	248	173	8	47	20
North	171	106	5	29	31

Major Reinhard (AGp. Center) with Col. Heusinger: Planning by AGp. Center for the fall offensive. The plan of campaign is in agreement with our intentions as regards disposition of forces, but the objectives are still too far to the east. The question is discussed in detail with Major Reinhard.

Col. Foertsch (C of S, Army Hq 12). Discuss:

- a) Occupation of Crete and relief of Fifth Mt.Div.
- b) Means for quelling the Serbian disturbances.

Gen. Buhle:

- a) Issuance of tanks to Armd.Divs. before the start of the offensive. Total of tanks to be issued, including those unallotted, in the operational area:  
150 M III, 60 Czech, 96 M IV .  
Motor vehicles ready for issue total 3,500.
- b) The following numbers of captured French tanks have been or will be issued:
  - ( 22 Renault M 35 and 40 Renault M 17/18 (already sent to Serbia).
  - ( 30 Renault M 35 left Paris 13 Sep.
  - ( 15 Renault M 35 will leave Paris 16 or 17 Sep.

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By February/March we shall probably have 800 captured enemy tanks available for security operations in Rear Areas East and Southeast.
- c) French volunteers will probably not exceed 2 Bns. Good soldier material. Will not be committed in the East before November.
- d) Briefing of the Liaison Officer for the Spanish Division. (Largely autonomous in administrative matters, in operational matters he will advise.)
- e) Harvest furloughs in the West.

Schroeder-Kinzel: Enemy situation picture indicates general change to the defensive and bolstering of the northern front (Valdai Hills). In South there are no indications as yet, on how the enemy will react to the great battle of annihilation. Retreat movements along the northern shore of the Sea of Azov. Work on reinforcement and expansion of rear positions continues.  
Defense position for protection of Moscow?

Evening situation: South: Advance echelon of SS Adolf Hitler has reached the eastern approaches to the Crimea. The enemy is falling back in the direction of Melitopol. The encircling ring has now been closed; \* only minor enemy action from the outside\*\*. The ring is being tightened in the west. Army Hq. 2 is to be taken out. Cuderian will be able to free a large portion of his Group and then be in a position to cover his eastern flank and turn to his new mission.\*\*\* Artillery fire at Kiev reported weaker. South of Kiev, small detachments of our forces are holding firm on the eastern bank of the Dniepr .

Center: An absolutely quiet day. Minor enemy air activity. This change in the enemy's policy, felt for some days now, is positive indication of a drastic revision of his plans. It can only mean that he is passing to the defensive; but whether he may not be just withdrawing to rear positions, remains to be seen.

North: On the lower Volkhov, the enemy pressing on Eighteenth mot. Div. has suddenly fallen back. The new enemy Cav. Div., which yesterday caused us to send Eighth Arm. Div. to that sector, has made only minor and half-hearted attacks. Schmidt's Corps has been relieved of pressure and is now in the attack again.

The assault of Leningrad has made good progress. We are approaching the line of the projected tight encircling ring west of the Neva.#

The attack on Moon initiated yesterday has resulted in the almost complete occupation of the island. The Inf. of 61st Div. and two-thirds of its Artillery have already been put across.

Our telephone center at Zagreb destroyed by sabotage. Communications with Belgrade interrupted.

16 September 1941 ( 87th Day ).

The situation conference produces nothing new of importance. In South, isolation of the Crimea may now be regarded as complete. The assault of the peninsula is being prepared. Seventeenth Army, which is advancing very cautiously because it must keep an eye on its eastern flank, has apparently broken the enemy's frontal resistance. The enemy is giving ground in the direction of Foltava, but at the same time he is evidently beginning to move reinforcements to Kharkov from

the north; other movements farther south to Melitopol. In the light of the foregoing it seems to be reasonable to expect that after the enemy at Kiev has been beaten, Eleventh Army would yet have to tackle a small battle group on the north shore of the Sea of Azov, and Seventeenth Army a possibly stronger group around Kharkov and to the northward, before the route to the southeast is finally open. The pocket east of Kiev is evolving according to plan. Army Hq 2 has been taken out. The Divs. of the Second Army which will not be moved to the north, are to be attached to Sixth Army with their supply continuing through Gomel.

In Center, all is quiet, as in the past few days.

In North, the assault of Leningrad is making good progress. South of Lake Ladoga, the tension has decidedly eased. The report that the enemy is falling back has, however, only local significance.

Gen. Buhle:

- a) Allocation to Armd. Gps. 2, 3 and 4, and GHq troops of new tanks and motor vehicles released for allocation.
- b) Miscellaneous current matters.

Gen. Fellgiebel.

- a) Labor and raw material for air and coast defense signal communications and for the fall tank program.
- b) Entire radio traffic can be intercepted without any difficulty.
- c) Radio agents caught in the West.
- d) Sabotage in Zagreb telephone exchange was accomplished by three time bombs. Temporary communications with Belgrade restored.
- e) Telephone connection now between Gps. South and Center.\* Great work. Regrettably also losses.

Col. Kinzel, with Wangenheim:

- a) Enemy movements are in progress at the moment to build up a holding group or line in the Kharkov area.
- b) Rear positions in the interior of Russia, according to various foreign sources.
- c) Movements of the Russian Divs. are being watched.

Gen. Oehquist reports on his findings in Finnish battle zones east and west of Lake Ladoga. Very good successes, but strain is beginning to tell on troops. The situation in the Finnish III Corps is difficult; taking back the line in that sector will be unavoidable.

Evening situation: South: The encircling ring around Kiev is tightly sealed also from the east, and is now being further narrowed from the north.

Center on the whole is quiet. Army Gp. reports movements in progress opposite its central sector, which cannot yet be interpreted.

The enemy is bringing up new forces against the Valdai Hills. The purpose of this move is not yet clear.

In AGp. North, further easing of tension on south shore of Lake Ladoga, where Eighth Armd. Div. has now arrived.

Also gratifying progress in the assault of the fortifications of Leningrad. A footing has been gained on the island of Oesel by troops put across from Moon.

17 September 1941 ( 88th Day ).

Situation: Only noteworthy points in the morning reports:

- a) The enemy is very decidedly falling back southward from the Dniepr. \*
- b) The railroad movement from the north reported yesterday and thought to be destined for Kharkov can no longer be observed.
- c) The encircled enemy units are ricocheting like billiard balls \*\* within the ring closed around Kiev, which now is being divided into an inner and outer ring by a deep thrust from the north on the part of LI Corps.
- d) On the front of AGp. Center, intensified artillery activity and minor attacks.
- e) In the Bologoye area and on the northern border of the Valdai lake district unexplained enemy movements. Rains throughout the battle area of AGp. North.
- f) Eighth Armd. Div. has now been committed south of Lake Ladoga.
- g) In the Leningrad sector, Sixth Armd. Div. has been taken out of the line. The investing forces, after some minor improvements of the line, are now being grouped in such manner that remainder of Armd. and mot. units may be withdrawn.

Casualties in the East, 22 June to 16 September, 1941:

Wounded:	11,516 Off.	341,842 NCO and EM
Killed:	4,476 Off.	96,878 NCO and EM
Missing:	391 Off.	21,449 NCO and EM
Total:	16,383 Off.	460,169 NCO and EM.

Grand total: 447,552 (excl. medical casualties), i.e., 14% of the Eastern Army at an average strength of 3.4 million.

Heusinger/Stieff: Allocation of GHq troops for operation Taifun.\*\*\*)

von Sodenstern (on phone):

- 1.) Commitment of SS Adolf Hitler in the Crimea. He would like to get rid of them \* but understands the reasons why he must let them stay.
- 2.) Mission for Thirteenth Armd. Div., which is going to cross the Dniepr tonight.

C in C AGp. South does not quite relish the idea of committing the Div. against Dnieptopetrovsk.

Reasons:

- a) He thinks he would still need the Div. behind the encircling line. (No!)
- b) He thinks the Div. is too weak for the tasks to the south. (No. The enemy whom it is to attack is being also attacked in the rear. Seventeenth Army and the Divs. will cover each other in their simultaneous advance).
- c) He is afraid Kleist might be too weak by himself, and therefore would like to bring up III Corps. (That the elements of Group Kleist must eventually be brought together appears a necessity to us, too).

Letter from von Bock, together with the draft of the operational orders for Taifun. There are only minor adjustments to make. The letter, not without justification, complains about delays caused by tardy arrival of the forces detached from AGp. North.

Gen. Brand:

- a) Enemy artillery activity. Tabulation of enemy batteries, their disposition and ammunition expenditure.
- b) Effectiveness of the lt. Fd. How. firing impact fuze shells against heaviest Russian tanks.
- c) Allocation of and missions for GHq Artillery.
- d) More Artillery demanded for "Felix".

Ambassador von Papen: Talk on the general strategic situation and prospects of the Russian campaign. Military-political situation of Turkey. Prospects of operations south of the Caucasus, and over-all situation in Mediterranean.

- Gen. Qui:
- a) Future development of the AGp. Rear Areas\*\* and safeguarding of our interests in occupied territories (Based on a conference with the Reich Marshal).\*\*\*  
Remount problem (The Reich Marshal will not let any more horses out of Germany).  
Canned food supply (Withdrawals from 30-day stock # in the ZI will be necessary).
  - b) Fuel supply for October assured. Probably also for November.

- c) Reorganization of Supply Group Romania and Supply Group Black Sea.
- d) Stockpiling by „Gp. Center for "Taifun". Difficulties on the northern wing.

„Gp. North reports:

- 1.) Start of attack by Eighth Armd. Div. probably 20 Sep. Then will be taken out 21/22 Sep.!
- 2.) Start of attack by Nineteenth Armd. Div. probably 20 Sep. ( Perhaps already 19 Sep. ) Will be taken out of the line 21/22 Sep. !
- 3.) Twentieth Armd. Div., Opochka, 21 Sep. , evening. Nevel, 22 Sep.

Schedule of arrivals Nevel. „Gp. Center:

18 Sep. eve.	LVI Corps Hq. with GHq troops, Third mot.Div.
20 Sep. eve.	LVII Corps Hq.
21 Sep. eve.	Twentieth Armd. Div.
22 Sep. eve.	XXXXI Corps, Hq. Sixth Armd. Div.
23 Sep. eve.	First Armd. Div.
24 Sep.	36th mot. Div.
25 Sep.	Eighth Armd. Div., Nineteenth Armd. Div.

Evening situation: In South, the situation is developing very well. No sign yet of enemy action from without the ring. Nevertheless we must expect that he will move forces to the southwest through Kursk, and also to Kharkov from the north. The Divs. of „Gp. South scheduled to join „Gp. Center are gaining ground to the north.

Center not as quiet as during the past two days, but nothing abnormal.

The enemy around the Valdai Hills, however, still bears watching. Something is brewing here for sure. At the moment we may still presume that it is a defensive reaction to our attack with Ninth Army. But the possibility cannot be ruled out that offensive plans are behind the unmistakable railroad movements, especially in the light of English magazine articles about a joint offensive by Voroshilov and Timoshenko. In North, the situation remains obscure and not without dangers. Even though Eighth Armd. Div. has now moved into the line, the situation remains rather uncomfortable in the sector south of Lake Ladoga where, by my estimate, two more newly arrived enemy Divs. should go into action soon. We must be armed against surprises. The assault on Leningrad is slowly gaining ground. Our troops are doing a splendid job, but are suffering losses.

On the island of Oesel, the advance proceeds according to plan, against stubborn resistance by two enemy Regts.

18 September 1941 (98th Day).

Situation: Apart from the satisfactory progress of the converging movements east of Kiev, the most significant new developments

are the increasingly noticeable enemy concentrations in the Belopole area, fed from Kharkov, and in the area southwest of Kursk, moving in apparently from the north. (The latter movement has been going on through the past days on a small scale.) Neither the strength nor the striking power of these groups need be overrated. Yet their presence must be taken into account in launching Armd. Gp. 2 northward, as well as in starting the offensives of the northern wing of Seventeenth Army, and perhaps also of Kleist's Group. It is interesting to note that AGp. South has captured Budyonny's ranking Eng. officer. He was on a personal reconnaissance to locate fuel dumps, especially of aviation fuel. This would indicate the degree of confusion on the enemy side and furnishes an explanation for the unaccountable inactivity of the enemy air force in the past few days. Army Hq 2 will probably be taken out today preliminary to its new assignment.

In AGp. Center, Artillery activity is reviving. Withdrawal of three enemy Divs. from this front has been confirmed. Their sectors were taken over by other Divs (FW statement). It has not yet been established whether these Divs. are going south or what else they may be doing.

In AGp. North, clearly defined enemy movements into the Valdai Hills area and, to the northward, into the lower Volkhov sector. The former movements may be composed of labor detachments for the construction of the Valdai positions, especially their northwestern part, together perhaps with some troops moved up in reaction to our attacks at Toropets and Kholm; the latter are perhaps less in the nature of reinforcements than of loss replacements. Either way, we must pay close attention to these movements, the more so, as our forces in North are stretched to breaking point.

Clearance of the enemy from the Valdai Lake country has been a sorry business. From the south (253rd Div.) we do not seem to be able to get into the area. For Germans it is a terrain in which troops can move about only with portable Inf. weapons, while Russians are able to build positions in it. Perhaps it is the quality of 253rd Inf. Div. that is to blame. From the north, where Nineteenth Armd. Div. was to strike, road conditions (cave-ins \*) confront our troops with backbreaking problems.

In view of the enemy attempt to re-establish communications with Leningrad (FW report) the presence of the enemy group on the Volkhov is as troublesome as ever. Presumably the group will become active soon. This is very distressing, as Eighth Armd. Div. is scheduled to be withdrawn.

The ring ~~around~~ Leningrad has not yet been drawn as tightly as might be desired, and further progress after departure of First Armd. Div. and 36th mot. Div. from that front, is doubtful. Considering the ~~drain~~ on our forces before Leningrad, where the enemy has concentrated large forces and great quantities of material, the situation will remain tight until such time when hunger takes effect as our ally.

1130 Gen. Brennecke ( C of S, AGp. North ) on phone: I remind him of the necessity to turn over the Armd. Divs. to AGp. Center on schedule.

Gen. Jodl (on phone): Importance of a joint drive by Group Kleist \* and Eleventh Army into the area south of the Donetz, with objective Rostov. Exchange of views on likely enemy strategy in the Konotop area and the counter measures to be taken by Group Guderian.\*\*

Col. Heusinger: We discuss the plan of AGp. Center for operation "Taifun".  
Examination of possibilities for establishing a Hq OKH .

von Ziehlberg: Current General Staff personnel matters.

Gen. Matzky: Gen. von Boetticher's reports. --- Attaché personnel matters.

Evening situation: Good eastward progress south of the Dniepr. - Seventeenth Army at Poltava is advancing southward. - Compression of the enemy in direction of Kiev is progressing. Apparently Stalin gave orders to concentrate everything around Kiev and hold the city. Chaos and demoralization seem to have overtaken the enemy, who is making only very few organized attempts to break out in northeastern direction. New enemy troops are moving from Kharkov on Romni by several routes. The first attacks at Romni from the east have been repelled.

No important events on the events on the remainder of the front, although Artillery fire and air activity are more intensive again today.

In North very bad weather. No major fighting, no new advance in the Valdai area; - enemy attacks were repulsed in the Lake Ladoga sector. Local gains on the Leningrad front.

First and Sixst Armd. Divs. and Third mot. Div. are being taken out of AGp. North and moving south. Twentieth Armd. Div. is bogged down in the mud.

Army Hq 2 has turned over command to Army Hq 6, and has been taken out at the disposal of AGp. Center.

19 September 1941 (90th Day) -- Kiev, Poltava --

Situation: Operations in South are evolving with gratifying speed. East of Kiev, three pockets have been closed by forces in sufficient strength.

Guderian's Armd. Gp. is gradually being squeezed out and can regroup for its new mission. The enemy forces brought up from the northeast and from the direction of Kharkov have not as yet appeared in action. They would in any event be too weak to affect the course of events.

Poltava taken. Seventeenth Army is closing up. AGp. South has now made up its mind to comply with our wishes and form a Group Mackensen,\* with the mission to clear the area around Dnyepropetrovsk and eventually thrust southeast, against Rostov, as part of Kleist's Group. Such a procedure would both help Eleventh Army, which is encountering stiffening opposition, and clear up the whole sector. This solution, proposed by me but vetoed by top level, has at least been taken under advisement but has not yet been officially approved. If there is any decision to be made it has to be in the last minute.

Center and North nothing new. Enemy artillery and air activity in AGp. Center is again livelier. The impression persists that Center\*\* is shifting its forces along the base line, or perhaps regrouping them in depth. Satisfactory local progress is again reported from the Leningrad front. In the Lake Ladoga area the weather has delayed the regrouping of our forces. But the intention to attack and to commit Eighth Armd. Div. has not been abandoned.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu) reports on logistical preparations for operation "Teifun".

Gen. Rohde (Military Attaché, Ankara): Review of military-political situation and Turkey's military measures. Nothing substantially new. He confirms an increasing tendency of the Turks to seek closer contact with us.

Message: The German flag was raised over the citadel of Kiev at 1200. The enemy commanders apparently have left the fortress by plane. The troops have thrown away their rifles. Wild chases. All bridges are down. Three of our Divs. have penetrated into the city, one from the north, two from the south; the three Div. Commanders are all old Gen. Staff Sec. Chiefs (Sixt von Arnim, von Chevallerie, Stemmermann).

von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

Lt. Col. Ränke: Winter program for Army cultural activities. -- Morale in the ZI. -- Propaganda questions.

Bogatsch-Kinzel: Enemy movements:

- a) He is building up an operational defense line northwest of Kharkov. New troops are moving into the area south of Bryansk. Heavy movements in the direction of Yelnya.
- b) Evacuation movements eastward from Kharkov, in direction Ural Mountains.
- c) Movements of material for the construction of positions to link the South with the Don and Moscow defense systems.

Evening situation: In South, new gains. Center quiet. North: Nineteenth and Eighth Armd. Divs. cannot yet be spared. Good progress on Oesel.

20 September 1941 (91st Day)

Situation: The enemy is rallying in the direction of Krasnograd and Kharkov the troops beaten in the Poltava area, and trying to check any further eastward expansion of Guderian's Group by attacks in the Romni area. The enemy must have been able to extricate from Kiev more troops than we thought he would, and he now seems to be fighting for elbow room in northeastern and eastern direction. We are now approaching the crisis stage of the encirclement.\*  
Trains are still being unloaded (troops?) at Sumi and Belopole. From the Kharkov area, northward and northeastward shipments of material; the former apparently for work on the Moscow defense position, the latter evidently evacuations of industrial plants to the Ural.

Unloading of troops between Valdai and Volkhov, apparently destined for a reserve group to provide against any eventuality. Another enemy Div. has arrived on the Volkhov river. River crossing equipment!  
Russian Army Hq 28 has been withdrawn from the Bryansk area; is probably taken out to form a new front north of Belopole.

In AGp. Center it is quite plain that the enemy is going over to the defensive; arrival of replacements; regrouping of Artillery in depth.

Friendly troops: South of the Dniepr very sizeable ground gains. North of the Dniepr (east of Kiev) the three pockets are merged into one. First signs of break-out attempts north-eastern direction.

On the rest of the front, regrouping of forces. III Corps cannot attack before the 22nd. Eighth Armd. Div. must remain on the Ladoga front for the time being. First Armd. Div. is being taken out of the Leningrad front, XXXXI Corps Hq \* \* is leaving.  
Attack against Red Eight Army.

Lt. Col. von Olschewsky reports as new Armored Train Specialist.

Major Fistorius gives account of his tour to Serbia (Corps Hq Bader) and Croatia (Gen. von Glaise-Horstenau). His report substantiates our earlier impressions.

Situation: In Croatia, we shall be able to manage after the arrival of small reinforcements (some Regional Defense Bns.)  
In Serbia, Gen. Boehme (XVIII Corps Hq), who now holds Executive Power, will have to take radical measures and make energetic use of the newly arrived Div. to restore order before onset of winter.

Col. Heusinger:

- a) Shifting of troops from North to the Center (medium Artillery, Eighth Armd. Div., Nineteenth Armd. Div.).
- b) In the southern offensive, the situation is tightening (45th, Sixteenth, Eighth Divisions must be moved into line).

- c) Plans for the continuance of the offensive in South. Boundaries between AGp. South and Center during next moves.

Major Giese: Returns from temporary assignment to Sixth Armd. Div. (all arms) on Leningrad front.

Gen. Buhle:

- a) Reorganization of the Surveying Service and of the Surveying and Map Reproductions Sections (Chief of Military Surveying Service).
- b) Hot-weather equipment. By spring, 1942, for seven Divs. (3 Armd., 2 mot., 2 Mt.); by fall, 1942, for seven more, by spring, 1943, additional eight, totaling 35 Divs.
- c) Sybel ferries.
- d) Snow-runners \* (12,000 in the Government-General, 42,000 from BdE, i.e. 15,000 each in October and November, and 12,000 in December).
- e) Report on Armd. Gp. 2 (von Stauffenberg): 60-70% of wheeled vehicles, 60% of tanks available for Teifun.
- f) Eighteenth, and Twentieth Armd. Divs. weakest Divs., by reason of their structure.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu):

- a) Teifun: Organization and logistics.
- b) Difficulties of fuel supply: Scheduled trains from the ZI sometimes fail to arrive (depots empty, lack of tank cars, shortage of cans). By 1 Oct. we shall have accumulated a reserve of 4 fuel quotas for each Army Gp.
- c) New rulings for collection and utilization of booty (Deyhle in charge).
- d) FW administration. Ratio guards/PWs 1 : 30.
- e) Ukraine: Gauleiter Koch \*\* is beginning to make his presence felt. He criticizes inadequacy of organization provided by OKW. Fights Rosenberg, who has not gotten down to practical work. The Fuehrer wants no Ukrainian self-administration. Koch wants for administrative tasks some of the police forces which Himmler had tied up in-combat units.
- f) Self-sufficiency of forces in the East, during static conditions in winter.
- g) Advancing of the boundaries of the Army Gp. Rear Areas.

Evening situation: Local, in some places serious tensions on the encircling front east of Kiev. -- Progress against the Russian Eighth Army along coast of Gulf of Finland. No important events on the rest of the front. Quiet day.

21 September 1941 (92nd Day) -- Sunday --

Situation: Enemy: Heavy transport movements from Kharkov in northern and northeastern direction, evidently evacuations. Much movement within the pockets, especially near Kiev. Break-out attempts are mostly in eastern and northeastern direction. Nothing new in the other sectors, except for heavy movement in the Valdai Hills.

Friendly troops: Eleventh Army is encountering strong resistance in front of Melitopol. Its attack has been put off. The Mt. Corps is taken out for transfer south, against the Crimea. Seventeenth Army has taken Krasnograd. Our troops have the situation in the pockets under control. Attacks have been repelled. Large take of prisoners in the northern pocket. Kiev appears to have been evacuated very systematically. North of Glukhov, enemy concentration and increased enemy pressure. 29th mot. Div. needs bolstering (Eighteenth Armd. Div.).

AGp. Center: The enemy is manifestly preparing for the defensive. Artillery activity has decreased. Air activity and AAA defense are getting weaker.

AGp. North: In the Valdai Hills, increasing enemy pressure. II Corps is under attack, with the enemy using also armor. All Armd. units now have been taken out of the Leningrad front. The enemy is attacking southward out of Leningrad, and eastward from the area of the encircled Red Eighth Army.

Gen. von Thoma: Report on the battles of Seventeenth Armd. Div. on the Desna. Interesting points:

- a) Phosphorus incendiary shells against tanks.
- b) Spare parts situation difficult, chiefly shortage of piston rings and spring steel.
- c) Lessons of the fighting with super-heavy tanks. First immobilize, then let Combat Engs. blow them up, with crews.
- d) Attitude of troops with respect to Commissars, etc. (do not shoot them).

Maj. Golling reports out as Liaison Off. of Armd. Gp. 4. Details his observations in the Leningrad operations.

Lt. Col. Hilscher reports about organization of the motor repair and maintenance services and of spare parts supply.

Maj. Deyhle presents a report on collection and utilization of booty in the zone of operations.

Gen. Wagner: (Gen Qu): a

- a) Result of the conference with the Economic Organization on stepping up harvest activities. -- Cooperation of local commanders. Procurement of trucks, allocation of Fws.
- b) Organization of Fws.
- c) Ammunition expenditure in attack and defense.
- d) Policy on dealing with inmates of mental institutions in occupied territory.
- e) Situation report from France.

Col. von Bernuth reports back from his assignment as Liaison Off. with AGp. South. We discuss training problems.

Col. Heusinger:

- a) Next moves in the southern operation.
- b) Nineteenth Armd. Div. is again delayed.

Evening situation: Eleventh Army has halted its attack at Melitopol. Seventeenth Army is closing up. The pockets east of Kiev have been further compressed. Budyonny is drawing on the southern front (Dnyepropetrovsk) for his defensive effort east of Kiev. On the front facing 29th mot. Div., the remnants of 7 Inf. Divs., 2 Cav. Divs. and one Armd. Div. have been identified.

North: II Corps has postponed its attacks to the 23rd. Group Schmidt \* has committed Eighth Armd. Div. in the attack today, but all that has been accomplished so far was moving the Div. into the attacking front. At Soltsi, med. and heavy artillery (14 Btrys?). VIII Air Corps will be taken out on 24 Sept., noon. Arensburg on Oesel taken.

Ammunition expenditure: Gen Qu tabulation shows a monthly ammunition expenditure (in terms of first issues):

Defense:	Lt. Fd. How.	2 - 2½
	Med. Fd. How.	2½ - 2 3/4
	10 cm Guns	1 3/4 - 2 3/4
	Hv. How.	2 - 5.
Attack:	Lt. Fd. How.	2.2
	Med. Fd. How.	2.1
	10 cm Guns	2.26
	Hv. How.	1.9

22 September 1941 (93rd Day).

Situation: South: At Odessa, the Romanians are making no headway. Eleventh Army is getting everything ready for the attack on the Crimea. "Defensive opposition" \* at Melitopol. Enemy air activity greatly intensified. Seventeenth Army is preparing for further advances. "Floods" at Poltava (apparently a dam has been blown up somewhere). The pockets have been tightly sealed. Taking out of Divs. \*\* for Guderian has been initiated.

Center: Guderian is beginning to regroup. Enemy pressure on Romni and Glukhov increasing (several Divs.). It would seem that tank forces from the Bryansk area have been shifted to this sector.

Fourth and Ninth Armies are regrouping. Minor enemy activity. Enemy air force again more active.

North: Situation in Sixteenth Army is obscure. Bad weather. The attack by Nineteenth Armd. Div. has been again postponed because of extremely adverse ground conditions. However, we cannot wait indefinitely. AGp. Center needs the Armd. Divs. for its offensive. An order to AGp. North will be necessary. What strikes me is that the enemy appears to be attacking in this sector despite bad weather and ground conditions; he outnumbers our forces by about 50%.

Eighteenth mot. Div. also has postponed its attack to 23 Sep. Heavy enemy attacks against Twelfth Armd. Div.

Eighth Armd. Div. is to continue its attacks, Twentieth mot. Div. is to follow up behind. It will be impossible to take out Eighth Armd. Div. from this sector for the time being. Slow progress is made against Eighth Russian Army in bitter fighting (291st Div., Herzog, has distinguished itself!). New advances on Cesel.

General intensification of enemy air effort; bombing and parachute flare reconnaissance are especially intensive in Sixteenth Army sector. This activity of the enemy air power is very noteworthy. Voroshilov is thought to have disappeared to Moscow. Radio intelligence indicates absence of his Hq.

Capt. Meissner (Org. Sec.) reports on his tour to the Valdai front. The Inf. Divs. inspected in that sector are on an average of 1,500 men short after arrival of the Replacement Transfer Bns. (123rd Inf. Div. is by far the weakest in both personnel and command).

The position of the Armd. and mot. Divs. is as follows:

Third mot. is 20% short in motor vehicles.

Twentieth Armd. --- our problem child -- has 44 tanks. It is now getting 30 new ones, which brings the total to 74 (two Bns.) against a T/E strength of 210 tanks. Had 20% losses in motor vehicles (French!), No Rcn. Bn.

Nineteenth Armd. Div. has 70 serviceable tanks and is getting 20 new ones, which gives it a total of 90. Has a Rcn. Bn.

Road and ground conditions are undescribably bad. A terrain where commitment of tanks is arrant frolichsness. But unfortunately C m C Army Gp. has personally promised tank support to C&G Sixteenth Army.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu):

- a) Fuel situation in Army Gp. Center difficult; the concentration of so many Armd. Divs. naturally creates an enormous demand. Nineteen fuel trains are needed daily!
- b) It would be desirable to restrict fuel consumption outside the operations zone proper (OKW order)\*.

Col. Heusinger: Order to Army Gp. South on continuance of offensive. Intervention by ObdH regarding the objectives assigned to the Divs. now being taken out of Sixth Army for "Teifun" move me to a fundamental clarification of my viewpoint both in writing and in a formal session with him.

Evening situation: Four new Divs. have been identified on the enemy front. Old Divs., with numbers familiar from the Smolensk pocket, have been reconstituted. Enemy pressure at Glukhov and in the Valdai sector, to which the enemy has transferred a Cav. Div. (45th) from the central sector.

Liquidation of the pocket east of Kiev is getting on. In the Lake Ladoga sector our attack has not made any marked progress. Against the Red Eighth Army local advances have again been made in tough fighting. Oesel is now almost completely in our hands.

Gen. Brennecke on phone: It was impossible to supply Sixteenth Army with ammunition today. More rain. The attack by Knobelsdorff's Group must be postponed one more, and no new date can be set. Nevertheless, the Div. must remain in Ninth Army, against which the enemy is advancing in an enveloping movement from south and north. Army Gp. must demand that 253rd Div. of Ninth Army attack from the south. Reply: Owing to ground conditions, 253rd Div. cannot attack from the south. Nineteenth Armd. Div. cannot be left in Army Gp. In conformity with the order issued today, Sixteenth Army must submit a plan indicating the line on which it proposes to conduct its defense.

23 September 1941 (94th Day )

Situation: Enemy: Nothing new in South. On the front of Seventeenth Army and on its northern flank weak and partly disorganized resistance. The pockets are making their last break-out attempts. The other enemy forces are retreating on Kharkov. Evacuation movements northward from Kharkov in the direction of Moscow on several railroad lines through Yelets and Voronezh. On the front facing the southern wing of AGp. Center, the enemy is continuing his attempts to bolster the southern wing of AGp Timoshenko. In the area west of Sumi, 100th Division has appeared from the area east of Smolensk. In the sector south of Bryansk, there are added indications that the Russians are unloading more troops, to be committed against Glukhov. Large volume of traffic on the Sukhinichi - Yelnya line; cannot be interpreted.

In sector of AGp. North, Russian railroad movements from Ribinsk to Valdai continue. It is not clear whether they carry construction material, labor units or fighting troops. Also heavy railroad traffic between Tikhvin and Vologda.

Newspaper reports talk about the great impression made by the battle of Kiev on Russia as well as other countries. The British seem to be urging the Russians to abandon southern Russia and confine themselves to holding the Don and the Caucasus. It is possible that Stalin, perhaps much against his will, may have to take this advice. The implications for us would be that everything in AGp. South must be reoriented to pursuit, and more particularly that Armd. Gp. 1 must be freed with a minimum of delay.

Friendly forces: Southern wing no change. Romanian reverses before Odessa are inconvenient. East of Kiev everything is developing according to plan. Guderian starts regrouping for his new mission, but he still has some enemy forces sitting on his eastern flank between Akhtyrka and Sumi.

In Center, Guderian is reinforcing the Glukhov sector, which is the right thing to do. For the rest, reinforcements are being moved to Second Army from the south, Second and the front is being reformed according to our plan. Minor attacks have been repulsed. Air attack on Poltava.

In North, the situation is strained in the Valdai Hills, where the enemy is becoming more active while the conditions for fighting are unfavorable for our own troops. Here Ninth Army will at last have to speed up regrouping in order, at the least, to consolidate the situation until operation "Teifun" starts. Opening of the "Teifun" offensive will relieve the situation. - In the Lake Ladoga sector, only minor advances, apparently at considerable cost. Our forces here are sufficiently strong for the defense, but it seems not strong enough for a radical liquidation of the enemy. However, they

are all we have got. The advances in the direction of Peterhof gained by First and 291st Divisions in hard fighting deserve the highest praise.

OKW "Directive"

- a) On new phase of the operation of AGp. South. It states belatedly what we have already ordered.
- b) On the next moves in Norway. 163rd Division is to be freed for the northern theater of operations. The attack by the Finnish III Corps is to be called off, the attack on Kandalaksha is to be continued. Dietl's operation must be restricted to capture of the western part of the Ribachi Peninsula. The directive orders construction of a railroad from Rowanjemi to the north, and readying of transport etc. There is concern about the British and Murmansk, and about a threat to the nickel mines. As soon as frost has set in, we must try a thrust on Murmansk through Kandalaksha.
- c) One of the Kiew Divs. must be alerted for Serbia. Transfer will take three weeks.

Gen. Hemmerich (with Gen. Buhle and Col. von Ziehlberg):

- a) Organization of his work and of his section. Establishing of the post of "Chief of Military Survey Service" and appointment of a "Chief Officer" representing the Service at OKH.
- b) War experiences and work of surveying troops during the war.
- c) Distribution of the material of the Belgrade Military Map and Surveying Institute.

Gen. Jacob:

- a) Report on Oesel. 50% of the assault boats were lost on the first day.
- b) Sybel ferries have been a great success ! \* Will be continued in production as regular Engineer Corps equipment. Required transportation for:

One Btry. with horses	4 S-ferries, 6 Navy lighters
One Bn. with horses	15 S-ferries, 21 Navy lighters.
One mot. Btry.	6 S-ferries.
One med. AA Biry.	6 S-ferries.
One Bn. without trains	3 (allowing one combat train vehicle and one field kitchen for each Co.)

Combat train of one Inf. Bn., 70 S-ferries.
- c) Use of S-ferries in the Black Sea. Four Cos. of 12 ferries each, and one Company of 11 ferries are at Constanza; in addition, there are the bridge ferries for the Dnĕpr, anchored in the Danube, near Sulina.

- d) Observations on Russian rapid construction methods exemplified in the fortifications on the Luga river.

Evening Situation: In South, enemy resistance is somewhat stiffening in the Kharkov area. Apparently new forces, if perhaps only Replacement Bns. have been brought in.

Center: Guderian has gained room to maneuver to the east and is regrouping. The rest of the front of AGp. Center is relatively quiet. Only Ninth Army reports increased artillery and air activity in the sector of V Corps.

North: Apparently more enemy reinforcements for the Ladoga front. 149th Div. from AGp. Center has arrived in sector of Corps Schmidt \*.

40 trains from Vologda to the Ladoga front.

In the evening a 150 km long truck column is reported moving from Bologoye in the direction of Novgorod. With three enemy Divisions already assembled behind the front in that area such a concentration begins to get uncomfortable.

- Possible moves:
- 1.) Transfer of one Div. from Kiev to Serbia. (Would take four weeks.)
  - 2.) Transfer of one Div. to AGp. North. Most conveniently from France, where it could be replaced by a Div. from Kiev.

24 September 1941 (96th Day)

By plane to Smolensk:

- a) Conference with Field Marshal von Bock: Plans of AGp. Center for operation "Teifun".
- b) After breakfast, conference with CGs of Ninth Fourth, Second Armies and Armd. Gps. 2, 3, 4. The plans submitted are on the whole in accord with the ideas of OKH. Discussion and elaboration on line of reasoning pursued by OKH.
- c) Conference with Col. Wuthmann \*\* about consolidation of the situation on the boundary between Ninth and Sixteenth Armies. 253rd Div. is being transferred from Ninth to Sixteenth Army. Boundary changes between Ninth and Sixteenth Army.

Evening at Field Marshal von Bock's Hq, where we are joined by Kesselring, Guderian, Soltan, Greiffenberg, and ObdH. Overnight in special train of Army Gr. at Smolensk. Von Bock states that he will open offensive with Guderian's Group on 30 Sep; and follow up with the rest of his forces on 2 Oct. In any event there must be a 48-hour interval between the two attacks.

25 September 1941 (96th Day)

Back to Loetzen by plane via Smolensk, Minsk, Wilna. Arrive at noon.

Afternoon:

1.) Report on occurrences in my absence:

On 24 Sept OKW was in the throes of a first-rate crisis. It was brought on when Sixteenth Army's attack in the Ladoga sector ran head-on into a strong enemy counter attack which threw back Eighth Armd. Div. As a result we lost ground on the eastern bank of the Neva.

To remedy the situation, the Fuehrer gave the following orders in rapid succession:

- a) Ship 20,000 mines by air to AGp. North.
- b) Stop transfer of 36th mot. Div.
- c) Ship Paratroops (one Regt. available at once, a second later ) by air to AGp. North;
- d) Transfer one Inf. Regt. of AGp. Center by air to AGp. North.

When it was discovered that air lift was not available, he ordered transfer of a whole Div. from Center to North by rail. The Spanish Div. has been picked for the job, and will be moved from Vitebsk at the rate of six trains a day. Will arrive at Don between 2 and 10 Oct.

- e) The Divs. scheduled for transfer from the West must be moved at a rate of 72 trains a Day ! 72nd Div. starts moving on 28 Sep. and will be shipped on a 72 trains a day schedule as far as East Prussia. From there on it will be moved to AGp. North as the transport situation permits. First elements will arrive 2 Oct.
- f) Replacement Bn. of the Rehabilitation Bn. \* is to go to AGp. North. (That's quite out of question !)

With the enemy attacks at Ladoga not getting anywhere today, a certain serenity is spreading again over the scene.

- 2.) The following Divs. must be transferred from AGp. South: 99th Lt. Inf. Div. for Serbia, where it will be re-organized as a Mt. Div. 71st Div., for France, to replace the Div. transferred to AGp. North. Inf. will entrain in Berdichev; mot. elements in Reichshof, \*\* beginning 5 Oct.
- 3.) Ambassador Ritter called up regarding alleged indiscretions to Alfieri.

Gen. Matzky: Current matters in his section. His tour to Sofia and Ankara.

Evening situation: Enemy: In the sector of AGp. Center the following enemy units have now been identified: One Inf. Div. in the Ladoga sector, one Inf. Div. and one Cav. Div. in the Ostashkov sector, two Inf. Divs. in the sector of XXIII Corps (Valdai), two Inf. Divs. opposite Armd. Gp. 2.

In the sector of AGp. Center the enemy apparently is thinning his front and regrouping in depth. Construction of positions. Changes in artillery dispositions.

Friendly forces: In South, local advances toward the Crimea and at Krasnograd, where the enemy is counter attacking. The pockets east of Kiev on the whole are burned out. Regrouping of troops. Guderian is re-assembling his forces.

Center: No important changes on the front. Generally all quiet. Shifting of reserves.

North: Enemy attacks in the Ladoga sector were smashed with the support of the Air Force. Individual Bns. had to be called from the Volkhov and from the Kronstadt front.

Gen. Paulus: Back from XXXIX Corps. His graphic account stresses the seriousness of the difficult situation but also the superior achievements of the troops and the command.

26 September 1941 (97th Day).

Situation: South: A breakthrough is developing at Parekop; Armd. Gp. has started attack southeast; Seventeenth Div. is slowly gaining ground. Mopping up of the pockets east of Kiev is drawing to a close. Guderian continues concentration of his forces toward the north, while pushing away the enemy on his eastern flank.

Center: No important changes. The impression prevails that the enemy is regrouping in depth and taking out more Divs.

North: No further deterioration of the situation.

Enemy situation: Eastward railroad movements from Kharkov and Donets, and from Tula and Moscow in the direction of the Ural Mountains indicate that the evacuation is in full swing. This would bear out what we know from a radio and press report about the plan to give up military opposition forward of the Don. On the other hand the tremendous strengthening of his rear positions ( Moscow defense system ) would point to the opposite policy.

Gen. Hauffe: (Army Mission Romania) reports on the situation at Odessa. Day before yesterday, Antonescu at last changed his mind about asking for German help. The Romanians

cannot get Odessa by themselves.

He wants: a) Troops. b) Air support.

We discuss extent to which request ought to be granted. Hauffe estimates the necessary aid at two Inf. Divs., 3 - 4 med. Arty. Bns., one Obsn. Bn., one Corps Arty. Commander, one Rocket Projector Bn., one Corps Hq. with accessories, in addition to Air support.

The attack must be conducted on the following plan: The northeastern front is to be moved up to the lagoons on the northeast side of the city, while preparations are being made for the attack from the northwest, and then the assault is executed with an overwhelming concentration of all forces.

The attack on the northeastern front cannot be launched before the end of two weeks. German aid would take three weeks to arrive. Accordingly, in the event that this plan should be carried out, the decisive attack could not be launched before the end of four weeks.

We examine our capabilities for meeting the demands. The suggestion is made to use the two Kiev Divs. (99th Lt. Inf. and 71st Inf. Div.) slated to go to France before their transfer..

From OKW: The Fuehrer insists that a) Sixteenth Armd. Div. should help the right wing of Seventeenth Army along before starting to push through to the southeast, and is impatient to know b) why Seventeenth Army's advance is so slow.

The day is dominated by our struggle to get 36th mot. released for von Bock. The Fuehrer has stopped the transfer until such time when von Leeb would no longer need the Div. When called up by ObdH, von Leeb replies after careful examination that he has to hold on to it because the other scheduled reinforcements would arrive too late. We then told OKW that in our opinion temporary help could be had from the Volkhov front pending commitment of the arriving reinforcements, and that withholding the transfer of 36th mot. Div. would be extremely detrimental to von Bock's offensive effort. The question was finally decided in our favor, inasmuch as Sixteenth Army meanwhile saw the situation so greatly improved (the enemy did not attack today) that it even wants to take the offensive in Lake Ladoga sector (!)

Gen. Bogatsch:

- a) Result of Air observation, especially on the eastward evacuation movements, the troop movements away from Center, chiefly in southward direction, and the current supply shipments from the east to the front.
- b) Future organization of the AAA: The AAA units which were assigned to Armd. Commands will be incorporated in the AAA Divisions. A policy matter !

Wagner (Gen Q1):

- a) New boundaries for the Army Gp. Rear Areas. Territory turned over to the Reich Commissars extends to the eastern frontier of Estonia and the Dnjepr.
- b) Relief Train Bavaria requested for Kiev. No!
- c) Situation report on France. On the whole quiet; only a small clique is working against us.
- d) Supply questions, Polish peasants' carts, PW questions.
- e) Next month we can expect only 26 fuel trains daily. Yet we need for South 8 (reported requirements 10), for Center 16 (18 required), North 2, totaling 30 trains daily. At present we are in arrears with deliveries to Center. Stocks are dwindling.
- f) Supply situation: Sixth Army must again be switched back entirely to supply system of AGp. South. Railroad cuts by partisans.
- g) PW organization at Kiev seems to be functioning all right; likewise organization for collecting booty.
- h) Mental institutions in sector of AGp. North. Russians regard the feeble-minded as holy. Killing nevertheless necessary.
- i) Fieldpost: Ban on parcelpost will be lifted end of October (1-kg packages). Collection centers and mail shipments must be guarded against pilfering.

Gen. Keitel (Personnel Div.):

- a) Candidates for vacant Div. Commanders posts.
- b) Replenishing of the Officers pool by convalescents.
- c) Officer casualties. Daily losses in August averaged 188; average throughout Eastern campaign to date is 196.

Gen. Buhle:

- a) The eastern front is 200,000 men short, and there are no replacements, except returnees from hospitals.
- b) Replacement Brigs. now in the Government-General could be used as loss replacements for AGp. North. (Proposal is being taken under consideration).
- c) From the West we could obtain (by drawing again on the Divs. already dented by detachment of Cos.): 10 Bns., 6 of which would go to AGp. North.

QQ IV: New directive for special Staff F.\* -- Current matters of his section. -- Leaving for Sofia and Ankara.

Gen. Oehquist calls before taking off for Finland. We discuss the Demonstration detachments which Finland will send to instruct our troops on winter warfare. Discussion of the situation on our northern front, I charge him with the request to his Hq, to pin down enemy forces, if possible to attack on the Karelian Isthmus, and to disrupt Russian shipping on Lake Ladoga.

von Ziehlberg: We discuss possibilities for relieving C of S. AGp. North. — Relief for C of S in Weige's Corps Hq. (reduced). Miscellaneous current matters.

Evening Gen Qu calls up: Fuel supply to Center is now flowing again. In Guderian's Group, the supply problem will remain difficult. The Divs. must be supplied in the order of their scheduled jump-off.

Evening situation: Important points:

- a) 73rd and 46th Divs. have rushed through the "bottle-neck" at Perekop. Enemy is holding only one more rear position.
- b) Armd. Group 1 is advancing on the whole line. Seventeenth Army has made some progress, but nothing spectacular.
- c) All quiet in AGp. Center.
- d) North: Welcome quiet. Situation in the Ladoga sector stabilized. Nineteenth Armd. Div. will be moved out of the Valdai sector. 26th mot. Div. has finally been released for transfer.
- e) Enemy: 107th Rifle Div. and 102nd Armd. Div. facing Center also have been taken out of the line now. Total of Divs. shifted so far 13, i.e. 8 Divs. from central sector to the wings (our Sixteenth Army, our Armd. Group 2). 2 Divs. just reported, whereabouts still undetermined. 3 Divs. to the rear, as a reserve behind central sector.

27 September 1941 (98th Day)

Situation: Enemy:

- a) Northward movements from Kharkov are not so much in evidence any more, but traffic eastward from Moscow is very heavy.
- b) Evacuation of the Bryansk industries appears to be in progress.
- c) Little movement on the Volkhov front in the Valdai Hills sector, traffic behind the front is in both directions.
- d) Enemy air force has shifted its main concentration northward.

Friendly forces: Our side: The operations of AGp. South are making good progress. Kleist has gained ground, von Stuelpnagel is also getting on again, while von Reichenau is still battling with the remnants of the enemy in the pockets. But

at least the Inf. Divs. assigned to Guderian are getting under way.

Front of AGp. Center is on the whole quiet. Kluge seems to have positive indications that the enemy might try to fall back.

In North, vehement attacks west of the Valdai Hills. Here another new Div. has made its appearance, this one from Vladivostok. On the Volkhov, intensified artillery activity. Situation in the Ladoga sector eased by our Air Force. In the Kronstadt sector heavy attacks of the Russian Eight Army. Thirty-sixth mot. Div. and Nineteenth Armd. Divs. are ~~now~~ moving to join von Bock.

Gen. Dittmar reports on the fighting of his 169th Div. at Salla.

Capt. Loyke (Navy): Reports on the war at sea. The tasks in the Polar Sea and in the Mediterranean are difficult. Submarine warfare would have a good chance, but needs Air Force cooperation.

Col. Heusinger:

- a) Operation in southeastern direction. Missions for Kleist. No diversion to the north.
- b) The Divs. transferred from Sixth Army to Guderian will move at a distance of 3-4 days' marches behind the left wing of the Armd. Divs., and even farther behind on the eastern wing. Nevertheless, operations must start as soon as possible.
- c) The delay in start of Sixth Army will put a gap of 8-10 days' marches between it and Seventeenth Army.\*\* It has taken Sixth Army quite some time indeed to get on the move again.
- d) Odessa: Troops from Kiev must be transferred through Lwow. They will arrive in the Odessa area early Nov. Leave Berdichev 5 Oct. (four trains daily), mot. elements by road. Rail journey 19 days, afterwards 3-4 days by road. One Inf. Div. (99th Lt. Inf. Div.) will have to do. Chevallerie must be in command.

Additions: One Rocket Projector Bn. from the West,  
One Corps Arty. Commander.  
One Bn. 24 cm How., Czech.  
One heavy Bn. (two hv. How. Btrys., one med. Fd. How. Btry.) of Training Rgt. Jueterbog.  
One Btry. 21 cm Guns (244 rounds) from Kiev.  
One Lt. Obsn. Bn. from the West.

Arty. already before Odessa: One med. Fd. How. Bn.  
One 10 cm Gun Btry.

Gen. Bogatsch - Col. Kinzel:

- a) Transport movements of the enemy (map).

Cross-checked tabulations.\*)

b) Caucasus: According to our radio intelligence:

47th Army with two Mt. Divs. (Caucasus).  
44th Army (Baku), one Mt. Div. and one Armd. Regt.  
52nd Army, one Cav. Div. (Teheran)\*\* = three Mt. Divs.  
one Cav. Div., one Armd. Regt.

According to report of Finnish Attaché:

Caucasus five Inf. Divs. and one Cav. Div. )  
Iran three Inf. Divs. ) Nine units.

It would take the British three weeks to reach  
Caucasus, and four weeks to reach the Crimea.

c) Now estimated on the Russian front: 177 Divs. with a  
combined effective combat strength of 83 Divs.

Evening situation: South: The Romanians suffered a setback  
north of Melitopol; on the other fronts they are advancing.  
Center: A new enemy Div. from Center, has appeared at  
Glukhov. Troop concentrations west of Rzhev.  
North: Attack in the Valdai sector repelled. Attack in  
Eight Army sector repelled. Rest of the front quiet.

<u>Casualties:</u>	Wounded	12,413 Off.	376,225 NCO and EM
	Killed	4,784 Off.	106,231 NCO and EM
	<u>Missing</u>	<u>414 Off.</u>	<u>22,766 NCO and EM.</u>
	Total:	17,611 Off.	505,222 NCO and EM

Total casualties of the Ground Forces on Eastern front  
(excl. medical casualties), 22 June - 23 September,  
522,833, i.e. 15.38% of the Eastern Army (3.4 million).

28 September 1941 (99th Day) -- Sunday.

Situation: South: On the Crimea two new units have been identi-  
fied. On the eastern front of Eleventh Army, the Mt. Divs.  
have been committed to eliminate the penetration in the  
Romanian line. In the sector of Seventeenth Army, the  
enemy counter attacks are now shifting from south of Kharkov  
to a little more northward. Sixth Army is at last beginning  
to stir, but regrouping has not yet been started.

Center: In front of Guderian's forces obscure enemy move-  
ments near the front, which might be interpreted as shifting  
and regrouping of forces. In the Glukhov area, a Div. has  
appeared from the central sector of Timoshenko's Army Gp.  
Formation of reserve group west of Rzhev has been confirmed.  
Movements are proceeding according to plan.

North: No important occurrences except in the Ladoga and the Kronstadt sectors, where attacks were repulsed.

Enemy: Various railroad movements, evacuation movements to the Ural, shipments of material from the south (Donets) to the north, and local supply and shifting movements behind the front are continuing. No evidence of large-scale troop movements.

Material: The tanks and trucks sent for rehabilitation are arriving on schedule and go to the Divs.

Supply: Supply facilities in the sector of AGp. Center are being expanded according to plan. Fuel situation of the Army Gp. for the present slightly improved. Partisans repeatedly disrupt railroad lines.

Gen. Fellgiebel:

- a) Signal communications for "Teifun".
- b) Telephone lines issuing from Gomel Hq.
- c) Italian radio traffic is being intercepted by the British. Counter measures.

Lt. Col. Kahlden: (Liaison Off. to Armd. Gp. 2.) Reports in and gets briefing on plans for operation "Teifun".

Lt. Col. Langhauser: (Liaison Off. to Army Gp. North): Report on situation. Specifically, outline of intentions.

At noon, OQu. I is my guest at luncheon to celebrate his birthday.

Afternoon Col. Heusinger: Discussion of pending matters concerning operation "Teifun". -- Inquiry from AGp. South whether assistance by Armd. Group 1 on southern wing of Seventeenth Army could not be dispensed with. (No!)

Memorandum to OKW outlining the tasks which require withdrawal of Divs. from Sixth Army: Odessa, Serbia, France, AGp. North! Railroads can carry only one Div. every two weeks.

It is now up to OKW to decide what it considers the most important task.

An enemy attack has created a tight situation on the eastern front of Eleventh Army. In the Crimea enemy forces are stronger than anticipated.

Conference with ObdH: He informs me of result of his conferences with the Reich Marshal on Church questions. -- Letter from Keitel OKW on the Fuehrer's ideas concerning possible new CGs. for Sixth and Seventeenth Armies which in his opinion do not advance fast enough. He seems to like Kleist's temperament and wants to give him a leading role. -- Situation in France. Preparedness to repel British landing attempts. -- Replacement problem in AGp. North. (Portions of the Replacement Brig. in the Government-General, and individual Bns. from the West and Denmark.)

Evening situation: France: Local British landing attempts in the Bretagne. -- Italian Air Force claims to have inflicted losses on British shipping in the Mediterranean.

In South an attempt is made by committing the Mt. Corps, to recover quickly the ground lost on the northern wing of Eleventh Army. Kleist has made good progress, has routed the enemy forces at Dnyepropetrovsk and taken a bridge over the Samara \*. Seventeenth Army is fighting off a counter attack against its northern flank.

Center: Continues to regroup for the coming offensive. Many local engagements, probably due to the desire on both sides to probe the enemy situation. Opposite the right wing of Ninth Army, the enemy has again withdrawn two Divs., they have apparently been shifted to Lake Ladoga.

North: Relatively quiet day. Enemy attack in the Ladoga sector is repelled.

29 September 1941 (100th Day).

Situation: South: Advances in the Crimea (western isthmus) -- The situation on the eastern front of Eleventh Army has been restored. Kleist has swept the Dnyepropetrovsk bridgehead clear of the enemy, scoring surprise successes against enemy artillery.\*\* Slow Progress by Stuelpnagel who is keeping the covering forces much too close to his flanks, instead of leaving room for maneuvering and echelonning them out. Sixth Army has commenced moving east with its first elements.

Center: Guderian begins to wheel his eastern wing northward for the jump-off, but encounters some resistance which delays the swing. On the rest of this front local fighting which does not affect the over-all situation.

North: Attacks on the Ladoga front repulsed, otherwise relatively quiet.

Enemy: Shipments of materiel to the north and evacuations to the east continue. Local regrouping on the front facing AGp. Center, perhaps also more shifting of units to Timoshenko's southern wing.

Lt. Col. Radke: Religious question. -- Cultural activities of troops. -- Propaganda leaflets dropped by planes.

Major Menzel: Reports on his experiences with Sixteenth Armd. Div. in the advance from Kremenchug.

Qq I: Replacement problems in AGp. North. Including Convalescent Cos. Replacement Transfer Bns. and two Bns. from Denmark, we can now give them 8,500 men. In the three weakest Divisions alone, uncovered shortages total 11,673. Still unallocated one Bn. of the Replacements Brig. from the Government-General (760 men) and the Bns. from the Western Divs. (four coastal Divisions, two Demarcation Line Divs.)

(Gen. Q1): Supply for "Teifun" satisfactory. Everything is ready for the jump-off. Tank replacement have not yet reached all units. Will be sent after them.. Organization of collecting and utilization of indigenous supplies next winter for the troops at the front and in ZT.

Evening situation: No important news.

30 September 1941 (101st Day). Armd. Gp. 2 has launched offensive.

Situation: South: The eastern front of Eleventh Army has been stabilized. The Romanians appear to have suffered heavy losses in that sector. Kleist will probably have to commit additional forces against Pavlograd (so far only a Rifle Regt. of Thirteenth Armd. Div.), in order to help along Stuelpnagel's right wing. Stuelpnagel will have to take care of his own left flank by bringing up Divs. from the rear, and have them follow well off to the north of the flank. Reichenau must see to it that his Army gets moving, at least with Advance Combat Teams.

Center: Due to the commitment to launch his northward drive on 30 Sep., Guderian could not finish cleaning up his east flank around Sumi. This has created the danger of a northward widening of the gap between Seventeenth Army and Guderian's Group, which might offer the enemy an opportunity to take the initiative in that sector. Otherwise no important news. Guderian has started out this morning.

North: Quiet night. Southeast of Lake Ilmen, the usual attack (30th Inf. Div., SS Deathhead). In the Ladoga sector, the front has been further consolidated. Attack in southward direction on both sides of the Neva. Nothing new in Kronstadt sector. Local advances on Oesel.

OKW has now decided which forces of Sixth Army are to be transferred:

- 132nd Div. (of Seventeenth Army) will go to Odessa, by road.
- 71st Inf. Div. will march to Berdichev, to arrive not later than 10 Oct.
- 113th Div. will be ready by 10 Oct., and 24th Inf. Div. a little later for transfer to France.
- 99th Lt. Inf. Div. will move by road ~~march~~ to Romania, leaving open reassignment to Serbia.

212th Inf. Div. now in France, will go to ~~App.~~ North.

Casualties: 22 June - 26 Sep. 1941

Wounded	12,604 Off.	385,326 NCO and EM
Killed	4,864 Off.	108,487 NCO and EM
Missing	416 Off.	23,273 NCO and EM
Total	17,866 Off.	517,086 NCO and EM

Total losses (excl. medical casualty) 534,952, i.e. 15% of the Eastern Army (3,4 million).

Col. von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters. — Relief and travel aid funds. — Attaché questions (Hungary, Sweden).

Col. von Bernuth: Report on inspection tour to southern wing of Sixteenth Army in the Valdai area. My suspicion is confirmed that the morale of the troops had suffered under adverse weather and the hardships imposed by the terrain. The Conditions are indeed difficult but by no means over-severe. Regrouping and exchange of the disrupted Divs. on the Valdai front would be desirable.

Col. Liss: Distribution of British forces in the Near East. It seems that the British moved only two Divs. into Iran. Other elements have been returned from Irak to Palestine again. Accordingly we need not anticipate any British drive to the Caucasus through Iran in the immediate future. On the other hand an attack by strong forces against Cyrenaica must be reckoned with as of Oct.

Col. Heusinger: Order for the assault of Odessa. — Measures for the defense of Atlantic coast of France against a possible British landing in Brittany (attack against the submarine base at Lorient).

Von Sodenstern rang up. Jodl on phone. Evening Keitel ( OKW ) on phone: Von Stuelpnagel's frontal attack is encountering increasingly stiff resistance, due to the introduction of two fresh Caucasian Divs. Heavy losses by our troops ( Ninth Inf. Div. ) and bad weather ( snow and rain ) compel us to attack slowly and methodically.

On von Stuelpnagel's eastern wing, Thirteenth Armd. Div. was to open up the way through Krasnograd by an attack from the south. It came up against new enemy armor (Russian Eighth Armd. Brig. ), beat him, but then was stopped cold by a river with the bridge down. This Div. cannot rush forward any longer with its own means; it would have to bring up bridging equipment and require the support of a mot. Div. If we were to keep it on its present mission, it would be lost for Kleist. And Kleist's drive is at the moment of overwhelming importance, for it is the only means by which the enemy facing von Manstein's eastern front could be disposed of.

The Fuehrer, though reluctantly, approves the transfer of Thirteenth Armd. Div. to Kleist's Group.

Evening situation: South: Situation on the northern wing of Eleventh Army has been stabilized. Kleist has made progress on the eastern bank of the Dniepr. Von Stuelpnagel has advanced on his right wing and now is moving up two Divs. for an attack on his left wing ( 2 Oct. ). — Von Reichenau has launched his attack.

Center: Guderian has opened his offensive before he could wheel over his right wing, which apparently is still locked with a numerically superior enemy and in some places even got in trouble. The attack has gained ground. The enemy was evidently taken by surprise.

The remainder of the front is relatively quiet. The enemy is very alert; many reconnaissance thrusts. On the Smolensk highway, the enemy is bringing up Artillery and apparently also reinforcements or replacements.

North: Apart from local attacks on the Ladoga front and at Leningrad on both sides of the Neva, relatively quiet day. Resistance on Oesel seems to be dying out.

1 October 1941 ( 102nd Day ).

Situation: South: The attack against the western isthmus of the Crimea is making headway. Uncomfortable situation on the eastern front of Eleventh Army. Armd. Gp. 1 is moving up Thirteenth Armd. Div. and is advancing southward on the

east bank of the Dniepr.

The Italian mobile units have mopped up the north bank of the Dniepr.

Seventeenth Army is suffering from the effects of bad weather and reports no progress.

Sixth Army has started its drive, leading with Advance Combat Teams.

Center: Armd. Gp. 2 has had trouble in disengaging its right flank cover from the enemy. One Regt. of 25th mot. Div. was remained pinned down. Furthermore, Ninth Armd. Div. had to be committed again, as a result of which closing up to the north will be delayed. One the whole, however, the break through the enemy, whose strength and disposition was accurately estimated, is making good progress. On the remainder of the front no important development, apart from local enemy thrusts.

North: Only local thrusts in the Ladoga sector. Otherwise unaccountably quiet.

- Gen. Buhle: a) Report on condition of tanks in all Armd. Divs. In Guderian's Gp. about 50%, in the other Armd. Gps. about 70-80%, Hoepfner's Gp. is best off with four Divs. with 100% .
- b) Covering of replacement requirements. — Deactivation of Divs.

Gen. Wagner ( Gen Qu ): Partisan activities. — Fieldpost questions: Investigators must be sent to determine the reasons for delays in the ZI and in transit. — Novgorod mental institutions. — Church bells in France and Belgium ( Questions has been put off, but must not be shelved.) — Basic revision of the legal status of the Military Administration Employees.\* ( Must be opposed ).

Col. Kinzel: Statistical tabulation of strength fluctuations of the Russian Army during the campaign since the beginning of the war.

Col. Popoff ( Bulgaria ) assigned to study our organization, presents himself, accompanied by Col. of the Gen. Staff Knesch,\*\* ( German ).

ObdH sees the Fuehrer: Outcome of discussion:

- a) Odessa operation will be conducted in conformity with our recommendations. The Fuehrer wants to send a letter to Antonescu in this matter.
- b) Worries that AGp. South is pushing Seventeenth and Sixth Armies too far north. Seventeenth Army should stay south of the Donets. Kharkov also could be left to Sixth Army.
- c) Concerned about the weakness of Bock's northern wing.
- d) Makes proposal to rectify the situation on the Ladoga front by an Armd. thrust on Tikhvin, which subsequently would swing around, across the Volkhov river, into the enemy's

rear. ( Out of this world! )

e) Defense of coast.

Evening situation: South: The assault of the Crimea must be discontinued for the moment. The artillery earmarked for the Crimea is needed to restore the situation on the eastern front of Eleventh Army, which has been breached by the enemy. Counterattack is in progress. Kleist is making relatively slow progress. Enemy resistance keeps flaring up. von Stuelpnagel is marking time. Serious difficulties caused by bad weather. Von Reichenau has moved ahead with Advance Combat Teams.

Center: Guderian has broken clean through the enemy line with his central group and has pushed 60 km into enemy territory in a sweeping advance. His right wing, still far behind and under enemy attack, is causing concern.

His left wing has advanced about 20 km.

All quiet on the rest of the front. The enemy is taking his Divs. out of the line for issue of winter clothing.

North: Nothing to report except for local attacks in the La Ladoga sector. The final fighting on Oesel, is very bitter.

"Teifun!" 2 October 1941 (103rd Day). Second, Fourth and Ninth Armies start operations.

Situation: South: Counter attacks are in progress on the eastern front of Second Army. Von Kleist continues his southward attack while covering his eastern flank. Hq. AGp. South intervenes and regroups the front facing northeast: von Reichenau's two northern Corps and von Stuelpnagel's two northern Corps will advance on Kharkov as a new Sixth Army, while Reichenau's southern Corps will turn off to the east and, forming a new Seventeenth Army with von Stuelpnagel's two southern Corps will operate south of the Donets, driving southeast against the industrial region. This reorganisation, which follows a suggestion from the OKH, is very desirable. Let us hope that the unfortunate persistence of bad weather will not unduly slow these movements.

Center: Favored by sparkling fall weather, Army Gp. opened the "Teifun" offensive today at 0530. Whereas Guderian has been gaining ground despite the handicap on his lagging right wing, the attacks of the other Armies and Armd. Gps. by noon had carried the advances only between 6 to 12 km. In some sectors, the enemy is retreating in great disorder.

North: No change. The Spanish Division and 227th Division transferred from France are arriving in AGp. North.

Noon: Bulgarian Chief of Operations Col. Popoff at luncheon with Heusinger, Buhle, Kinzel, Count Stauffenberg, Mertz von Quirnheim and the German representative at the Bulgarian Gen. Staff, Col. Knesch.

Afternoon: Count Lehndorf calls, asking for an interview on behalf of Goerdeler.\* I say no. Discuss the political situation.

Col. Schroeder reports air observations. Details without broader significance. No flying weather today.

Gen. Wagner:

- a) PW matters. Screening out of dangerous elements by Himmler impracticable in the combat zone; possible only in the rear, and, then probably best under the responsibility of OKW.
- b) Medical matters: Specialists for artificial limbs, needed for manufacture of over 40,000 artificial limbs. Only 350 specialists on the job now.

Evacuation of wounded:

25,797 by sea from AGp. North.

150,280 by hospital trains.

19,310 by returning freight trains.

153,000 by improvised trains.

18,000 by plane.

1,211 by GHq courier planes.

Over 368,000.

At the moment we have in service 82 hospital trains (as against 260 in the last war, which, however, had only half the capacity of present-day trains).

Hospital beds available in the ZI total 380,000 (1917: 555,000). Ratio 1:1,5

Evening Situation: South: In the Crimea no change; troops for further attacks have yet to be brought up. — The crisis on the eastern front of Eleventh Army has been resolved. In Seventeenth Army, no important changes. Only minor advances in all sectors (left wing). — Sixth Army's Advance Combat Teams have taken over from Guderian's southern wing.

Center: "Teifun" has started with smashing force and is making excellent progress. Guderian feels sure he has broken clean through the enemy line. His center is rolling against Orel.

Second Army had to do some hard fighting to get across the Desna. It has forced the crossing and thrown back the enemy about 5 km.

Armd. Gp. 4 has broken through, scattered the enemy and carried the advance about 15 km into enemy territory. Fourth Army is advancing irresistibly along its entire front, averaging about 6 - 12 km.

Hoth and Ninth Army have been getting on very well, advancing as much as 20 km in the day. Just as on 22 June, the opinion of the commanders is divided on the question as to whether or not the enemy had orders to hold the line. The former can be true only where rear positions were found, i.e., in the zones of attack of Fourth and Ninth Armies. Elsewhere, we may presume, the enemy tried to make a stand, was quickly overrun by reason of his greatly reduced fighting effectiveness and, while he is now running away in some sectors, certainly is not executing a planned withdrawal. The enemy elements which remained behind in the big forest areas between our attacking wedges will soon prove that the enemy has not taken back his front line.

North: Attack southeast of Lake Ilmen (30th Inf. Div.). Otherwise fairly quiet day. PWs state that the enemy on the Ladoga front is regrouping and moving replacements into the line before resuming the attack.

3 October 1941 (104th Day).

Situation: South: Nothing new. It might be a good thing if Kleist were not to waste too much time on enemy elements still resisting on the eastern bank of the Dniepr, and instead widened his front a little, bringing up the Italians behind his right wing to mop up the eastern bank of the Dniepr.

Regrouping of Sixth and Seventeenth Army has been initiated. The method chosen by Army Gp., to order the two left-wing Corps of Seventeenth Army to strike northeast, under its direct control for the time being, is an indication of tensions within Army Gr.

Center: No important news. Some of the advances are even bigger than we believed yesterday. The attack by 255th Div. (XXVII Corps) turns out to be a costly and ineffectual spurt in advance of schedule probably prompted by the ambition of the CG, Waeger.

On Hoth's northern wing there are complaints about the deficient mobility of First Armd. Div. Small wonder, for the Div. comes straight from the battle of Leningrad, without a pause for rest and refitting. It will probably be the same story with Nineteenth and Twentieth Armd. Divs.

North: No new developments at the front. The arrival of the Spanish Div. and 227th Divs. is a little delayed by railroad disruption (partisans). The arrival of new forces makes Army Gp. uncertain again about its operational program. There is no reason whatever to make any changes in the program ordered.

Ambassador Ritter tries to explain his conversation with Alfieri and to prove that there could not have been any indiscretion on the part of the Foreign Office.

Col. Housinger:

- a) Acceptance of the proffered Hungarian occupation troops. Withdrawal of Hungarian Armd. units.
- b) Preparatory work for firm planning of the assault of Odessa.
- c) ObdH worries that Armd. Gp. 4 might be reaching out too far to the east. I do not share his anxiety.

Col. Ochsner reports on practical experiences with the Rocket projector units and on preparations for their commitment in operation "Teifun".

Col. von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters. — work program of the Military Science section.

Evening situation: Very gratifying progress of Kleist's Group. — Advances on the left wing of Seventeenth Army, where the enemy seems so weak that he gives way before the rush of even small forces. — Advance Combat Teams arrive and take over from the pinned down right wing of Guderian's Group.

The "Teifun" front is making cheering progress. Guderian has reached Orel. Enemy resistance has been broken on the entire front, except in the sector of Second Army. The Armd. Divs. have carried their penetrations as far as 50 km, the Inf. Divs. theirs as far as 40 km into enemy territory. The enemy is hanging on and defending himself as well as he can. Even reserves have been brought forward to the front.\* Nowhere are there any signs of deliberate disengagement.

The southern Assault Gp. has broken through the enemy positions, while the northern Group has overrun the advance positions and is now approaching the big continuous line of enemy positions.

North: The heavy attack against Eighth Armd. Div. on the Ladoga front as well as the attacks from both east and west against our troops along the coast of the Gulf of Finland, were repelled.

4 October 1941 (105th Day).

Casualties: 22 June - 30 Sep., 1941.

Wounded: 12,886 Off. 396,761 NCO and EM.

Killed: 4,926 Off. 111,982 NCO and EM.

Missing: 423 Off. 24,061 NCO and EM.  
Total: 18,235 Off. 532,804 NCO and EM.

Total losses from 22 June to 30 Sep., 1941: 551,039, i.e. 16.20% of the Eastern Army at an average actual strength of 3.4 Million.

Situation: The operation in the South is making fine progress. Kleist with three Armd. Divs. in line has now got really going east of the Dniepr. Following them on the wings is 4th SS Div. The Hungarians are being moved up across the Dniepr. Seventeenth Army is regrouping. Sixth Army northward of Seventeenth, is closing up to the east. CG Seventeenth Army, von Stuelpnagel, has reported sick. This illness is the result of the pressure brought to bear on him because of his timid leadership. Intervention by Hq Army Group a few days ago in taking the command of his northern wing out of his hands and so getting the movement under way again, probably is as much a cause of this illness as is the letter from ObdH.

Operation "Teifun" is developing on a truly classic pattern. Guderian has reached Mtsensk beyond Orel and is now pushing into completely empty space. Hoepfner has broken through the enemy positions and has reached Mozhaisk. Hoth has pushed to Kholm (on the upper Dniepr) and has gained elbow room to the north as far as Byeloi. The enemy is holding all parts of the front not under direct attack, a policy that bodes well for the encirclement of pockets.

In AGp. North. An attack in the sector of Schmidt's Corps has been repelled. Everywhere else unusual quiet, most surprising in the Valdai/Rzhev area.

The day receives its note from the 60th birthday of ObdH. At 1200 reception, with presentation of gifts of the army and of the OKH. Afterwards luncheon (Lutze).\*

In the afternoon the Fuehrer calls and has tea with us. In the ensuing discussion of the military situation with the Fuehrer, the following points are developed:

- a) Drive by Guderian on Moscow, through Tula.
- b) Liquidation of the enemy in the Ladoga sector by a drive on Tikhvin.

Evening 2200 - 2230 Two telephone talks with Field Marshal von Bock. I discuss with him a) the possibility of a drive by Guderian on Tula, considering the problem of supply. b) The situation on his extreme southern wing.

On a) He issues an order to Guderian directing him to seize the road Orel - Bryansk, to secure his line of communications, and to capture Mtsensk and the crossing at Byelev. For the rest he would have to undertake all preparations enabling him to continue his advance on both banks of the Oka river.

On b) Army Gp. is perfectly aware that any separation of the wings of the two Army Gps. would benefit the enemy group at Sumi, which so would be left undisturbed, with the result that each Army Gp. would have to see to the protection of its flank against that enemy.

5 October 1941 — Sunday — (106th Day).

Situation: South: Kleist is driving in a southeastern direction. Manstein shifts his weight to the northern wing in order to throw the withdrawing enemy into the Sea of Azov. Seventeenth Army is preparing for an attack in a southeastern direction on 6 October. Sixth Army is closing up towards the northern wing of Seventeenth Army.

The battle of AGp. Center continues along its truly classic course. Guderian is on the Orel - Bryansk highway. Enemy forces committed against his left wing have been beaten back and will eventually be encircled together with the rest. Second Army is advancing rapidly on its northern wing, meeting almost no resistance. Hoepfner is driving on Vyazma, turning the big marshes to the west and east. His right wing, followed by the Armd. Corps of the reserve, which has not been committed so far, has no enemy before it any longer.

Fourth Army is swinging north. Enemy resistance varies according to locality and unit. It is quite evident that the enemy wants to make a stand but cannot. Ninth Army has harder going. Armd. Gp. 3, after being held up by lack of fuel, will not start moving again until this afternoon. The Infantry is closing up with magnificent speed, so that we may expect that enemy resistance which is partly stubborn and evidently skilfully directed, will soon be broken. From the front facing the northern wing of Ninth Army, which does not participate in the attack, the enemy is drawing all available forces to the south, against the northern wing of the offensive.

In AGp. North the attack against the Ladoga front planned for 6 Oct. has been called off by OKH and an order has been issued to take out the Armd. Divs., which would needlessly burn themselves out in that terrain. The attack will be launched with Inf. as soon as sufficient strength has been built up with the newly arrived Divs. Meanwhile the Armd. Divs. will rest and refit.

Gen. Brand reports on the artillery situation before Leningrad. The enemy has 16 Btrys. in Leningrad, about 12 on the Kronstadt front. Our Artillery is by far superior, at least numerically. What we lack is unified command and observation.

Col. von Bernuth : Talk about the inter training program, including Gen. Staff training.

Gen. Buhle :

- a) Loss replacements : Against a total of 530,000 casualties, only 370,000 replacements have been ordered, leaving 74,000 trained men still available. Additionally, about 70,000 convalescents become available each month.
- b) Loss replacements for AGp. North : Nine Replacement Transfer Bns., one Bn. of the Replacement Brig., two Bns. from Denmark ( 228th Div.), and sixteen convalescent Cos. of 250 each, totaling 15,000, are en route to the front. Six more Replacement Transfer Bns. of 1,000 each will follow. (This makes a grand total of 21,000 replacements for 60,000 casualties.)
- c) Departures to other fronts : One Hv. Rocket Projector Co. for Falkenhorst (Ribachi Peninsula). " Do " Rocket Projector Co. to Africa. Two Cos. of Hv. Inf. Guns SPM to Africa.
- d) Reich Labor Service \_ will be recalled from the East for incorporation in the Replacement Army, starting with Rear Areas, as of 15 Oct. Age group 1922 will then be called up for training at different dates, in three instalments, and after four months of training will accordingly become available for integration in the Army in three instalments, i.e. on 1 Feb., 1 Apr. and early May, 1942.
- e) Precautionary measures BdE : The "Feuerzauber " \* Divs. made up of cadre Cos., (Training personnel ) of the Replacement Army. — 1.7 million trained men on occupational deferment. A plan is being prepared for their rapid mobilization; \*\* would give us five Divs.

Col. Liss Britain has 47 Divs. in the homeland, and is activating nine to eleven more. Since, according to their own statement, they would need no more than 45 Divs. in the homeland in order to repel even the heaviest possible attacks, they have about 12 Divs. too many at home. What is the purpose ?

Three Divs. are believed moving to the Meditarranean : One through the Mediterranean, one round the Cape, which arrived at Aden in September, and another round the Cape, which may arrive in October.

Egypt and North Africa : Apart from the forces in Tobruk, the following units are assumed to be stationed in Egypt : eight Inf. Divs., two Armd. Divs., and the occupation troops. In addition, GHq troops and 5 GHq Armd. Bns. This gives a possible strength of  
630 " cruiser " type tanks  
250 Inf. tanks  
775 light tanks and Recon. cars.

That makes over 1650 tanks. Possibly more "GHq Armd. Bns." will be added. The British garrisons at Giarabuk and Siwa have been reinforced. Such strength coupled with the preparations for an offensive by the British constitutes a definite threat to Rommel.

Gen. Oehquist : a)

- a) Military situation on the Finnish front very satisfactory. Only weak Finnish forces left on the Karelian Isthmus, but they could join in the attack when we shall have crossed the Neva.
- b) Finnish assistance in our training program for winter warfare.

Gen. Bogatsch : Railroad movements from the north on Moscow, from Valdai on Moscow, from Rzhev and Vyazma on Kaluga. Additionally, the usual evacuation traffic from the Donets basin and Caucasia.

6 October 1941 ( 107th Day ).

Situation : The offensive is developing to our full satisfaction.

South : The break through of Kleist's Panzer Army\* in the direction of Mariupol has gained ground so quickly that we may expect sizeable elements of that enemy to be cut off by tomorrow. On the other hand the rear and the mobile elements of the enemy fighting Eleventh Army around Melitopol will by that time have been pulled back toward Rostov.

Seventeenth Army has launched its attack to the southeast with initial successes that afford the southern wing of the Army a chance to overtake the pursued enemy.

Sixth Army is advancing on a wide front from the west against the lines Akhtirka-Sumi. The enemy on this front appears to be capable of serious resistance only in a few places.

Center ; Guderian's Panzer Army\*\* has come under heavy attack from the northeast on its way from Orel to Tula (Fourth Armd. Div.). Elsewhere on its right flank the enemy has remained curiously quiet, and so it was possible to bring up the lagging elements\*\*\* of the right wing and to move the Inf. Divs. to the right wing in the direction of Rylsk.

Seventeenth Armd. Div. has succeeded in isolating Bryansk from the east. Although the Div. has no contact yet with Second Army converging toward it from the west, we can be sure that the capture of Bryansk will not only within a short time secure for Guderian the essential supply road Roslavl - Bryansk - Orel, but also cause the enemy facing Second Army and First Cav. Div., who is already crumbling at some points, to split in two and so make it all the

easier for us to liquidate him in local pockets.

Fourth Army and Armd. Gp. 4 \* is swinging northward unchecked. Signs of enemy demoralization. Hoepfner's right wing and the left wing of Second Army have no major enemy forces in front of them and are advancing on and beyond Yukhnov.

Ninth Army and Armd. Sp. 3 \*\* are now clean through the second line of enemy positions and have reached the motor highway also north of Vyazma, (Seventh Armd. Div.) Ninth Army has gained elbow room also toward Byeloi. All in all, it can be said, that the battle of encirclement conducted by AGp. Center is approaching its climax, i.e. the closing of the pocket.

North : In the Valdai hills sector, only minor local attacks. The Lodoga front is quiet on the whole. On the coast between the Leningrad and Kronstadt fronts, another landing attempt was frustrated. Cesel now completely in our hands.

Gen. Paulus ( OQu I )

- a) Anti-tank defense material of the German Africa Corps.
- b) Planning data for operations in Caucasus (Caucasus Study ).

Gen. Mueller (z.b.V.):

- a) Reports on tour to France and Belgium to discuss the measures to be taken against trouble-making elements of the population.
- b) Administration of justice and criminal statistics.

Col. Heusinger : Report on conference of ObdH with Fuehrer. Drive by Guderian's Panzer Army from Orel on Moscow. Advance of elements of Hoepfner's group and of Second Army on Kaluga. Shifting of forces on Bock's front in favor of the enveloping wings, to give them maximum strength. The question of Kursk seems not to have been discussed in any detail. It will probably become acute later on.

Gen. Toussaint, the newly appointed Commander of Prague, formerly Attaché at Budapest, reports out.

Gen. Bogatsch reports on air observation: Enemy movements on Orel against Guderian's right shoulder; movements from the west on Kaluga ( possibly retreat to the east ). Loading of troops east and northeast of Vyazma. Railroad movements from the Rzhev area to the south, and from Valdai to the southeast continue, as do the railroad movements on Moscow from the north.

Evening situation brings only confirmations of the good news of the day.

7 October 1941 ( 108th Day ).

ObdH and Heusinger visit Army Group Center to discuss further plans.

Situation : South: First Panzer Army has overtaken and cut off the enemy opposite the eastern front of Eleventh Army. Some of the enemy have escaped in the direction of Mariupol. Weak enemy forces standing between First Panzer Army and Seventeenth Army are falling back on Stalino. Seventeenth Army has continued its attack to the southeast with good success. The advance elements of Sixth Army are rapidly gaining ground in the direction of Kharkov. The left wing of the Army apparently will also catch the enemy Group Sumi; which is moving away in southeastward direction.

Center: Second Panzer Army is hampered in its movements by bad weather. On its southern wing it will have to push one Inf. Corps on Kursk ( but not farther for the time being.) With XXIV Corps it is now advancing on the Tula axis. Capture of Bryansk and encircling of the enemy elements opposite Second Army from the east may yet give them a good deal of trouble.

Second Army will assume control of all units committed for the encirclement of the enemy at Bryansk, with the exception of Armor.

Fourth Army has no more major enemy forces before its right wing, which has been reinforced by the left wing of Second Army. This Group, which will be strengthened by a strong Armd. Combat Team from the reserve Corps of Hoepfner's Group, will move on Kaluga.

Hoepfner linked up with Hoth at Vyazma this morning. A brilliant success after a five-day battle. Next thing to be done is to push the Inf. of Fourth Army sharply on Vyazma to free Hoepfner at the earliest for the drive against the southeastern front of Moscow.

Ninth Army has gained elbow room in the direction of Rzhev (Byeloi) and is already covering its wing swinging on Vyazma with Inf. both northeast and east. This is a magnificent feat of the troops and a demonstration of sure leadership.

North: No important events. Toward evening it becomes apparent that the enemy is falling back before the northern wing of Ninth Army and II Corps. Presumably he is retreating to the defense line Rzhev - Valdai lake district.

von Ziehlberg reports on current Gen. Staff personnel matters.-- Decorations.

Mayer-Ricks; C of S of Staff Felmy, reports on tasks of his organization. Situation in Greece not very cheering.

Gen. Jacob reports on Oesel, on the operation against Dagoe, and on road construction problems in the area of AGP. North.

Gen. Wagner, with Altenstadt : Distribution of forces in the  
AGp. Rear Areas. Supreme Command plans to convert  
Military Administration France into a Reich Commissariat.

Gen. Bogatsch : Air observation. The Air Force has no  
important additions to offer to the findings of ground  
reconnaissance; unfavorable weather.

Col. Heusinger reports on the outcome of the conference at  
Hq. AGp. Center. General agreement of views.

8 October 1941 (109th Day)

Situation in the morning: No important changes since last night:

South has formed and sealed the pocket west of Mariupol. However, considerable elements have apparently escaped to the east. Seventeenth and Sixth Armies are advancing slowly on bad roads.

Center: Still no pressure on Guderian's eastern flank. The western flank is under attack, but is covered. Advance beyond the Orel-Bryansk highway is delayed by bad weather, but is being prepared. North of the highway, enemy elements are retreating eastward and northeastward. Here, then, is the hole in the big encircling system.

Pocket at Vyazma is ringed and secured against attacks from the outside. Strong elements of the right wing of Fourth Army have already made great strides in the direction of Kaluga.

Ninth Army is covering itself with comfortably strong forces in the direction of Rzhov and to the east, so that the danger of any attack on the flanks and into the rear is now dispelled.

North: No change.

Enemy: Bad weather hampers air reconnaissance. Conclusive reports only from the northern wing of Ninth Army, where the enemy seems to be retreating on Rzhov. Also signs of enemy disengagement in the Ladoga sector.

Casualties: 22 June - 3 October 1941.

Wounded: 13,236 Off. 407,234 NCO and EM

Killed : 5,004 Off. 114,460 NCO and EM

Missing: 425 Off. 24,368 NCO and EM

Total: 18,665 Off. 546,062 NCO and EM.

Total losses of the Ground Forces in the Eastern operations (excl. medical casualties): 564,727, i.e. 16.61 % of the Eastern Army (3.4 million).

Callers: Capt. Klemert (Op.Sec.), Gen. Oehquist (Iron Cross Second Class), Col. Mierzinsky (Section Foreign Armies East) transferring to a field command, von Pappenheim, new Attaché in Hungary, receives briefing on his mission.

Gen. Fellgiebel: Telephone trunk lines in current operations. — Plans for next moves in the operation. — Radio intelligence to cover partisan activities.

Message: Mariupol taken by SS Adolf Hitler in direct assault (noon).

Gen. von Waldau:

- a) Operational aircraft (in all theaters of operations):

650 Bombers  
290 Divebombers  
150 Night Fighters  
90 Long-range Fighters  
780 Fighters.

- b) Withdrawn to the ZI or in process of rehabilitation:  
14 %. (Personnel are given four weeks' leave.)

- c) After conclusion of operations in the East it is intended to leave in the theater the following forces under two Air Fleets: \*

Air Fleet I: Leningrad 2 Bomber Gruppen \*\*  
3 Fighter Gruppen  
1 Rcn. Staffel \*\*\*  
1 AA Regt.

Moscow 3 Bomber Gruppen  
4 Fighter Gruppen  
1 Rcn. Staffel  
2 AA Regts.

Air Fleet IV: 3 Bomber Gruppen  
3½ Fighter Gruppen  
1 Rcn. Staffel  
2 AA Regts.  
3 Divebomber Gruppen.

- d) New development in night pursuit. Systems "Hell" and "Dunkel". #

e) Enemy in sector of AGp. North 99 Fighters  
21 Bombers  
1 Transport

Center 677 Fighters  
168 Bombers  
77 Transports, etc.

South 417 Fighters  
16 Bombers  
252 Transports, etc.

Col. von Mellenthin:

- a) Visiting assignments of Turkish, Bulgarian and Portuguese officers to the Eastern front.
- b) Information for Armies friendly Powers through Attaché Section. Most favored treatment for Italians, others in varying degrees.
- c) I receive the Italian Attaché, General Marras. He wants

wooden barracks, field kitchens, boots etc. for his Divs.

Evening Situation:

South: Mariupol has been taken.

Center: The pressure of the encircled enemy is beginning to become uncomfortable for Guderian's western flank. In the area west of Kaluga and Vyazma, everything is advancing well and according to plan. Armd. Gp. 3 and Ninth Army can start regrouping for the northward attack, with right wing on Kalinin.

AGp. North has received orders to undertake preparations for an attack beyond the Volkhov front, in the direction of Borovich, and to regroup accordingly.

The enemy facing the northern wing of Ninth Army and the southern wing of Sixteenth Army seems to be withdrawing behind the prepared position Rzhev - Valdai lakes. We cannot quite see how he expects in this line to establish contact with the Moscow defense position.

He will try to bring some more troops to Moscow, mainly from the north. But these hastily gathered forces will be hardly a match for the powerful threat of our forces and so, with reasonably good direction of battle and moderately good weather, we cannot but succeed in encircling Moscow.

South of this encircling group we will then have an area not occupied by our forces extending down to the sector of Sixth Army. Second Army, slightly echeloned to Sixth Army and Second Panzer Army, could move into that area toward the beginning of winter.

9 October 1941 (110th Day).

Situation:

AGp. South: We must exploit the unexpectedly swift capture of Mariupol by SS Adolf Hitler, by pushing through as quickly as possible to Rostov and perhaps even crossing the Sea of Azov. The Italian Divs. unfortunately are so ineffectual that they can be employed for nothing more than passive flank cover behind rivers, but not for broadening the attacking front of the Panzer Army. The attack by Seventeenth Army to the southeast is making good progress. The Army should move rather more southeastward than to the east. Right wing must drive on Stalino! Sixth Army is making good headway in rapid marches. Only isolated enemy groups are offering resistance. Evidently the enemy is in no position to block us everywhere in the vast battle zone.

AGp. Center: Guderian is feeling the increasing pressure on his western flank, He will have to drop his objections for the time and use his tanks against this threat, even though it may delay the next move beyond Orel, against Tula. The eastern flank is free of enemy pressure! The encircling battle at Vyazma is proceeding in positively classic fashion. Outside that battle area the right wing of Fourth Army is pushing on to Kaluga, and the northern wing of Ninth Army is regrouping for the attack against Rzhev.

AGp. North: No important changes in the situation. Army Gp. has not begun to feel anything yet of the anticipated introduction of enemy forces from the Ladoga sector.

Major Fistorius reports on defense measures in the English Channel Islands. Defense is strong, but could stand improvement by addition of some Btrys. and by denser minefields.

Gen. Buhle:

a) Tabulation on employment of captured enemy tanks as of 8 Oct. 1941:

Russia: AGp. South: 16. In Oct. 5 more, totaling 21.  
AGp. Center: 42. In Oct. and November 20 more,  
Totaling 62.

AGp. North: 23. In Oct. 5 more, totaling 28.  
After re-equipping 100th and 107th Brigs.,  
548 more tanks will be available for employment in Rear Areas.

Crete: In addition to a German Armd. Co., 17 captured enemy tanks.

Serbia: 184 tanks; by December 194 more tanks. will have arrived, bringing the total to 378.

France: For coast defense and policing of the interior, 140 tanks.

Norway: 100 tanks.

b) Strengthening of AT defense in North-Africa.

c) Wehrmacht Headquarters for the Wehrmacht-Befehlshaber in the East.

d) Taken under consideration for conversion to Light Divs.\* Seventh, Eighth, 31st, Ninth, Fifth or 35th Divs. Four light Divs. are required.

Lt. Col. Radke: a) Fight in other countries for "Freedom of Religion".

b) Situation and events in Bohemia and Moravia.

c) Winter provisions.

- d) Leaflets.
- e) Benefits for disabled soldiers \*
- f) Jassy incident (Jewish pogrom).
- g) Notification of next of kin of soldiers killed in action.
- h) Counter-Intelligence matters.

Von Böck (on phone): "Special Communiqué" \*\* — Next moves in the operation: I request that he push a strong right wing on Kalinin. — Bad roads !

Gen. Wagner (Gen. Qu).

- a) Economic situation in the ZI: Bottlenecks: Food, Labor, fuel.
- b) Rubber stocks at present rate of consumption will last to March.
- c) Fuel: Monthly requirements 90 000\*\*\*for all fronts exclusive of operations and training. Thomas thinks he can supply 87,000.
- d) Organization of the economy east of the Dniepr after change to static front (winter).
- e) Winter clothing and supply of winter needs.
- f) Clothing: This year the entire German Army can be issued another set of clothing. Thereafter stocks will be getting short.
- g) FWS: According to our experience at Kiev we need one Division to guard and ship off 20,000 prisoners. ¶)
- h) Collection of booty very difficult. Vast battlefields, insufficient personnel.

Col. von Mellenthin: Visiting assignments to the Army for foreign military personnel. — Recognition for Catlos (Slovakia). Report on Slovakia (economic situation, troop casualties, reported dropping of Russian parachutists). — Situation at Zagreb.

Gen. Brand, Col. Heusinger:

- a) Employment of the Artillery Demonstration unit at Odessa.
- b) Expenditure of heavy-caliber ammunition at Leningrad.

Gen. Bogatsch: Air reconnaissance : ; No movements of reserves. Very heavy transport movements (supply or evacuation) from the south toward Moscow.

Col. Kinzel: Report on distribution of enemy strength on the southern wing. Re-location of Russian industries.

Evening situation: New substantial advances by Seventeenth Army. Guderian has had to give increased attention to fighting off enemy pressure from the west. Fourth Army advancing south of the Vyazma pocket was making good ground gains but in the evening came up against enemy resistance. North of the Vyazma pocket regrouping has been instituted for an advance on Kalinin with a strong right wing. No important developments in AGP. North; only local attacks.

10 October (111th Day) - 3 November 1941  
(135th Day).

Was thrown by thoroughbred stallion \* on 10 Oct. Result: serious dislocation of right collarbone. Transfer to Reserve Hospital Loetzen (Dept. II at Fort Boyen)\*\*. Chief Surgeon, Capt. Dr. Ullrich (MG), surgeon attending me Capt. Professor Dr. Wustmann, (Chief of Koenigsberg Hospital), Nurse Erna Liesau.

Plaster cast applied after reduction of the joint. Right arm immobilized against the body, making writing impossible. 10 - 13 Oct. in Hospital. Gen. Staff. Section Chiefs kept coming to discuss the most important matters. Returned to duty in GHQ on 14 Oct., but writing still impossible. Right arm remained in cast until 21 Oct., when a plaster dressing immobilizing alone the collarbone was applied, allowing a small degree of freedom to my right forearm. The dressing gets in the way, but I can carry on with my work.

During that period operations proceeded according to plan. Details may be gathered from the estimates of the enemy situation, the daily intention reports of the Army Gps and the operational orders. On 3 Nov. over all situation is as follows: Apart from the gratifying successes of Eleventh Army in the Crimea and some, but very slow, advances of Sixteenth Army toward Tihvin, the entire pursuit operation following the twin battle of Bryansk - Vyazma has been mired in bad fall weather.

Panzer Army Kleist is approaching the lower Don and has gradually mastered its supply problems to a point where it can give attention to mopping up the north bank of the Don. The northern wing is slowly advancing through the Donets basin, which the enemy has evacuated; the scorched earth policy has been widely applied here, and the population probably will soon be faced with a serious food problem.

Seventeenth Army: The southern wing is painfully inching its way southeastward along the southern bank of the Donets. The northern wing is stuck.

Sixth Army has taken Kharkov and Belopole, but beyond that line it can advance only with small detachments. Here the difficulties of supply and movement have so reduced

the fighting spirit behind the drive that even Hq AGp. South has caught that pessimism. Some energetic "persuading"\* would be in order to knock the lead out of them.

In AGp. Center, Second Army (reinforced by Armor and mot. units) is closing up toward Kursk with the object of continuing advance on Voronezh. That is pure theory. The grim reality is that the troops are stuck in the mud and will be lucky indeed if they can get enough prime movers through to get their food.

Guderian's Panzer Army has slowly and painfully worked its way close to Tula (through Orël).

Fourth Army in conjunction with Armd. Gr. Hoepfner has breached the Moscow defense position all the way from the Oka river, near Kaluga, to Mozhaisk. But to the north, the planned thrust of Armd. Corps Reinhardt on Klin had to be abandoned as a result of adverse ground conditions.

Ninth Army, after some days of critical fighting, has straightened out the situation around Kalinin and built up a sufficiently strong front facing north.

In AGp. North, Sixteenth Army by local attacks has pinned down the enemy in the Valdai Hills sector and is slowly pushing on the Tikhvin. On the rest of the front no important changes.

The problem of supply dominates the situation. The supply position is positively bad in Sixth Army, but this is a sector where it is not quite so serious, from the operational point of view, if the advance is slowed down or even falls behind that of the other groups. The position is fair in Fourth Army and Armd. Gp. Hoepfner despite the unbelievable difficulties on the supply routes through Yukhnov and Vyazma. On the other hand, it is extremely difficult north of the Moscow motor highway, so that it appears doubtful that we could carry out the planned thrust south of the Volga reservoir, on the axis Klin - Ribinsk.

The enemy, as was to be expected after the Kiev battle, was not able to defend the Ukraine with a continuous front. To gain time, he is conducting a retrograde defensive. For my part I believe that he is not in a position to hold more than the Moscow region (Vologda, Moscow, Tambov) and the Caucasus; he will have to abandon the intervening country which, on the east, is bordered only by the steppes east of the Volga. Of course, he will not do this simply by marching off, the more so since he is just as much restricted in his movements as we are. However that may be, extensive evacuation movements from the Caucasus have been observed. It is hard to say as yet how he will react in the Leningrad area.

I believe that he is evacuating also that sector and withdrawing toward Ribinsk, in order to concentrate his entire strength in the Moscow bird's head, which is the terminal point of all railroad lines from Asia. He will try to conserve these forces and so preserve the possibility to take the offensive again in 1942, or even later, with his strength regenerated through the resources of the Ural. Meanwhile the Caucasus could be left to its natural defenses and the help of the British and Americans.

Organization: All preparations have been made for the conversion

of Eighth, 28th and Fifth Divs., to Mt. Divs., and of the Cav. Div. to an Armd. Div. They will be taken back into the ZI. Div. Chevallerie (99th) goes to Norway, two Divs. from France will go to AGp. North, in exchange for Eastern Divs.

4 November 1941 (136th Day)

Situation: No important changes.

South: Eleventh Army continues its advance although the mountainous terrain around Sevastopol is affording the enemy greater opportunities for resistance.

First Panzer Army wants to continue the attack against the lower Don with its southern wing tomorrow.

The southern wing of Seventeenth Army (south of the Don) is advancing slowly against light enemy resistance.

Sixth Army is stuck in the mud and has lost contact with the enemy.

In Center, no important changes. Also Guderian's right wing has lost contact with the enemy.

In North, where violent sorties out of Leningrad were repelled yesterday, no important changes. The Field Command appears to be firmly convinced that Tikhvin will be captured soon.

Viewed as a whole the situation is determined by railroad capacity and flow of supplies. There is no point in pushing operations outward before we have not, step by step, established a solid foundation for them. Failing to do that inevitably would bring fatal reverses down upon us.

The northern wing of AGp. South and the southern wing of AGp. Center have lost contact with the enemy so that we can base the present estimate of the enemy situation only on a few broad facts, i.e. that the enemy is hanging on to the lower Don, that he is stiffening his opposition around Moscow and that he is still in evidence also in the northern sector of the front. According to press and radio reports the Russians seem to be having a bad time with their communications and their many withdrawals and evacuations. Also the Russian Government has gone from Moscow to Kazan on the Volga, a move that certainly is not going to further unity of Russian military command. In this light we may well expect enemy measures to be slow in reacting and at times even to be conflicting.

Lt. Col. von Beguelin reports as Chief Inland \* in OKW. We discuss PW questions and morale in the Army (religious question).

Phonetalk with von Greiffenberg on desirability of intensifying reconnaissance on the east flank of Sixth Army.

Col. Steinmetz (C of S, VIII Corps) calls en route.

Visit to Loetzen Hospital Removal of the plaster dressing shows satisfactory recovery. Afterwards Professor Dr. Wustmann installs an orthopedic exercising machine for me in Infirmary building. Have a chat over coffee.

ObdH back from visit to AGp. South. Is worried about Rundstedt's health. Problems imposed by fall weather. Despite the overwhelming difficulties of movement we must find means to occupy the areas evacuated by the enemy.

Evening Situation: Further advances in the Crimea. We have confirmation that the enemy opposite Sixth Army and on the flank of Guderian's Group is systematically evacuating the area, certainly as far as the Don, perhaps even farther. Otherwise no important new developments.

5 November 1941 (137th Day)

Situation: Good progress in the Crimea (Eleventh Army), where our vigorous pursuit apparently has broken up the enemy and barred the escape route to Kerch. Isolated elements are roaming the mountains, others are trying to get away through Sevastopol. First Panzer Army (Kleist) also has made good progress north of Rostov.

Advances reported by AGp. North in the direction of Tikhvin and on the Volkhov (I Corps).

In the other sectors of the front no major movements, as everything is immobilized by mud. Concentration of enemy air power around Moscow is causing trouble.

Col. Baentsch reports on supply situation in AGp. North. Situation partly very difficult. Our troops live from hand to mouth (potatoes, horse meat). Situation cannot be expected to improve before frost sets in. Then we would need 5 - 10 days catch up.

Gen. Buhle:

- a) Replacement situation. To cover our replacement requirements up to 1 Apr., we shall have to disband 20 Divs.
- b) Report from Finland. Troops worn out, but winter equipment is ample and good.
- c) Question of furloughs in the East after operations have been brought to a standstill.
- d) Deactivation of the Police Div.
- e) Miscellaneous current matters.

Col. Speidel (Paris) gives an account on his conference with the Fuehrer. Collaboration with France is undesirable at this time so as not to block the way to an understanding with Britain.

Gen. Wagner: Measures for conserving the striking power of the Eastern Army.

Col. Heusinger:

- a) We must study all relevant facts to determine the most desirable position in which we should be situated at the close of the campaign. The two extreme alternatives are: Conservation and striking efficiency\* We must make ourselves a clear picture of what would be an acceptable compromise between these two extremes and percolate our ideas down to Army level through Gen. Staff channels.\*\*

Plan for a Gen. Staff conference for Center and South. Gen. Staff representatives to Army Hqs.

- b) Means for continuing the drive during fall weather; railroad expedition, raids by "Jagdkommandos".\*\*\*
- c) "West Wall" along the Atlantic.

Lt. Col. Langhaeuser (Liaison Off.): Final report on AGp. North. -- Leaves for Ia assignment in 292nd Div. #

Field Marshal von Bock (on phone): Heavy enemy air concentration around Moscow. -- Our own Air Force is slowly cutting down on its strength.

Capt. Loyke (Navy):

- a) Fuel difficulties of the Navy: cut is 30 % for surface craft and allegedly as much as 50 % for submarines (?). This immobilizes our naval surface craft with the exception of SS Admiral Scheer, which will go to the Atlantic.
- b) Naval situation: The Atlantic offers not much prospect for a decisive success. In the Mediterranean we may succeed in restricting British movements. In the Polar Sea all we can do is to protect our coastal shipping. Auxiliary cruiser operations are being continued with four vessels. Prizes en route to home ports.

6 November 1941 (138th Day).

Situation: Local gains in the Crimea. -- The attack by First Panzer Army. is severely hampered by adverse weather, and has gained only little ground north of Rostov. Some progress at Tikhvin and on the Volkhov river. On the rest of the front

only local fighting. There is evidence of stiffening of the enemy front west of Moscow and of efforts to bring reinforcements from east and south. Preparations for enemy attack on the anniversary of the Revolution, 7. Nov.

Col. Balck reports as Armored Forces Chief \*Talk on organization of the Armd. forces and future organization of reconnaissance.

Gen. Bogatsch: Nineteen Close-range Rcn. Staffeln and 4 Long-range Rcn. Staffeln will remain in the East. Current matters relating to the reorganization of Rcn. units and withdrawal behind front. -- Training.

Gen. Kuntzen and Gen. Loch report on their commands in Fourth Army. The former somewhat gloomy, evidently very tired. The latter takes over a Corps on the Leningrad front. Both at luncheon with Chief Op. Sec., Chief Central Branch, and Gen Qu.

Gen. Wagner (Ge Qu):

- a) with Altenstadt and Buhle. Personnel can be freed in Mil. Administration France by merging Administration and Occupation Forces Command.
- b) Grain threshing drive, 15 Dec. to 15 Jan.\*\*
- c) Collection and utilization of captured Artillery.
- d) Measures for reconditioning of motor vehicles.

7 November 1941 (139th Day).

Situation: In the Crimca, minor gains. -- First Panzer Army reports only local advances by XIV Corps against stiffening enemy resistance.

Elsewhere in AGps. South and Center, everything reflects the dismal weather. The situation on the east flank of Second Panzer Army is not clear. Opposite LIII Corps an enemy group has appeared which previously was committed at Orel and is reported to have been rehabilitated in the Yelets - Yefremov area. Railroad traffic around Yelets is unusually heavy.

On the rest of the front, of AGp. Center local attacks supported by Artillery, but no concerted major attacks in celebration of the anniversary of the Revolution.

In North, a local enemy counter thrust in the direction of Gruzino; our forces score local gains in the direction of Tikhvin. AGp. North is nervous about anticipated strong attacks out of Leningrad, has the jitters again and clamors for reinforcements.

Maj. Detlefsen (Ia LVI mot. Corps) on sick leave, reports on route and gives an account of the situation in Armd. Gp. 3.

Work on preparations for the C of S conference next week.

ObdH had a conference with the Fuehrer.

- 1.) The Fuehrer sees three danger spots for future developments (apart from the Mediterranean, which is in the focus of interest):
  - a) Murmansk (British). In spring another Lt. Div. will be sent there.
  - b) Activity of the Russians in the central sector. What we cannot accomplish this year must be finished next year. Seize country as far east as Volga. Expeditions.\*
  - c) Oil region. Its capture will have to be postponed until next year. For the time no plans going beyond the confines of Russia.\*\*
- 2.) He concurs with our estimate of the military situation. Written reply forthcoming.
- 3.) Reallocation of forces: Lt. Div. goes to Finland. One Armd. Div. and one mot. Div. to Norway. No disbanding of Divs in excess of direct replacement requirements.
- 4.) Interested in supply by air (but no practical possibility of an increase!).
- 5.) Insists on improvement of armament of Divs. in West. Materiel of disbanded Divs).

OQu I confers with the Chief Gen. Staff, Air Force.

- a) Air transport. No possibilities of developing it further at present.
- b) AAA (settled by Fuehrer order!).
- c) Air Reconnaissance for Ground Forces.
- d) Installation of an Air Forces Chief at OKH.

8 November 1941 (140th Day).

Situation : No important new developments. The situation east of the line Kursk-Tula remains obscure. Reports on reinforcement of the positions at Voronezh would indicate that the enemy for the time being does not intend to yield the country between Moscow region and Caucasus. The eastward movements from the area north of Malinin have stopped. The movements reported yesterday must have been isolated transports.

The enemy thrust in the direction of Gruzino seems to have lost its terror for AGp. North.

Housinger - Mueller: Survey and map questions.

Von Ziehlberg: Out-of-turn promotions and decorations.

Schwatlo-Gesterding:\* Army daily paper "Unser Heer" — War reporting.

Von Etzdorf: Talk on the political situation. Estimate of the military situation.

Gen. Follgiebel: Report on the meeting of the Reich Defense Council. Copper problem. Necessity of dictatorial control of the use of strategic metals with a view to the needs for military tasks for next year.

Gen. Paulus: Plan for attack on Tobruk (3 December).

Evening situation: Still scattered fighting in the Crimea.

Enemy concentration (3 Divs.) reported east of the Kerch Strait. No major fighting on the rest of the front — bad weather.

Railroad West of Tikhvin destroyed by us. Our assault force has fought its way to within 3 km of Tikhvin. Also on the Volkhov some advances are made in an attack to the north. Apart from the transfer of Marines by air from the Kronstadt area to Tikhvin the enemy reaction to the attack on Tikhvin has been surprisingly feeble in the northern sector. Evidently he has no troops available.

Message: Schmidt's Armd. Corps has battered its way into Tikhvin.

9 November 1941 (141st Day).

Situation: Only noteworthy feature: Railroad congestions in the area north of the Donets basin. Probably these are lines clogged with the last evacuation transports. It does not seem very likely that they should be troops shipments.

The presence of five Russian Army Hqs is reported to have been established in the Caucasus. At first glance it would appear doubtful that Russia should keep such a large force in there (they would represent at least 15 Divs.). So far we estimated the Caucasus forces at only one-third this strength. It is unlikely that the Russians should still be moving large forces to the south. It is even more unlikely that the British should have brought up a major force and put them under Russian command. For the time then the picture here remains obscure.

First Panzer Army is encountering stiff local opposition to its advance. Also Seventeenth Army is still meeting resistance. Sixth Army has no enemy facing it; apparently

he has evaded our thrust by swerving to the northeast.

Nothing new on the rest of the front.

Gen. Buhle: Combat strength of the Divs. — Question of disbanding of Divs. — Ruling on furloughs in the East. — Disbanding of Construction Bns. — Improvement of armament of the Divs. in the West.

The Bulgarian Military Attaché, Col. Harisanoff takes leave and introduces the new Attaché, Capt. Damjanoff, Afterwards luncheon.

Von Bernuth:

- a) Report on the winter warfare training course which he attended in Finland. Apparently very satisfactory.
- b) Training Instruction.

Gen. Jacob with Heusinger:

- a) Organization of coastal defenses between the North Cape and Bay of Biscay.
- b) Technical measures instituted by Eng. Corps to keep waterways open during winter.

Heusinger:

- a) We discuss the Memorandum submitted by AGp. South, which again proposes stopping of all operations to preserve the striking power of our troops.
- b) Attack in Ingermanland.

Message: Convoy 51 torpedoed. All vessels, carrying German equipment for Arm'd. Gp. Africa, have been sunk by British surface craft.

Evening situation: New advance of Eleventh Army on the Kerch Isthmus.

Second Panzer Army now has on its right flank the Russian Thirteenth Army, which apparently has been brought up from the south. Tikhvin completely in our hands. Advances on the Volkhov river.

10 November 1941 (142nd Day).

In the morning I was notified that ObdH had a serious heart attack. Malignant cardiac disease, probably past cure!

Situation: Good progress has been made in the Crimea, but it will take a few more days before we have cleared out the last

enemy. First Panzer Army reports very heavy air attacks. Opposite AGp. South, the railroad congestion around Liski is unchanged; apparently evacuation of rolling stock. New enemy forces have joined the attack against the flank of Second Panzer Army. The impression is that the enemy is trying to throw back this troublesome group threatening Tula, and to make a stand around Moscow. Farther to the south (on the front of Second and Sixth Armies) he now maintains only light forces, whose obvious mission is merely to watch the vast area between the front on the Lower Don and the forces converging on Tula.

Unfortunately the restrictions of movement preclude making the most of our superiority afforded by Second and Sixth Armies.

No important changes in the northern theater.

Lt. Col. Christ reports back from his liaison mission at AGp. Center. Outlines plan of attack of Ninth Army, where he lately substituted as Ia.

Gen. Feldt (Commander First Cav. Div.) reports his Div. taken out of the front (is being returned to the ZI for conversion to Ammd. Div.).

Lt. Col. Gobb (Personnel Div.). Selection of successor for sick CG Second Army. \*

Gen. Roessing (Military Attaché Helsinki) calls en route.

Gen. Wagner (Gen. Qu) Heusinger, Bentsch, Koerner, Gehlen:

Interrelation between effective transport capacity, supply requirements, winter preparations and the continuance of the offensive. Result:

In South, the offensive can be continued in early Dec. with parts of Seventeenth and Sixth Armies; attack in the direction of Maikop not before early Jan.

In Center, we could not provide the logistical foundation for an offensive before late Nov. or early Dec., not even for Fourth Army alone. A local offensive by Ninth Army southeast of Kalinin, separate from a front-wide effort, has more dangers than advantages.

Special winter equipment cannot be brought to AGp. South before Jan.; in some sectors of Center arrival may be delayed even until late Jan.

Gen. Wagner reports on conferences in Berlin on labor supply (PW question) and on food situation.

Casualties: In the period from 22 June to 6 Nov., 1941:

Wounded: 15,919 Off. 496,157 NCO and EM.

Killed: 6,017 Off. 139,164 NCO and EM.

Missing: 496 Off. 28,355 NCO and EM.

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Total: 22,432 Off. 663,676 NCO and EM.

Total losses of the Eastern army (excl. medical casualties):  
686,108, i.e. 20.17 % of the Eastern Army of a strength  
of 3,4 Million.

11 November 1941 (143rd Day).

Situation: Generally unchanged. Enemy situation is still obscure in the area between Tula and the industrial region. The area as far east as the Don for the most part has undoubtedly been abandoned by the enemy, who probably shifted the forces withdrawn from it in northeastern direction (Voronezh).

The situation in Guderian's Group is unquestionably tight at many points, but he does not let us look over his shoulders. \* The enemy opposing him is at least equally strong, perhaps even stronger.

On the rest of the front no important news.

Gen. von Greiffenberg (on phone): Disagreements between Army Gp. and ourselves:

- a) Timing of the next moves. We think that from a logistical point of view it would be dangerous to resume the offensive too soon.
- b) Role of Second Panzer Army in the offensive. He is asked to keep in touch with us before Army Gp. issues final orders.

Field Marshal von Bock on phone: Referring to my earlier talk with Gen. von Greiffenberg:

Point a) Army Gp. orders provide for a long-range and a short-range objective. Attaining even the latter appears doubtful to von Bock in view of the condition of his troops. He has given them as interim objective the line of the Moskva river through Moscow and the Volga Canal. Supplies stocked for the start of operations are gauged to assure maintenance to that line. The ammunition for the operation is still en route at this time. Owing to the "curtailment" \*\* of shipments to Army Gp. it was impossible to build up stocks over and above daily requirements, and as a result Army Gp. could not be sure it would have the ammunition required;

if flow of ammunition is maintained for the next few days, stocking would be completed. von Beck argues that even if we were content to reach the interim objective ("the bird in hand"), we would have to commence the attack immediately, for every day was bringing us closer the critical date for deep snowfall. If we were to wait until we had enough striking power for a more distant goal, we might well be overtaken by winter weather and then be immobilized for good. The time for spectacular operational feats is past. Troops cannot be shifted around any more. The only course lies in purposeful exploitation of tactical opportunities.

Point b) There can be no doubt that Guderian is under heavy attacks. The situation is not fully understood. Second Panzer Army has drawn upon itself the enemy forces south of the Oka river, thereby relieving Fourth Army, which now could safely launch its operation. Even if Guderian is still moving freely, it is a question whether he would be able to shake off the enemy. In any event, the accomplishment of von Kluge's mission does not depend on that. Army Gp. has moved XXXV Corps of Second Army sharply to the left.

Afternoon: Decorations (War Service Cross, First Class) pinned on deserving officers in OKH.

Von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

1730 - 1900: Visit the sick ObdH. We discuss the situation and the operational plans of the Army Gps. Economic questions relating to the occupied territory.

2000 Departure of the special train to the C of S conference, from Angerburg station. Accompanying me are Gen. Wagner, Gen. Buhle, von Grolmann, von Ziehlberg, Gehlen and a number of junior officers. Itinerary is via Eydtkau - Kovno.

Evening situation (interim report): Gratifying development on Guderian's right wing. Also the northern wing of Second Army appears to have gained greater freedom of movement. Evidently light frost. On the remainder of the front no important events.

### 12 November 1941 (144th Day).

All day in train en route to the C of S Conference at Orsha.

Preliminary conferences with von Grolmann (Op. Sec.), Wagner (Gen. Qu), Buhle (Org. Sec.).

Minsk: von Bechtelsheim, Commander of Security Div., the Reichsbahn District President and the District Police Chief, report.

Tour of Minsk. Although almost completely destroyed, the city still shelters half its pre-war population (there are over 100,000). Scenes of PW misery.

Evening, arrival at Orsha.

13 November 1941 (145th Day)

- 1000 Start of the C of S Conference. Present: The Cs of S of the three Army Gps., and of Eighteenth, Sixteenth, Ninth, Fourth Armies, Second Panzer Army and Sixth and Seventeenth Armies.
- 1000 - 1210 Review of the over-all situation. Proposed moves of the High Command and reasons for them. Presentation of report on Russian Army by Kinzel.
- 1230 - 1340 Tactical problems, Supply Services, and Transportation.  
Comprehensive Reports:  
Gen.Qu., on supply position, winter equipment and transport.  
Org.Sec., on changes in Army organization, disbanding of Divs., and question of trucks.
- 1400 - 1500 Luncheon.
- 1500 - 1900 Conferences with the individual Cs of S of Army Gps. Review of situation in their sectors and of their intentions.
- 1900 - 2030 Dinner.
- 2030 - 2230 Summation of the afternoon Conferences. Policy for the winter. Operational prospects for the coming year. General political situation.
- 2230 Departure of train from Orsha.

14 November 1941 (146th Day).

Return trip: Stop at Molodeczno. Long talk with the Regtl.CO. of Security Division (Sammelmann) and the Bn.CO.

Molodeczno: Typhus camp of Russian PWs (20,000), doomed to die. Several German doctors fatally ill. In other camps in the neighborhood no typhus, but every day many prisoners die from starvation. Ghastly picture, but relief appears impracticable at the moment.

Stop at

Oszmiana. We meet a train of the Cav.Div.  
The troops look very strained by fatigue.

Afternoon Reports:

Gen. Wagner (GenQu): Grain threshing drive. -  
Truck and spare parts position. Organizational  
consequences of the truck situation (the Divs.  
now have only horse-drawn trains; truck columns  
pooled in Armies). -- Rehabilitation of 60-ton  
Truck Clms.

Lt. Col. von Grolmann: Summary of the results of  
the conferences.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Current personnel matters. --  
Aid funds. -- Gen. Staff Training Courses.

Stop at Wilna: Lt. Col. Zehnpfennig, Sub-area  
Commander, reports. Gives a picture of so-called  
self-interest in the civilian administration.  
Lithuanians show little aptitude for the  
administrative tasks of reconstruction.

Stop at Kovno: Col. Just, Area Commander.  
Confirms earlier story of self-seeking policy  
of the civil administration and intrigues  
against the Army. Plight of PWs. Typhus in  
PW camps.  
Decries practice of sending purchasing parties  
over from East Prussia (Air Force!).

15 November 1941 (147th Day). Eastern  
front of Ninth  
Army attacks.

Situation: Ninth Army has started  
the offensive and appears to have thrown back  
the surprised enemy a long distance. Report:  
"Enemy is falling back of his own accord".  
This has never happened before in this campaign.  
Heavy enemy attacks against Fourth Army.  
Apart from these developments, only some ad-  
vances in the Crimoa (Lorch taken), and by  
Second Army and Second Panzer Army.  
On the rest of the front no important changes;  
in some places uncomfortable enemy air activity.

OQu I: Discussion of business during my absence.  
Result of the C of S conference.

OQu IV: Current matters of his section.

In the afternoon, conference with ObdH dealing

exhaustively with situation and intentions.  
Results of the C of S conference.

Col. Heusinger: Evening situation. Alternative possibilities for conclusion of 1941 campaign, and basic features of campaign in 1942.

16 November 1941 (148th Day).

Situation: In the Crimea, local advances against Sevastopol.  
The Don Army is part of the Russian Southwestern Front.  
In AGp. South, only minor local changes.  
Rail evacuation traffic continues.

Center: Enemy reacted pretty quickly to yesterday's attack by Ninth Army.  
Hard core of enemy concentration apparently southwest of Moscow.

North: No unusual developments in the Valdai sector. Activity in the Volkhov sector is only of a local character. At Tikhvin we may expect trouble in the near future. The attack of Sixteenth Army against the Ladoga Group from the west is absolute nonsense! Results are quite negligible! Severe losses! Enemy is switching forces between the coastal strip opposite Kronstadt and Leningrad!

OCu I: Supply problems. Results of the conference with Gen Cu and Transp. Chief.

At noon luncheon guest of Gen. Paulus. Present, Col. Heusinger and Lt. Col. Zimmermann, as well as my Adjutant and aid.

Gen. Cu, Ocu I, Chief, Op. Sec.: Altenstadt reports:

- a) Grain threshing drive.
- b) Replacement of Mil. Administration France by HQs of Army organizations.
- c) General discussion of the supply crisis.

Field Marshal von Leeb (AGp. North) on phone:  
The situation between Lake Ilmen and Lake Ladoga has taken a bad turn. Very heavy pressure on Malaya Vishera and Bolshaya Vishera.  
No threat to Tikhvin last night. Today very large movements from the east again. Pressure from the south, from Kostrusa Pleso. Situation at Tikhvin not very acute, but may become so within next few days. Enemy also coming from the north.

Twentyfirst Div. thinks it can get as far as Volkhovstroi, but will not be able to advance further unless it receives reinforcements.

The attack by 254th and 223rd Divs. has miscarried. The Divs. had to be returned to their lines of departure. 223rd is not yet equal to such a task; it was caught on its northern flank, and then also 254th Div. had to fall back. The Volkhov front needs reinforcements. The only thing available is one-third of 61st Div., but it too will take a long time to move into line (initial elements day after tomorrow). C in C Army Gp. wants to await today's developments. He has considered abandoning Tikhvin in favor of strengthening the "Volkhov Front". I emphasize OKH's interest in holding Tikhvin at all cost.

Two med. Arty. Bns. have been withdrawn from the Kronstadt front. Inf. line very thin. Enemy has 3 - 4 Divs. and some MG Bns. opposite Hangoe.

Evening: Another talk with OCu I and Col. Baentsch on the supply problem. The trouble seems to lie in two factors. One is the attitude of the Government-General, which refuse to run our rail transports with priority, rather than any difficulties in the ZI. The other is the relative rigidity of the procedure for calling trains which the forward agencies must follow.

Evening situation: Advances by IV Corps on the southern wing of Seventeenth Army, and also by Guderian. The enemy everywhere is withdrawing eastward before Guderian and Second Army without offering much resistance. This confirms our view that he plans to fall back far to the rear. The country is quite empty. Much destruction. Only northwest of Yefremov, a Rifle Div. is still putting up fierce opposition.

On the right wing of Fourth Army, heavy enemy attacks against XIII Corps. Situation tight. On the remainder of the front of Fourth Army, \* isolated enemy thrusts with artillery support.

The attack southeast of Kalinin has gained more ground. The enemy is falling back behind the Volga. Directly southward, the attack of LVI Corps has made headway against stubborn resistance by a Mt. Div. recently arrived from Iran. On the northern front of Ninth Army, the enemy has apparently passed over to the defensive.

In AGp. North, no further deterioration of the situation. On the Volkhov, the forces hold each other in balance. Otherwise as outlined by C in C, AGp. North on the phone.

17 November 1941 (149th Day).

<u>Casualties:</u>	Wounded:	16,208 Off.	506,417 NCO and EM.
	Killed:	6,107 Off.	141,764 NCO and EM.
	Missing:	498 Off.	28,732 NCO and EM.
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	Total:	22,813 Off.	676,913 NCO and EM.

Total losses in the East, 22 June to 13 Nov. 1941: 699,726 (excl. medical casualties), i.e. 20.58% of the Eastern Army, at an average strength of 3.4 million.

Situation: In the Crimea the Kerch Isthmus has been cleared of the enemy. First Panzer Army continues its offensive. Seventeenth Army reports considerable advances on its right wing (IV Corps). In the sector of Sixth Army and of right wing Second Army the enemy must have been taking his forces further back, for we seem to be unable to catch up with him. Right wing Second Army reports demolitions by the enemy. The rail evacuations this side of the Don are continuing (Liski). Second Panzer Army is pushing back the enemy with its left wing, while trying to concentrate its weight in a northeastern direction.

Fourth Army reports -- and this gives a decisive turn to the picture of the situation in this sector -- that the punishing enemy attacks against its right wing have made it necessary to commit now the reserves standing by in the rear for its own attack planned for tomorrow. As a result, Fourth Army is no longer in a position to attack between the Moskva and Oka rivers. The enemy has evidently brought up new forces. On the northern wing of Fourth Army, the attack scheduled for today has been canceled by CQ of Army.

On the eastern front of Ninth Army no important new developments, on the northern front all is quiet.

AGp. North reports tightening of situation around Tikhvin. Intends to move elements of 254th Div. in direction of Volkhovstroi.

Field Marshal von Bock calls up about the situation in Fourth Army sector:

He recalls that as regards the width of the sectors held by the Divs. and the number of units at its disposal, Fourth Army is much better off than the other Armies, and so has ordered Army to attack.

The attack by Second Panzer Army is sweeping ahead and will relieve the situation; a similar result may be expected also from the attacks of Ninth Army and Third Armd.Gp. There is then no reason to abandon the attack. Von Bock complains that von Kluge is disrupting all plans and is hard to control.

Talk with Gen. Paulus, Col. Beantsch, Col. Bork, Col Heusinger on supply difficulties. To improve the present situation:

- a) Steps will be taken to insure that supply trains passing through the Government-General receive priority over all other movements.
- b) Fixed contingents will depart from the Supply Assembly Areas in the Z I at stated intervals, and orders are issued to ensure unloading as far forward as possible.

In the present situation it is not possible to introduce a rigid scheme of distribution of supplies from the ZI directly to the rail-heads in the areas of consumption; we will have to change over to that after we are through the current crisis.

Gen. Keitel (Personnel Div.): Reassignments. -- Promotions. -- Covering of officer requirements. -- Decorations.

Phone talk with Field Marshal von Bock: After changing his mind several times, von Kluge has not come to any decision except that V and XXXXVI Corps will launch the offensive tomorrow.

18 November 1941 (150th Day).

Situation: Good progress by First Panzer Army. Also IV Corps (Seventeenth Army) is still pushing ahead, but the Italians between Mt. Corps and IV Corps are still lagging far behind. Army will prod them on for a junction with Mt. Corps. Sixth Army is still immobilized. Second Army and Guderian are moving, though slowly. Guderian's right wing must shake off its enemy at Yefremov, which will not be easy. In Fourth Army the situation continues very tight. The enemy has brought up fresh forces and is attacking with four Divs. packed into a narrow front. As a result, right wing of Fourth Army is pinned down and cannot launch its attack. (XIII Corps). The neighboring Corps (XII) has

had to help with columns far to the rear and now is itself no longer in a position to attack. The intention is to continue the attack against the line Istra - Klin, with Army Gp. doing everything in its power to execute this plan.

On the rest of the front nothing of importance. At Tikhvin the expected enemy attacks apparently have not yet materialized at their full strength.

#### Conference with ObdH:

He is very impatient because our chances of getting closer to Moscow are growing less and less. A question of will power!

He is also angry about Sixth Army, which cannot be made to move.

Wagner (Gen Qu) - Finkel. Organization of the rehabilitation program for the 60-ton Truck Clms. Rate of trucks in need of repair in 60-ton Truck Clms, which averaged 24% in Aug., now is 44%; the rate in Supply Clms. and 30-ton Truck Clms. of the Armies, which averaged 15% in Aug., now is 30%.

The serviceable elements of the 60-ton Truck Clms. will be combined and remain in the Zone of Operations. The unserviceable elements will be returned to the ZI (partly by road, partly by rail). The Supply Clms., including 30-ton Truck Clms., will be refitted in the Zone of Operations. The NSKE (\*) Brig. will be disbanded (personnel will be taken over into the Army as an age class of recruits).

1330 Phone talk with Field Marshal von Bock. Situation in XIII and XII Corps (Fourth Army) still tense. All available forces have been put on the move to XIII Corps.

Also 250th Div. has been started to the south. A thrust by XII Corps into the flank of the enemy attacking XIII Corps is prohibited by the terrain and the deficient strength of the Corps.

von Kluge has gone up front to find out whether withdrawal of our lines to the Protva-Alusha line could in any way be avoided.

My question what prospects the offensive still has is answered to the effect that at this time the line Klin-Istra is regarded as a possible objective for the northern part of Fourth Army. Everything else aside, Field Marshal von Bock shares my deep conviction that the enemy just

as much as we do, is throwing in the last ounce of strength and that victory will go to the side that sticks it out longer. The enemy, too, has nothing left in the rear and his predicament probably is even worse than ours.

- Gen. Buhle:
- a) Armd. Divs. will be withdrawn without materiel, for refitting in the ZIL.
  - b) Instructions concerning disbanding of Inf. Divs.
  - c) Conversion of Eighth Div. to a lt. Div.
  - d) Truck position: Of 500,000 trucks, 150,000 are total losses. 60,000 new trucks will have come off production by Apr., 42. The deficit of 90,000 trucks must be made up through organizational changes; 275,000 trucks must be repaired. For this we need 300,000 (sic) tons of spare parts.
- e) Organization of spare part resupply.

Gen. Paulus: Russian and own operational capabilities in 1942.

Col. Heusinger: Air situation and other current matters.

19 November 1941 (151st Day).

Situation: On the whole this has been a good day again. Kleist's attack on Rostov is making good headway. The enemy is trying to check Kleist's southward drive by a flank attack from the east, but without success.

In Seventeenth Army, also IV Corps has made progress.

Second Army has started off with Ren. elements. Guderian is gaining ground to the northeast, and is freeing his flank at Yefremov.

In Fourth Army the hard-pressed right wing (XIII Corps) now has a quiet spell. Units are being relieved and reformed. The northern wing of Army has attacked and gained its objectives against resistance of varying strength.

Armd. Gp. 3 has made good progress. Armd. Divs. on the Kalinin front are being relieved.\*)

In AGp. North, a relatively quiet day. Situation on the Volkhov front stabilized. On the Leningrad front, the usual attack was repelled.

1100 Talk with von Bock on plans of Army Gp.  
The assault force is weak. Enormous of fuel consumption.

1300 Fuehrer conference:

a) Review of the situation.

- 1.) Attack Italian forces to IV Corps. 198th Div. must strike northward!
- 2.) Sixth Army must keep more to the southeast, to free the flank of Seventeenth Army; I point out that a gap between Sixth and Second Army would develop as a result.
- 3.) Great importance is still attached to an operation in Corps strength against Veronezh.
- 4.) Operations around Moscow must be so conducted that each of the component drives of the offensive would conclusively eliminate a number of enemy Divs., not merely push them back further. Yaroslavl - Ribinsk, if possible also Vologda, must be retained as long-range objectives, weather and supply permitting.
- 5.) In North, enemy group Ladoga must be liquidated.

b) Objectives for next year. First Caucasus; the goal is the Russian southern frontier. Time: March to April. In the north, objectives will depend on the closing situation this year, either Vologda or Gorki; not before latter part of May in any case. The other objectives for the coming year must remain open; they will be determined by the effective capacity of our railroads. The question of an "East Wall" to be constructed later remains open!

Political part:

c) The success in Russia, which the Fuehrer regards as a prodigious achievement, is of great political value. He thinks that the Russian armament potential is seriously reduced by the loss of critical sources of raw material, especially coal, and that the Russian armament industry will need a long time to recover. As to Britain, he attaches great importance to the internal social strains. As regards France he is greatly pleased that Weygand is gone.

His whole outlook is expressive of the belief that realization of the fact that the two groups of belligerents cannot annihilate each another, will bring about a negotiated peace.

Gen. Thomas (OKW):

- a) Political situation.
- b) Fuel position. An operational reserve of 100,000 tons must be accumulated before end of December.

December:	Eastern Army	88,000	tons
	Southeast	2,000	tons
	Africa	5,000	tons
	ZI and occupied countries	12,000	tons
	Total:	107,000	tons.

Armed Forces quota for the first quarter of 1942 is only 75,000 tons, of which 55,000 are allotted for Southeast, East and Africa (instead of 95,000 in Dec.).

That is for us the end of any operational freedom.

- c) Metals program: Quotas of iron and non-ferrous metals have been fixed. Fromm's Office is at present working out allocations.

- d) Economic tasks of the occupied countries. Grain threshing drive.

Food situation (painted in very dark colors!).

Col. Heusinger: Review of the outcome of the Fuehrer conference.

20 November 1941 (152nd Day).

Casualties: 22 June - 16 Nov., 1941.

Wounded: 16,920 Off. 512,819 NCO and EM.

Killed: 6,360 Off. 143,592 NCO and EM.

Missing: 515 Off. 29,381 NCO and EM

Total: 23,795 Off. 685,792 NCO and EM.

Total losses of the Eastern Army (excl. medical casualties): 709,587, i.e., 20.28% of the Eastern Army at an average strength of 3.4 million.

Situation: Africa: The big offensive of the British against Cyrenaika has started.

Churchill's order of the day.

AGp. South: Successful continuation of attack against Rostov. On the northeastern front of First Panzer Army (XIV Corps), hard fighting and threat of an enemy breakthrough. Also the Mt. Corps, which is opposed by a strong enemy, was subjected to violent attacks; all were repelled. The Italians again have failed to make any headway. Gen. von Briesen killed in action. On the front of Sixth Army the enemy has brought up reinforcements and, since the Army does not advance itself, is pushing against it.

AGp. Center: Second Army is making heartening progress. Ninth Armd. Div. has taken Tim. Enemy resistance partly light, partly non-existent. Second Panzer Army is fighting around Yefromov. No enemy between Yefromov and Yepifan. Stubborn enemy resistance between Yepifan and Tula. Heavy battles with enemy tanks.

Fourth Army: The enemy attacks on the right wing are letting up, but preparations foreshadow new attacks. All enemy attacks are conducted with mixed tank and Inf. forces. Good progress by the left wing of the Army and Armd. Gp. 3, which now is under the direct control of Army Gp. In the direction of Klin, the enemy is conducting a fighting withdrawal. von Bock in Advance Command Post behind Armd. Gp. 3. Ninth Army had a quiet day.

AGp. North: Valdai front quiet. Local attack on the Volkhov front. Against Tikhvin, attacks in Regt. strength.

Gen. Fellgiebel:

- a) Security measures. Order regarding telephone security.
- b) Telephone trunk lines in the coming operations.
- c) Raw materials: Only 25% of the copper and 50% of the aluminum required for signal equipment is assured for the coming year.
- d) Radio agents: Of 70 static clandestine transmitters, 20 were in France, 40 are constantly moving. Of 60 more transmitters recorded, it has not been determined whether they are illegal or merely unlicensed.
- e) Russians are using our signal flares (white) to mislead our planes.

Gen. Matzky: a) Warsaw conference on Counter-Intelligence.  
b) Question of the Slovak Legionnaires.  
c) Tour of the Chief of the Bulgarian Gen. Staff.

Col. Hausinger: British offensive in Africa. --  
Current operational problems.

von Ziehlberg: Gen. Staff personnel matters. --  
Decorations.

Conference with Ministerial-Director\* Moritz on food questions, in ObdH's office.

Report culminates in the statement that the supply of bread cereals will be just sufficient. Our crop was less than anticipated. Banat\*\* supplied less than expected, Romania is holding back. Greece and Finland need imports, France is producing less than she could.

Potatoes: Unseasonable frost. Serious problem for the whole year.

Meat: No acute concern, but .../ word illegible\*\*\* supply is cause for concern.

Reduction of rations in Armed Forces from 1.350 gram to 1,000gram is required effective 15 Dec.

ObdH.: We must feed the people in Russia if we want to get some work out of them. Seed grain and seed potatoes must be conserved.

Problem of forage for horses must be solved (barley, corn).

Decision on reduction of Army ration postponed until sufficient data are available, on which computations can be based.

21 November 1941 (153rd Day).

Situation: Rostov has fallen to us. North of Rostov, heavy fighting against the numerically far superior and apparently well-led enemy, who is attacking in tightly integrated groups, each several Divs. strong. It seems that there is no immediate danger, but both command and troops will deserve unqualified praise if they pull through and still reach the Donets bend.

Sixth Army timidly begins to push its southern wing on Kupyansk.

Second Army is forging ahead slowly but surely.

Guderian had someone call up in the afternoon that his troops are on their last legs. It is true, they did have to fight hard and a very long way; and still they have come through victoriously and pushed back the enemy everywhere. So we may hope that they will be able to fight on, even against the repeatedly reinforced enemy (new Siberian Divs.) until a favorable closing line is reached.

North of Tula there is an ominously quiet spot where the enemy now all of a sudden has intensified his Rcn. effort across the frozen river. It is not impossible that, after being beaten back

by Fourth Army, he is now trying his luck further south under cover of the fogs.

The situation in Fourth Army has not changed substantially. On the southern wing the enemy has ceased his attacks. On the northern wing we have made some progress. Still, Field Marshal von Bock has been profoundly affected by the severity of the fighting. My old Seventh Inf. Div. appears to have suffered heavy losses. Regts. with 400 rifles are commanded by a First Lieutenant!

Armd. Gp. 3 and the northern wing of Fourth Army have made good advances in the direction of Klin.

The rest of the front is quiet, except for the Volkhov front (local attacks), Tikhvin (attack from the southeast), Nova, and the usual attack out of Leningrad.

In Africa, the big battle in Cyrenaica is in progress; we cannot obtain any clear picture as yet.

Gen. Bogatsch requests transfer of part of his staff to Zeppelin.\*)

Phone talks with von Greiffenberg (Center):

Second Army is well fixed and is moving slowly northeastward, in order to free Eighteenth Armd. Div.

Guderian has radically revised his conception of the situation within the last 48 hours. The attack against the Russian 53rd and 24th Corps is meeting with stronger resistance. The enemy is committing new forces. Is concerned about the situation, fears local breakthroughs. In view of the weakened condition of his troops he thinks he cannot force any further advances. That is probably his strategy to soften us up for a request to have his Armor taken out. Parts of First Armd. Div. have been transferred to Armd. Gp. 3 for commitment in direction Klin. 23rd Div. is following closely behind V Corps. 36th mot. Div. is being shifted 253rd cannot attack northwestward at the moment.

Phone talk with Gen. Brennecke (North):

Free forces on the Kronstadt front. Pressure on Volkhovtrof must be increased.

Phone talk with Gen. von Sodenstern:

- 1.) Sixth Army must be pushed on.
- 2.) Supply movements across the river at Kiev must be stepped up.

- 3.) Forces must be freed at Rostov for operations to the north.

Talk with Gen. Matzky (Ocu IV): Current matters of his section and Attache questions.

Capt. Lovke (Navy) leaves, Capt. Woygold takes his place as Liaison Officer of the Naval Operations Staff at OKH. Luncheon.

Generaloberstabsarzt\* Dr. Handloser:

- a) Housing in winter, evacuation of medical casualties, food (vitamins).
- b) Medical casualty rate very low. Ratio of wounded to sick 1:1.4 (used to be) 1:4).
- c) Typhus control.
- d) Frontline badge for Medical Corps men.

Gen. Wagner: Conference of Army Supply Officers will be held within a few days. -- Current supply matters.

Col. Heusinger: Review of the situation. -- Execution of organizational measures cannot proceed with the commands having their hands full at the front. -- Air Force.

22 November 1941 (154th Day).

Situation: Only three important points:

- 1.) Rostov is in our hands. All bridges are reported destroyed except one that leads across an island south of the eastern part of the city. The Russians withdrew across the frozen river. On the southern bank new Russian forces (two Cav. Divs.). North of Rostov, First Panzer Army was forced into the defense by the Russian attack with superior forces, and will have a hard time seeing it through. The measures instituted are well taken and promise to be successful. However, after First Panzer Army has disposed of the attacker, it probably would be too much to expect it to clear the enemy out of the Donets bend with what is left of its forces. Despite all efforts of Army Gp. to get Sixth Army moving there are no signs of an attack or of initiation of the transfer of the Divs. destined for First Panzer Army. The consequence is that the enemy is withdrawing forces fronting this passive Army to commit them against

First Panzer Army.

- 2.) In Guderian's Group the tension seems to be letting up. Now he is again convinced he could continue the attack. The Russian Army communique speaks about a dangerous situation at Tula.
- 3.) Field Marshal von Bock himself has taken charge of the battle of Moscow from an Advanced Command Post. With enormous energy he drives forward everything that can be brought to bear. Nevertheless it seems that nothing more can be gotten out of southern wing and center of Fourth Army for an attack. The troops here are finished (e.g., in my old Seventh Div., one Regt. is commanded by a First Lt., the Bns. are commanded by Second Lts.). But northern wing of Fourth Army and Armd. Gp. 3 still have a chance of success and they are being driven relentlessly to achieve it. Von Bock compares the situation with the battle of the Marne, where the last Bn. that could be thrown in turned the balance. Here, too, the enemy has brought in new forces. Von Bock is moving up everything he can get hold of in the Rear Area, even 255th Div.

In Africa the course of the big battle cannot yet be clearly discerned. The various engagements to date seem to have resulted in considerable tank losses on both sides and to have forced Rommel to give up his plan of an attack from the northeast. Apparently he has formed a line south of Tobruk with the main body of his forces and for the time being leaves the Solum front, which was prepared for that attack from the northeast, to its own devices.

Gen. Buhle:

- a) Africa: Increase of anti-tank material shipments to Bengasi.  
In the past six weeks 5 Replacement Bns. have left for Africa. We do not know here how many of them have already arrived. In the ZI additional 2,000 men are standing by.
- b) Replacement Bns. formed for First and Fourth Mt. Divisions from troops readied for Fifth Mt. Div. and by taking one Bn. from a Western Div. (each of these two Divs. is 3,000 men short).
- c) Fromm's armament program: Ammunition and armaments production has generally dropped by at least one-third. Must be locked into sharp drop after February 1941.\*

- d) Assault Guns: One Bn. each in Dec. and Jan., thereafter one every month.
- e) Lt. Divs. must be prepared for operations in the Caucasus. Men from mountain districts must be taken out of the front.
- f) A-T units will be equipped with mines.
- g) New type bridging equipment: 40-45 ton rating; 45 trucks; 70 m long (two lanes).

ObdH: OKW is worried about Kleist. Fuehrer discusses lateral shifting of forces within Seventeenth Army in order to help IV Corps get ahead so as to relieve Kleist. Sector boundaries between Kleist, Hoth and Reichenau must not be allowed to interfere.

Phone talk with von Sodenstern (AGp. South) on these questions. Hoth's northern front is pinned down by the enemy. Sixth Army is starting off along its entire front. Situation in Kleist's sector serious. With his own resources he will not be able to clear the Donets bend and resume the drive. He would need fresh forces. One Armd. Div. and one mot. Div. in addition to 111th, 125th, 101st and 68th Divs. earmarked by Army Gp.

Gen. Jacob: Report on construction of fortifications in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey. Progress of work is highly satisfactory. Current problems of the East. Rehabilitation of the Eng. units. New bridging equipment.

Field Marshal Keitel: Fuehrer's Headquarters in a state again. Kleist's Army is in serious trouble and no one does anything to help him. AGp. has been ordered to report what steps have been taken (shifting of forces of Seventeenth Army on the base line to IV Corps, getting on the move Sixth Army and anything else that is available, especially Assault Guns).

Talk with von Sodenstern on these questions.

Gen. Geroke: Railroads are running smoothly. Line from Kremenchug has been completed as far as Postichovo. Kharkov bridge will be finished today. Replacement shipments for AGp. South must be moved to the front.

23 November 1941 (155th Day)

Situation: The situation in First Panzer Army continues Fight. The disengaging movement seems to have been a success. The enemy is following, but there is no cause for anxiety. Reserves (111th Div.) are nearing IV Corps which holds such an important position in Seventeenth Army now. Sixth Army is making a feeble attempt to show action. In AGp. Center, Second Army is making headway on its right wing. Guderian has gained more ground and new successes have been scored on the northern wing of Army Gp.

Col. von Zichlberg Current Gen. Staff personnel matters. Organization of Army Hq Lapland.

1400 Conference of Supply Chief in Gen Qu's office. By way of introduction I present a survey of the over-all situation.

Col. von Bernuth: a) Demonstration Div. Baumholder\* (71st). 60 officers from each Army Gp. to every course. Will start 19 Jan.  
b) Promotion of better care for horses in the Armies.  
c) Troop Training Center St. Die in the Vosges Mts.  
d) Training of Fifth and Seventh Mt. Div.  
e) Training of Replacements for Africa (Kirchheim).

Phone talk with Field Marshal von Bock: Situation. -- What can Guderian still accomplish? He thinks he can yet advance some more. Reply: Strike for Kolomna, will covering forces for right wing on Ryazan, for left wing on Kashira, and northern wing of Second Army hard to the north, toward Kashira. Concentrate Second Army hard to the north and push on with forces in sufficient strength only along the railroad lines to Voronezh and Yelets. Situation on the northern wing of Army Group is good. Klin taken. Now we must try to get the rest of the entire front in flux by putting on pressure from North.

von Sodenstern (AGp. South). Furlough question for Eleventh Army. Possibility to route three furlough trains through Odessa.

von Greiffenberg: Raises the question of a rear holding line and of fortifications.

Evening at the Gen Qu Officers Club with the Supply Chiefs of the Army Gp. and Armies. Informal talk about position of individual Armies.

24 November 1941 (156th Day):

Situation: The situation north of Rostov is serious but not critical at the moment. At some points the enemy is pressing against our new positions. The right wing of Seventeenth Army has to fight off serious attacks. The Italians are still doing nothing.

In AGp. Center, Guderian's Panzer Army has made good progress. Mikhailov and Venev are in our hands. Unfortunately the fuel situation is bad.

On the southern wing of Fourth Army the enemy has ceased attacking and is disengaging in some places. On the northern wing violent counter attacks in the face of which our forces have slowly gained ground.

In Armd. Gp. 3 good progress. More troops are moving to the front from Kalinin.

In AGp. North, minor attacks on the Volkhov front and heavy attacks across the Neva which were all repulsed.

Capt. Obermaier and Capt. Sauerbruch: Report on tour to Mt. Corps Norway and Corps Hq XXXIV.

The description throws into focus the difficulties peculiar to that theater as regards wintering and preparing for the spring offensive, which are all but impossible to master with our troops. In particular the attempt to continue the attack on Murmansk has not much chance of success, and is disapproved even by the Finns.

Gen. Konrad (Army Liaison Off. assigned to the Reich Marshal), Discussion of personnel questions and future tasks.

Lt. Col. Kahlden, Liaison Off. in Second Panzer Army. Report on situation and combat strength of the Army. Second Panzer Army wants to strike beyond Tula, which it regards as the base of its winter quarter area. It is playing with the idea of establishing a scorched-earth zone forward of its line and to hole up for the winter behind it. That accounts for its reluctance against any further advances.

Gen. Obst. Fromm: Gives an over-all picture of our arms production. Declining output! He thinks of the necessity to make peace!  
On 1 Apr. we shall be 180,000 men short in the Eastern Army. At that time we shall still have available the trained age group 1922 (270,000) and there must draft age group 1923 (1 Apr.).

Gen. Paulus: Talk on tasks and disposition of forces during winter.

Reports from Africa convey the impression that the British Army forces have been pushed into a very bad corner. With this fighting engaging the German and Italian forces, the Solum front appears to be temporarily in a difficult situation. At the moment it is still a mystery why the British forces committed in direction of the Sirte are wheeling south.

25 November 1941 ( 157th Day).

Situation: At Rostov, the enemy fortunately has not become active as yet. Also to the north, taking back our front appears to have had good results. In Seventeenth Army sector intensive enemy activity which compelled IV Corps, to give ground in some places. Sixth and Second Armies mainly unchanged. Guderian apparently now has freedom of movement in the direction of Kolonna.

Good advances by the northern wing of Fourth Army and Armd. Gp. 3. The enemy is desperately throwing in what troops he has left ( also from the Kalinin area).

In AGp. North, reconnaissance and Artillery activity on the Volkhov river and at Tikhvin; no major attack as yet. The northward drive west of the Volkhov river has started today. First Div. on the Neva, again has beaten off heavy enemy attacks.

1400 - 1600 Arys\*: Demonstration in presence of the Fuehrer of the latest developments by Army Ordnance Office.

Maj. Faehndrich, OQu, First Panzer Army reports on supply situation. Troops are very tired. Food supplemented from indigenous sources. Capacity of our transportation facilities was low as long as the railheads were not close to the front (have now been constructed). Ammunition and fuel situation tight.

Evening situation: First Panzer Army repelled many enemy attacks, also from the south. Seventeenth Army has beaten back enemy attack. One-third of 111th Div. has now arrived at the front. Donets front quiet. Sixth Army still immobile. Enemy opposition in its sector has stiffened. Guderian has made good progress, mainly in direction of Kashira.

The attacking wing northwest of Moscow on the other hand has made only little headway against increasing enemy resistance.

Southwest of Volkhovstroi, some advances. On the Neva First Div. repelled heavy enemy attacks.

26 November 1941 ( 158th Day),

Situation: Artillery duels at Sevastopol. It seems that the enemy is preparing for evacuation.

North of Rostov the enemy is working himself closer to our new positions. He is manifestly readying forces for continuance of his attacks, and apparently is also bringing down more troops from the north. The situation will therefore remain tense, the more so as we cannot get any reinforcements to this front.

Sixth Army is still hanging around doing nothing. The enemy now appears to be moving forces from that front also northward, toward Tambov and Michurinsk, where road and railroad movement toward Ryazan are now reported in progress; we cannot make out as yet if they are destined for the build-up of a defensive front along the Oka river, or if they go on into the Moscow area. Moreover the enemy is moving his covering forces increasingly closer to the inactive Sixth Army.

Second Army reports stiffer opposition (three rehabilitated Divs. have appeared on this front).

Guderian is making further progress, although some of his forces are pinned down around pockets. On the Moscow front more advances from the north in spite of increasing enemy opposition.

In AGp. North, local attacks in the Valdai area and on the Volkhov front; at Tikhvin only weak attacks. Heavier attack on the Neva. They are all repelled, unfortunately not without losses to our troops. The enemy is instituting truck Cln. traffic to the mouth of the Volkhov river, across frozen Lake Ladoga.

Phone talk with Gen. von Sodenstern (AGp. South). My patience with Sixth Army is now at an end. Sixth Army must be made to advance with its right wing in order to free forces on the long drawn-out flank of Seventeenth Army.

Gen. Oehquist: Review of the situation in Finland. --  
Communications problems. --  
The Russians appear to be evacuating Hangoe.

Col. von Lossberg. ( OKW )! We discuss the fighting effectiveness of the Army and the operational possibilities for the winter and the coming year.

Gen. Buhle: Status report on Tenth Armd. Div. -- Transfer of replacements to the East. -- Outfitting of the Div. for Lapland. -- Allocation of the new 45-ton Tank which is will be coming off the line in limited numbers beginning next spring.

Col. Heusinger: Weather conditions in spring in the various sectors of the Eastern front ( April to June). Disposition of forces for the winter. Release order of battle tables to Rabenau.\* Entries in Wehrpaesse.\*\*

Lt. Col. Radke (Political Liaison Sec.)

- a) Ban on Rabenau's religious writings.\*\* He withdraws his pamphlet.
- b) The Jesuit issue.
- c) Use of Churches in the East during winter for Church services (vetoed by the Fuehrer).
- d) Groppe case (Bormann made false statements.)
- e) Activities of Goebbels in behalf of the Army.
- f) Military cemeteries in the Southeast (Balkans).
- g) Discipline on the Balkans and in the Government-General.

Gen. Paulus: Lapland questions. -- Disposition of forces in the East during winter.

Reports from Africa indicate a favorable development of the battle. Apparently Rommel has the situation well in hand.

27 November 1941 (159th Day).

Situation: In AGp. South generally quiet. The enemy forces massing north of Rostov have not yet appeared in action.

111th Div. has made no further progress imitts move toward IV Corps. On the other hand, 125th Div. has gained ground in the south. Sixth Army is as stockstill as ever.

Between Donets and Svoboda heavy railroad movements to the north.

Nothing new in AGp. Center. Enemy movements from Kolonna toward Kashira and Ryazan. Marked increase in traffic to Moscow from the north.

On the northern wing of Assault Group Moscow, our commands show self-confidence and drive to get on.

In AGp. North attacks in the Valdai sector were again heavier.

The reason for the resumption of these attacks two days ago is obscure.

Progress by I Corps. Enemy attack across the Neva in the direction of Shum.

Col. Kinzell Progress report on work on the new edition of handbook "The Russian Armed Forces".

Gen. Wagner reports to an audience of Gen. Staff Sec. Chiefs on the outcome of his conference with the Supply Chiefs. We are at the end of our resources in both personnel and material. We are about to be confronted with the dangers of deep winter. Provision for a sudden break of the weather must be made yet before middle of January. Situation particularly difficult north of Moscow.

Accommodations: The troops do not want to build wooden barracks. In AGp. South, housing is on the whole adequate. In AGp. Center poor (lumber shortage). In Fourth Army, the troops will have to build dug-outs. Farther to the north, housing will more or less be managed.

Repair facilities: AGp. South all right. Seventeenth Army at Stalino, Sixth Army at Kharkov. AGp. Center: Orel, Bryansk, Tula (Second Panzer Army). Bad in Armd. Gps. 3 and 4. Providing of facilities at Kharkov urgent!  
North: Pskov, Riga.

Truck situation: Difficult as usual. Organization of Army Motorization Staffs\*.

Medical Service: On the whole satisfactory. Difficult in Ninth Army. Advanced Hospital Bases are being established at Kovno, Vilna, Bialystok and Lwow.

Horses: situation very serious. Distressing lack of forage. Horses must be dispersed over larger areas.

Exploitation of the country has made much progress. Districting of the country must be improved.

Conduct of the German soldier toward the population: Very considerate. We must introduce compulsory delivery quotas\*\*

Fieldpost: No complaints. Letters take up to three weeks.

Clothing: Very bad. No means for improvement in sight.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters. — Decorations awarded during the Eastern operation.

Maj. Schleebruegge: Commandant of the Mt. Troop Trng. School, conducted winter training courses in AGp. Center. What he has to tell about state and physical condition of the troops is not so pretty. Equipment totally inadequate.

Col. Heusinger: Current operational matters.

Evening situation: Right flank of Second Panzer Army is confronted with an enemy concentration; a similar concentration is reported by Second Army. New forces have made their appearance in the direction of the Oka river, at which Second Panzer Army is aiming its thrust. The situation is not clear.

The enemy is apparently moving new forces also against the attacking wing of AGp. Center north-west of Moscow. They are not large units, but they arrive in an endless succession and cause delay after delay for our exhausted troops. Delaying action by enemy forces withdrawing to Volga Canal.

No important actions in AGp. North.

Rostov was attacked during the day from north and south. (Reports speak of an order of Stalin that the city must be recaptured by 1 Dec.)

28 November 1941 (160th Day).

Situation: At Rostov, the enemy has apparently been withdrawing some more forces from his original attacking front north of the city, in order to keep up his offensive. South of the city large Artillery concentrations. New heavy attacks seem to be coming.

Assault of Sevastopol scheduled for 8 Dec. (estimated to take 4 - 5 days.)

Both eastern and northern front of Seventeenth Army are relatively quiet.

On the front of Sixth Army, the enemy is not strong but makes that up in aggressiveness. Sixth Army is unable to gain freedom of movement.

Opposite Second Army the enemy who in this sector is operating in small groups, appears to have become stronger and more active. By and by all the Divs. of the old Thirteenth Army are turning up again. Toward Kursk and Yelets, minor enemy movements are in progress from the southwest. At Yefremov, the enemy has been reinforced. Also on the right flank of Second Panzer Army (Eighteenth Armd. Div., Twentyfifth mot. Div.) the enemy appears to have been reinforced. Movements from Tula and a counter attack out of Kashira would indicate that the enemy has brought reinforcements against Second Panzer Army also from the north. He evidently intends to hold the Oka river west of Tula. Here our XXXIII Corps reports only little headway in its attack, with substantial losses and heavy ammunition expenditure.

The attacking wing of AGp. Center has gained more ground. Second Armd. Div. in particular reports a considerable advance in the direction of Moscow. On the front of Armd. Co. 3, the enemy is withdrawing eastward while conducting delaying actions; intensive enemy air activity in the area. On the front of Ninth Army, the enemy has stepped up his activity (especially at and west of Kalinin), obviously to relieve the pressure on Moscow. The extreme western wing of the Army for the first time reports heavy enemy Artillery concentration.

On the front of Sixteenth Army southeast of Lake Ilmen, which beat off heavy enemy attacks yesterday, the enemy evidently has an unusually heavy Artillery concentration. Possibly Stalin has ordered commitment of the least reserves along the entire front, in order to save Moscow. At Tikhvin enemy attacks in some strength, especially from the south, and on the Volkhov front minor attacks; all abortive.

The attack of our I Corps in the direction of Shum has come up against enemy field fortifications south of the town. South of the Neva, attacks against 122nd Div. are in progress since early this morning.

The Russian radio commentator has stated that Leningrad is now no longer encircled. In fact, a road across Lake Ladoga\* is now open for traffic between Leningrad and the outside.

The situation in Africa is confused. After attacks of the Africa Corps to relieve the Solum front, which appear to have succeeded in freeing our encircled strongpoints, the center of the battle has shifted again to the vicinity directly southeast of Tobruk, where the British assault force and the garrison of Tobruk apparently have made contact.

Our Fifth and 21st Armd. Divs. now are rushing from Solum to eliminate the strong enemy concentration there. We are threatened with a fuel shortage.

Lt. Col. von Kahlden (Liaison Off., Second Panzer Army). Discuss fighting capacity of the troops and possible final objective for this year's operations, also the best methods for utilizing the potential of the immobilized forces.

Col. Heusinger: Reports indicate that situation at Rostov has become serious. Enemy has penetrated into the city. The population is taking part in the fighting. Heavy pressure from the north by enemy greatly outnumbering our forces. We may have to abandon Rostov.

Capt. von Etzdorf: Orientation on the military situation for the State Secretary of the Foreign Office.

Phone talk with Field Marshal Keitel: He offers dive bomber units to relieve the situation at Rostov. Since that group would have to be taken away from Guderian, where they are essential for continued success, the offer must be declined. If necessary, we can save the situation at Rostov by withdrawing.

Col. Ochsner:

- a) Trouble with the heavy Rocket Launcher (frametype). (Rockets fail to stay on course, crates go off with projectiles; the results are 25% shorts.).
- b) No more than one Btry. on the average per Bn. can be considered in operative condition.
- c) Reorganization: We are going to have three Heavy Rocket Launcher Regts. (28/32 cm) three Bns. each (organized from Decontamination Bns.), and 10 "Do" 15 cm Rocket Projector Regts. of two Bns. each. Difficulties in ammunition supply.
- d) Training: "Do" Projector units receive training in road decontamination, Heavy Launcher units in terrain decontamination. Training courses have been organized.
- e) Russians are reported to have 16 Rocket Regiments. Manufacture in Moscow. Good ammunition.

Bogatsch (Chief Air Force Off.) Questions relating to Long-range Ren. --

Reorganization and training of Air Force units during winter.

Gen. Paulus: Hungarians want German tanks for activation of several (3) Hungarian Armd. Divs.

Casualties: 22 June - 23 Nov., 1941, i.e., full five months:

Wounded:	17,384 Off.	531,657 NCO and EM.
Killed:	6,513 Off.	148,452 NCO and EM.
Missing:	518 Off.	30,194 NCO and EM.
Total:	24,415 Off.	710,303 NCO and EM.

Total losses of the Eastern Army (excl. medical casualties): 734,718, i.e., 22.96%, of the Eastern Army at an average strength of 3.2 million.

Evening situation: Under pressure of the concentric attacks by an overwhelmingly superior enemy, Kdeist is evacuating the city of Rostov and the area to the north. Our line is taken back 15 km, permitting considerable shortening of the front. More enemy mass attacks must be expected. Heavy enemy attacks against IV Corps (Seventeenth Army) were repulsed. Sixth Army reports very intensive enemy air activity against our troops, and repulsion of enemy attacks. Second Army has made local gains against gradually stiffening enemy resistance. Boundary with Second Panzer Army has been shifted northeast. Second Panzer Army reports small local advances. An Army Gp. order limits this Army's mission to fighting the battle of Tula to a successful conclusion. West of Tula only slight advances. Fourth Army no change. The attacking wing of Army Gp. north of Moscow reports some ground gained in southeastern and eastern direction. Troops in the rear are moving up to the front. Against Ninth Army at Kalinin and to the west local attacks, some in strength (diversion). Local attacks against Sixteenth Army in the Valdai area and on the Volkhov front, also at Tikhvin. I Corps reports small advances. On the Neva and on the south shore of Lake Ladoga, feeble enemy attacks. West of the Neva, attack resulting in a temporary penetration of our line.

29 November 1941 (161st day).

Situation: The reports on Rostov confirm the picture obtained yesterday. The numerically weak forces of First Panzer Army had to give way before the concentric attack launched in very great strength from south (here apparently main effort), west and north. On the morning of 29 Nov., SS Adolf Hitler was taken back into the new defense position west of Rostov, the withdrawal of Sixteenth mot. Div. is still in progress. Farther north, First Mt. Div. is under attack.

In Seventeenth Army the main body of 111th Div. has now at last arrived at the front. However, some time must elapse before it can become effective in IV Corps sector. The attack by Ninth Div. has secured us possession of the town of Izyum. The attack probably was inspired more by the desire for solid winter quarters, than by any tactical necessity.

Behind the front facing Sixth Army, enemy railroad movements from Kupyansk northward. In view of this Army's passivity it would not be at all impossible if the enemy were shifting forces from this front to the north, where he needs them.

Second Army reports some local advances. The enemy opposing Second Panzer Army has reinforced his troops at Kashira; in this sector our spearhead (Seventeenth Armd. Div.) was taken back. Further to the east, the enemy movements to Ryazan from the south are continuing.

On the front of Fourth Army, the enemy appears to be somewhat more active again. There is some talk that enemy is preparing for an attack (?). No news from northern wing of Fourth Army and from Armd. Gp. 3. To counter the push of Seventh Armd. Div. across the Volga Canal at Yakhroma, the enemy apparently is bringing up forces from the front of Ninth Army as well as from Yaroslavl.

Enemy attack, stronger than usual, against Ninth Army at Kalinin and to the west. The rest of the front quiet.

In Sixteenth Army sector the usual minor local attack on the Volkhov front. It is quite significant that the enemy south of Tikhvin has established as strong positions close to our main battle position. Also northwest of the town he has for some days moved very close to our defense line.

On the front facing I Corps there is now a Div. from Kronstadt, which the enemy seems to have brought across the ice of Lake Ladoga.

In the other sectors on left wing Sixteenth Army and in Eighteenth Army, nothing of importance.

Reports from Africa still show a rapidly changing picture, with details blurred. Now, after the first assault south of Tobruk and the relief operation at Solum, a climatic third act seems to be shaping up in the form of a battle south-east of Tobruk, in which both parties will keenly feel the losses of the preceding fighting. No prediction can be made of the outcome.

Phone talk with von Bock: Concerning the allegation that Army Gp. lacks definite objectives (Goering's unconsidered opinion). Army Gp. knows exactly what it is after. However, if the current attack on Moscow from the north is unsuccessful, he fears the operation will become another Verdun, i.e. a brutish, chest-to-chest struggle of attrition. It is still too early to throw also Fourth Army (XX Corps) into the battle. The time for that will come when the advance from the north has overruled Svenigorod. We discuss regrouping of Kluge's and Guderian's Armies for winter.

OQu I - Chief Op. Sec.: Brief review of the situation. Crisis in First Panzer Army unchanged. Early resumption of the attack cannot be expected. Transfer of Divs. of Sixth Army to Seventeenth Army and First Panzer Army takes a long time. Now that First Panzer Army has been taken back from Rostov, the plan of a relief offensive by Seventeenth Army has become meaningless, and the crucial question now is whether possession of Veroshilovgrad and the anthracite coal district is considered important enough to warrant dissipating on that operation the striking power of IV Corps which will be hard to replace before spring. Sixth Army reports that for logistical reasons it cannot move its right wing forward to the Oskol river at and south of Kupyansk before mid-December. These indications then give us a clear picture of the objectives which AGp. South may be expected to gain in the near future. Mobility and striking power are spent. We just have to resign ourselves to these facts.

In AGp. Center the position is not yet quite as clear as that. In any event, it can be stated even now that at most Army Gp. will be able to push the northern wing to the Moscow line, while Guderian may clear the enemy out of the Oka salient northwest of Tula, to gain the area for winter quarters.

In AGp. North the given possibilities are obvious. Clearing of The Ladoga sector and link-up with the Finns.

We can therefore issue the orders for the change-over to the winter phase and need not wait for any further developments. These orders must be accompanied by basic directives on operations and supply. Accordingly the offensive against the Maikop region must be called off for this year; it is the initial operation in 1942 and will be executed in one blow out of this year's final position.

Capt. Weygold (Navy) reports on developments in the naval theater. At the moment we have 10 Submarines in the western Mediterranean, 15 in the eastern Mediterranean, and 3 off Lapland. Actual operations in the Atlantic very restricted; 56 Submarines in repair or en route to and from the areas of operations. The opinion is still upheld that submarine warfare has prospects of achieving a decisive success against England. -- Surface operations: SSS. Tirpitz and Hipper are ready, at Trondhjem, to put out to sea; will operate in northern Atlantic.

Col. Roos (Finnish Transp. Chief) calls during his stay for transportation conference with Gen. Gercke.

Gen. Gercke: We discuss the interrelation between Transportation and Supply. -- Coal supply difficulties.

Gen. Wagner:

- a) Report by Rosenstiel on Rear Area security. Partisan activity has decreased owing to systematic military action.
- b) Supply situation. -- Organization of Transport Service. -- Clothing position. -- Difficulties at Sixth Army and current supply problems.

Evening situation: Pulling back of front at Rostov has been successfully completed, though not without difficulties due to the violence with which the enemy pressed on behind our forces. The salient, which still projects from the new position, is under continuous heavy attack from north and south. From the east too, the enemy is pressing closer against us, so that one wonders whether we might not have to withdraw farther still.

To the north, in the Italian sector, enemy attacks, with results not clear.

Seventeenth  
In Sixteenth Army, an attack against IV Corps was repelled.

At Izyum the recently captured Donets bend has been cleared of the enemy, but the town apparently is not yet occupied.

Even now, Sixth Army is still paralyzed. Reports speak of heavy enemy air attacks. The supply situation is still most distressing. On the front of Second Army, the enemy is disengaging on the southern wing, while stiffening on the northern wing. Enemy concentrations believed at Voronezh.

Second Panzer Army continues to forge ahead. The advances made are not very great, but in some places, especially on the eastern front, they compel enemy to take back his front. The projecting front at Kashira has been taken back. West of Tula, some ground has been gained. Evidently the enemy is shifting troops away from the right wing of Fourth Army to the area west of Kashira. The northern wing of AGp. Center has made further local gains toward Moscow and covered its eastern flank on the Volga Canal. Ninth Army reports the usual diversionary attacks.

In Sixteenth Army sector, west of Valдай, and on the Volkhov many minor local attacks. Attacks against Tikhvin from south, east and north were repelled. The attack in the direction of Shum has not achieved any further successes. At Leningrad the usual attacks.

Africa: The battle continues, with the situation still confused. The main fighting at present is southwest of Tobruk.

Phone talk with Greiffenberg (AGp. Center): Fourth Army wants to start off with its center part on 1 Dec. Army Gp. approves. Reasons:

- a) According to reliable information, the enemy is withdrawing forces from this sector. Armd. Gps. 4 and 3 provide covering at this front.
- b) The Supreme Command insists on carrying on the offensive even if it means risking the last strength of our troops completely.

I have to tell him that that is also the view of OKH.

Von Sodenstern on phone (AGp. South): The impression prevails that Sixth Army's conception is at variance with that of OKH and Army Gp., and sabotages the offensive policy of the higher Commands to avoid having to quit the winter quarters that are being prepared now. Army Gp. must find out what is going on and if necessary make a change in personnel.

Capt. Schindler (Transp. Chief Sec. ): Train arrivals at AGp. Center in the past few days:

Quota: Smolensk 21, Gomel 10, total 31.

Arrivals:

21/22 Nov.	Smolensk	20,	Gomel	5,	further back	10=35
22/23 Nov.	"	24,	"	3,	" "	11=38
23/24 Nov.	"	22,	"	2,	" "	10=34
24/25 Nov.	"	17,	"	4,	" "	1=22*
25/26 Nov.	"	21,	"	5,	" "	0=26*
26/27 Nov.	"	17,	"	7,	" "	7=31

\*Drop due to train collision.

30 November 1941 ( 162nd Day).

Casualties: Eastern Army, 22 June - 26 Nov., 1941.

Wounded: 17,582 Off. 538,103 NCO and EM.

Killed: 6,552 Off. 149,932 NCO and EM.

Missing: \_ \_ 524 Off. \_ 30,428 NCO and EM.

Total: 24,658 Off. 718,454 NCO and EM.

Total losses of the Eastern Army (excl. medical casualties) 743,112, i.e., 23.12% of the Eastern Army at an average strength of 3.2 million.

Situation: In AGp. North it is becoming increasingly obvious that the attack on Shum has miscarried. The main effort by von Bockmann's Group, must be shifted against Volkhovstroi. An order to this effect is issued. Otherwise the situation in AGp. North is the usual. Traffic across Lake Ladoga seems to continue.

AGp. Center: Further progress toward Moscow has been scored by the northern wing of the offensive against the enemy who, throwing in reinforcements and using mines, opposes every possible resistance. The central sector of Fourth Army will join in the offensive on 1 Dec. In Guderian's sector, confirmation of the picture, with the enemy at Kashira introducing reinforcements in line with his general tendency on the Moscow front to shift forces from his center to the threatened wings. On Guderian's east flank (Yepifan), for instance, the enemy has disappeared entirely in some spots. In the Tula salient, he seems to be falling back.

This salient will have to be cleared before we can envisage further objectives. On the southern wing of the eastern flank and in Second Army sector the enemy is apparently holding on, launching local attacks in all directions from his base at Veronezh.

Today's great worry is in AGp. South. This does not apply to Sixth and Seventeenth Armies, which repelled the usual attacks. It refers to First Panzer Army, against which the enemy has launched an enveloping attack in such overwhelming strength that Army reserve (Fourteenth Armd.Div.) had to be committed on the very day that it reached its new position in the withdrawal. Even so, First Panzer Army could not prevent local penetrations; now it has to fall back once more.

The Fuehrer is in a state of extreme agitation over the situation. He forbids withdrawal of the Army to the line Taganrog - Mchus - Mius - mouth of the Bakhmut river, and demands that the retrograde move be halted farther east. Alongside of this, there is even talk of an attack by Seventeenth Army on Veroshilovgrad. These people have no conception of the condition of our troops, and keep grinding out ideas in a vacuum.

ObdH was ordered to the Fuehrer at 1300. The interview appears to have been more than disagreeable, with the Fuehrer doing all the talking, pouring out reproaches and abuse, and shouting orders as fast as they come into his head. Regrettably, ObdH yielded to the Fuehrer's insistence and has issued the order not to fall back to the aforementioned line in one move. Field Marshal von Rundstedt's reply was that he could not comply with the order and asked that either the order be changed or he be relieved of his post. Inasmuch as the Fuehrer had reserved the decision for himself, the request was passed on to the Fuehrer in its exact wording.

In tight situations such as these, only the Commander on the spot can have a complete picture, and his decision must be trusted. Such confidence would certainly be in order in the case of von Rundstedt. The people at Army Gp. have done everything in their power. Let them have a free hand, and they will handle their end of the job.

Buhle:

- a) The Eastern Army has a shortage of 340,000 men, i.e., 50% of the combat strength of its Infantry. Company combat strength is 50 - 60 men.
- b) Current losses and returning convalescents approximately offset each other at this time. Gaps can be filled only by disbanding some Divs.

In the ZI we have only 33,000 men available. The bulk of the replacements are not yet broken in to the frontline routine and so have limited combat value.

- c) Trucks: Serviceability at most 50%.
- d) Time needed for the rehabilitation of an Armd. Div. is six months. Units should therefore be returned to the ZI for refitting as soon as possible.
- e) We cannot replace even 50% of our motorcycle losses.
- f) Truck replacements available are sufficient:
  - To equip three Divs. (22nd, 23rd, 24th) 100%;
  - To equip two Inf.Divs. mot., slated for conversion to Armd. Divs. 50%;
  - To rehabilitate four more Inf. Divs. mot. 50%;
  - To rehabilitate two more Armd. Divs. 75%;

We have completely new equipment for five Armd. Divs.  
We can convert one Inf. Div. into a Div. mot.  
(Olbricht's proposal.)
- g) The first Armd.Divs. can be ready beginning of February at the earliest; this applies also to the units for France. The other Armd. Divs. could not depart from the ZI before middle of May. We get at best four new Armd. Divs. for one Panzer Army by end of March.
- h) I veto the proposal to deactivate one Army Hq.
- i) Readying of materiel replacements for Africa (including 20 5 cm AT Guns, which will be shipped by air).
- k) To be sent to AGp. Center, 6 Dec., for Moscow front: 10 15 cm Guns ( 11,300 )\*  
2 15 cm Guns ( 15,300 )  
1 19.4 cm Gun ( 20,800).
- l) Caucasian Legion.\*\*
- m) Armored ammunition carriers: 20 ready for issue.  
Starting Dec 1, 10 - 12 units each month; will first go to Lt. Divs. ( seven for each Inf. Regt.).

Gen. Konrad reports out on leaving GHq. (Stays for luncheon.).

Col. Heusinger: Development of the situation in AGp. South. Several talks with OKW and Army Gp. Von Rundstedt states that the order of the Fuehrer cannot be carried out.

1 Dec., 0200. The Fuehrer decides that Rundstedt is to resign his Command and appoints Reichenau to carry out his orders.

Gen. Wagner reports: Evacuation of Taganrog prepared so that it can be completed in two days. Hospitals are already gone.

Stockpiling of sufficient ammunition and fuel in progress, will be based on Stalino.

1 December 1941 (163rd Day).

0400. We receive three teletypes from the Fuehrer:

- 1.) Addressed to von Rundstedt: He is relieved of the command of Army Gp.
- 2.) Addressed to von Reichenau, transferring to him the command of Army Gp. South with the mission to halt the retreat of First Panzer Army, take all necessary measures to bolster up the Panzer Army, and strike as soon as possible for Voroshilovgrad from the sectors of Mt. Corps and IV Corps.
- 3.) Addressed to BdE, directing him to move at once by rail and as far forward as possible, up to 40 Tanks III and 12 Tanks IV, each, for Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Sixteenth Armd. Divs.

Situation: The picture is dominated by developments in AGp. South, where Field Marshal von Reichenau has taken over command.

The withdrawal from the intermediate position to the Mius position was already in progress when Panzer Army received the order to hold the intermediate position. The result was confusion, inasmuch as the shortage of operational trucks which hampered withdrawal, now is a serious impediment for the return to the line.

1100 Talk with Sodenstorn, in which Reichenau cuts in: von Reichenau is willing to accept responsibility. He upholds the order to defend the intermediate position despite Kleist's report that he will be beaten on that line.

1200 Talk with Col. Zeitler: He describes the condition and position of the individual Divs. They are all very much understrength. In Thirteenth Armd. Div. the Commander and one of the ablest Regtl. COs have had complete nervous breakdowns. The "intermediate position" is no position at all, but a line selected for rear-guard actions pending preparation of the Mius position for defense. This Mius position at least had Infantry cover and battle positions from our earlier passage, whereas in the intermediate position the Infantry lies without cover on the hard-frozen ground. A substantial portion of the Artillery, which is only partly mobile, is set up way back in the Mius position. The bridgehead in front of Taganrog protects the airfield there so effectively that fighters can use its runway.

First Panzer Army is convinced that the intermediate position cannot be held. Its wings are being pushed by two strong mot. enemy Groups, and its center is under pressure from exceedingly large Inf. forces, which we will be able to withstand in this unfavorable position only temporarily, if at all. Panzer Army cannot understand why our troops should stand there and have the enemy punch through their line when 9 km in back of them there is a much better position; accordingly request is made for permission to move into the Mius position, which it believes it can hold.

1300 Another talk with von Sodenstern on the same subject. All this has been told to Field Marshal von Reichenau, but so far he has shown no inclination to endorse the arguments advanced.

1400 Talk with Jodl, OKW. I outline the situation. It is stark nonsense to expose the troops to a tactical defeat forward of the Mius position. Request him to present the facts to the Fuehrer.

1530 While ObdH sees the Fuehrer, von Reichenau calls up. Enemy mot. forces have broken through SS Adolf Hitler in the intermediate position. He asks permission to fall back to the Mius position tonight. Fuehrer concurs. Now we are where we could have been last night. It was a senseless waste of strength and time, and to top it, we lost von Rundstedt also.

ObdH's health under the pressure of constant worrying, has again taken an alarming turn.

Afternoon conference with Paulus and Heusinger about the basic features of the disposition of our forces for the winter, would which allow refitting and a short rest.

Phone talk with Field Marshal von Bock regarding his report submitted to ObdH today on the situation and casualties.

It is a tremendous feat of our numerically greatly weakened forces to break through well-developed enemy positions which must be taken on in frontal attacks, but full-scale operations cannot be conducted with such weak troops. All they can do is work themselves forward in small tactical pulls. The enemy positions can be assaulted only by frontal attacks.

XII and XIII Corps cannot attack before the enemy on its left and right has been dealt with.

I emphasize that we, too, are concerned about the casualties suffered. But an effort must be made to bring the enemy to his knees by applying the last ounce of strength. Once it is conclusively shown that this is impossible, we shall make new decisions.

Situation in the evening: First Panzer Army is being taken back behind the Mius. -- We do not have the forces for the attack on Voroshilovgrad ordered by the Fuehrer. It seems that new enemy troops are moving to the front through Rostov and Stalingrad. The front facing Seventeenth and Sixth Armies appears to have received Caucasian replacements.

All quiet on Sixth Army front.

Second Army is advancing. North of Yefremov enemy resistance has stiffened, while to the south it has softened.

Guderian is regrouping for tomorrow's attack on his front north of Tula.

Fourth Army has made good headway with its northern wing. Armd. Gps. 3 and 4 have again advanced a little in hard fighting.

On the rest of the front there is but little fighting, local successes toward Shum. The situation on both sides of the narrow sector held by us on the Neva at Schluesselburg seems to be deteriorating. Violent enemy attacks across the Neva, which we were able to repel. Enemy concentration in the Ladoga sector for an attack toward the Neva river.

2 December 1941 (164th Day).

Situation: In South, the enemy is feeling his way toward the Mius position.

In the sector of XIV Corps our rearguards are still in the old position. Development of a threat on the front of the Italian Corps appears likely.

Center: Resistance stiffening at Tim and Yelets-Yefremov. Massing of enemy forces around Voronezh! Enemy transport movements are now running northward from Voronezh, and eastward and southward from Ryazan. The attack at Tula has made progress. The attacking wing of Army Gp. is forging ahead slowly under heavy fighting. Over-all impression: Enemy defense has reached its peak. No more reinforcements available.

North: Movements from Vologda on Tikhvin and shifting of troops to the Ladoga front suggest that a large-scale attack for the liberation of Leningrad is being staged. Army Gp. does not seem to share this anxiety at the moment. Twenty-nine troop trains reported moving on Tikhvin. Empty rolling stock at Yaroslavl, Vologda and Ribinsk.

Gen. von Guendell\* reports on his promotion to the rank of General. We discuss GHq matters.

Col. Kinzel: Estimate of enemy resources and activation capabilities.

Col. Pemsel: C of S, XVIII Corps, reports en route. Review of his future mission in Lapland. Report on Serbia.

Col. Heusinger: We discuss the position of ObdH in the present crisis. (The Fuehrer has gone to First Panzer Army without any representative of OKH). Disposition of troops for winter. Report to OKW.

Gen. Buhle: Replacement questions. I reject proposal to draw on agegroup 1922 in January. Rehabilitation of trucks: Will have to be done in the zone of operations.

Gen. Paulus: OKW demands concerning Lapland. Operational analysis of situation now, and for the winter and next year.

Africa: Viewed from a purely tactical standpoint, the situation is not bad at all now that the British have been thrown back, but the great picture looks unpromising, unless the enemy can be dislodged from his present position south of Tobruk.

Gen. Wagner: Supply situation in South need not cause any anxiety. -- Center: Satisfactory, though the drop in train arrivals causes serious concern for the coming days. -- North: Satisfactory.

3 December 1941 (165th day).

Situation: In AGp. South, enemy pressure only against our combat outposts on the southern wing; on other portions of the front the enemy is moving closer to the rearguards still forward of the new position. The enemy may still be preparing a major concentration of forces opposite the Italian Corps. Railroad movements, possibly troops, from Stalin-grad to Likhaya.

The movements of the forces to be shifted southward from Sixth Army are proceeding at a very slow rate.

Sixth Army is still doing nothing to move 299th Div. to the front and send 68th Div. to the south.

AGp. Center: Stiffening enemy resistance south of Tim and in front of Yelets. Pressure from the direction of Kashira compels withdrawal of Seventeenth Armd. Div., with the enemy attacking from the east, north and west. It remains to be seen whether we still have sufficient striking power north of Tula to effect local improvements in the situation in that sector. For more than that our forces certainly are not strong enough. In Fourth Army, the attack is nothing but a painful squeezing for local advances, against which the reacting enemy is scoring some tactical successes (encirclement of some German forces by enemy counter thrusts, e.g. 258th Div.). We have yet to see how far the attacking wing north of Moscow will advance before its striking power is spent.

AGp. North: The situation created by yesterday's attack against Tikhvin from the south is not yet quite clear. The Commander of 61st Div. has taken over the defense of Tikhvin with his Division. On the rest of the front nothing of importance. In several places preparations for attacks are surmised. 80 Russian Divs. east of the Neva\*.

Heusinger: Discussion of data on the over-all situation for the OKW report.

Gen. Buhle, Gen. Paulus: Replacements problems. It is quite possible that we cannot get out 14th Divs., but yet we must not start taking age group 1922 as early as February, instead we must get replacements through cutting down on occupational deferments and ordering a combing-out drive. First of all, however, we must ship the replacements ready now in the ZI to the front. To make this possible we must set aside 4 - 5 trains for replacements within the daily Army transport quota of 100 trains, however this may interfere with regular supply movements.

von Bock reports on the situation. He has sent his estimate of the situation, as reported in yesterday's teletype, directly to OKW.

Gen. Fellgiebel:

- a) Raw materials situation. He hopes that with the copper available he can complete 80% of the tanks, and just about make it on other materiel. He now has a greater say on copper allocation.
- b) Installations in prospective GHqs is taxing personnel and stocks of materials. Such work absorbs an entire Signal Bn. for a whole month and 100 tons of copper.

Gen. Paulus Gen. Gercke: Transportation problems involved in moving the replacements now urgently needed at the front.

Traffic volume to the East is 122 trains daily: North 35, Center 52, South 35. Of these Gen Qu as of 15 Dec. has 17 in North, 31 in Center, 19 in South. In addition available for troop shipments of Ground and Air Forces: North 3, Center 6, South 4.

To move replacements to the front, we need at least one train in North, two in Center and one in South, as of 15 Dec, (which must be deducted from the Gen Qu quota), i.e., for 3,000 men daily, or 90,000 men per month; in order to move the 320,000 men destined for the front, we would at this rate need 3 1/2 months.

Evening situation:

- a) Fuehrer has arrived at the conclusion that Army Gp. and Panzer Army bear no blame for recent events, in Agp. South. The troops fought gallantly. A number of directives is issued, pertaining to individual missions. Situation tight in the Italian Corps. 125th Div. is to be moved to front. IV Corps gets permission to attack with 111th Div., as planned.
- b) In South an enemy attack on First Panzer Army was repelled. In Center, Guderian has made good progress at Tula. Fourth Army is going back to its initial position. In Agp. North no new signs of any forthcoming large-scale attack. A minor attack was repelled.

- a) Hangoe has been evacuated by the Russians.
- d) North Africa, Armd. Gp. reports heavy losses in tanks; requests various aids, including an Inf. Div., to be shipped by air.

Phone talk with von Bock: Spearhead of Fourth Army has again been taken back, because the neighboring units could not keep abreast of them. Armd. Gp. 3 has run into minefields and marshland. Nevertheless he has not given up all hope yet and thinks that the attack might yet make some advances, but the moment can now be foreseen when the troops will be at the end of their strength.

I point out what changing to the defensive would involve. The disadvantages of that policy were one of the reasons why we stuck to the offensive.

4 December 1941 (166th Day).

Situation: Air Observation: Truck movements from Rostov in southwestern direction (Yeisk). (Preparations for crossing?) Heavy railroad traffic on the Stalingrad - Likhaya line, and also from the north toward Likhaya. Railroad movements Novorossisk - Rostov.

In the Moscow area mot. traffic from and to the front.

In AGp. North: a) Unloading of troops in the Soltsi area.

    Gim. movements to Tikhvin.

b) In the Ladoga area traffic toward Schluesselburg.

c) Truck traffic across Lake Ladoga.

South: At Sevastopol no signs yet that the enemy is pulling out; 40 firing positions; replacements arrived again on 25 and 28 Nov. (Caucasians). -- Enemy attacks, not over Regt. strength on Mius front (First Panzer Army) also against XIV and II Corps. Enemy reinforced south of Artyemovsk (Italian Front).

Center: Second Army: Increased enemy opposition in front of the southern and northern Corps. In front of the center the enemy is conducting a fighting withdrawal; at Yelets, enemy counter attack.

Second Panzer Army: East flank quiet. Northern front, enemy counter thrusts. North of Tula the enemy is trying to evade envelopment. On the Oka front, enemy Artillery fire. Otherwise quiet.

Fourth Army: South of the motor highway the enemy is falling back on Naro Fominsk. Enemy counterthrusts southwest of Moscow were repelled, but we gained no ground. -- New Armd. Brig. reported with two-thirds of tanks British. On the Volga Canal, the enemy is counter attacking south of Yakhroma; in this sector a new Rifle Brig. At Moscow we shall have to attack against five successive lines of enemy positions.

North: Improvement of our position southeast of Lake Ilmen. At Tikhvin, the enemy attacking from the north has broken through our line west of the town. Counter attack in progress. -- At Shum, enemy attack repelled with heavy losses. -- Air effort against traffic across Lake Ladoga.

Africa: There is now a lull in the fighting. The Africa Corps reports high losses and asks for reinforcements. Apparently the enemy still has nine Armd. Bns. and three Divs. to throw into the battle. Unfortunately that is a whole lot!

1200 von Greiffenberg (on phone):

a) If Field Marshal von Bock thinks that the costly attacks northwest of Moscow promise no further success, he is free to stop them.

von Greiffenberg: They have already been stopped in Fourth Army Sector. In Armd. Gps. 3 and 4, the attacks are scheduled to be continued on 6 Dec. In the sector of

Guderian's Panzer Army there is no reason to call off the offensive.

- b) I remind him to be cautious in pushing forward the widely separated groups on Guderian's eastern front. There is the double threat of sudden snowdrifts and of enemy thrusts from Voronezh.
- d) The right wing of Second Army at Tim must not be pushed any farther, nor must it further weakened by detaching elements to the north! Reasons: Threats from Voronezh and need of maintaining contact with Sixth Army.
- d) He gives me his views on a possible position at the close of operations. It would involve only a local straightening of our line north of Moscow, and would still include the terrain north of Klin.

1230 Gen. Kaitel (Personnel Div.)

- a) Position of ObdH. Compelled to resign for reasons of health. Will talk to his brother. I agree, but stipulate that he must do so only in capacity of adviser\*.
- b) Officer replacements. Surplus in Artillery officers.
- c) Replacements for Africa.
- d) Personal questions.

Major Pistorius

reports on the requests of High Command West regarding coastal defense, to be submitted to OKW.

Gen. Gercke:

Railroads:

- a) Construction of additional lines in Rear Area will increase elasticity ~~manoeuvrability~~ but not capacity of system. The crux of the problem is in the railroad servicing installations (coal and water\*\*). Speed is dictated by bridges\*\* strength of rails, railroad switching points, stations, signal network.  
Centralized system of (German) not as easily managed as Russian decentralized organization. The signal installations are geared to the Russian system. Locomotive repair shops were completely wrecked by the Russians. Are operating again, but only in a makeshift fashion. We cannot increase number of engines, because we lack the requisite maintenance facilities. German engines are not built to withstand prevailing low temperatures. Transport of coal supply absorbs large volume of rolling stock.

Not enough personnel (instead of 16 per km only 10, including one German); not accustomed to work under war conditions.

- b) Reconstruction program: Gradual elimination of the broad gauge.

5 December 1941.

Situation: No important advances except by Seventeenth Army in a southeastward attack of IV Corps. Our line throughout has held against enemy attacks.

Guderian decides to fall back at Tula; 36 degrees below freezing.

Scheduled attack by Armd. Gps. 3 and 4 must be called off.

Enemy penetration east of Kalinin.

A series of Fuehrer orders on allocation of tanks to First Panzer Army and AGp. North cause some confusion.

1030. Phone talk with Field Marshal von Reichenau. He wants mobile Divs. We haven't got any. He gets tanks.

von Leeb 1800: With the shift of the boundary between Sixteenth and Eighteenth Armies and the consequent changes in the ranking commanders he now comes with an entirely new proposal regarding continuance of the Ladoga offensive, i.e., through 291st Div. next to 223rd Div.\* Must be turned down! First we must await arrival of the tanks, then we can perhaps strike from southwest and east.

von Bock: They are at the end of their strength. Tomorrow's attack by Armd. Gp. 4 is off. He will report tomorrow whether a withdrawal is necessary.

Conferences on current matters with Paulus and Heusinger.

ObdE informs me of his decision to retire from the service.

6 December 1941.

Situation: Stabilized in South. The heavy losses sustained in yesterday's unsuccessful attacks against First Panzer Army have had a sobering effect on the enemy. The successful attack by Seventeenth Army (IV Corps) to the southeast apparently draws away enemy forces from the south. Unusually large volume of shipping in Black Sea ports.

Center: Enemy attacks from Voronezh to the north, northwest and northeast. Heavy traffic on the Dmitrov - Moscow line. Evacuation of Moscow continues.

North: Enemy before Tikhvin has been reinforced. Very severe cold (38 degrees below freezing), numerous cases of death from cold.

Africa: The situation no doubt is serious. Armd. Gp. Africa has had heavy losses, which cannot be replaced owing to shipping difficulties, while the British are

bringing in reinforcements. Considering alternatives for withdrawal on Ain-el Gazala. Eastern investment of Tobruk is raised.

Visit of Chief of Bulgarian Gen. Staff.

Afternoon Report to Fuehrer: He cannot be bothered with strength ratios. To him the PW figures are conclusive proof of our superiority.

Next objectives: He recognizes the need of rehabilitation for the troops, but securing the Donets bend in the south (as a jump-off base for Malkop), elimination of the Ladoga front and link-up with the Finns in the north remain on the calendar as objectives which must be attained during the winter.

No disbanding of Divs. in France to cover replacement requirements. Comb out the ZI, Romania, etc.

Allotment of forces in Europe: No reduction of strength in the West (Attila, threat to the coast).

Norway: one to two Armd. Divs. (U.S.).\*

We may even have to send more German soldiers to Croatia.

Evening situation: The attack against the northern flank of Armd. Gr. 3 has forced us to take back the front south of the Volga dam. Consequence: We withdraw to the Klin line. On the rest of the front no important changes.

Phone talk with Gen. Brennecke: Serious thinking about Tikhvin. Commanding Generals take a grave view of the situation. The enemy penetration on the northern front has been contained, but to the south our forces are no longer strong enough. Identification of Siberian 65th Div., consisting of three Regts., one behind the other. Concentrated Artillery bombardment of the town. Our own troops physically overstrained. The situation is aggravated by the cold (30 to 35 degrees of frost). Out of five tanks only one was able to fire. Snowfall now would neutralize our tanks.

Fighting strength of Tikhvin force is ten Bns. The enemy has  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Divs. with much lt. and med. Artillery.

If we cannot hold Tikhvin, we must shift the front westward by about 20 km in order to get the marshes into the back of the enemy. The terrain moreover is unsuited for combined arms operations.

7 December 1941 (169th Day). Japan opens hostilities against U.S.

Situation: South: On the whole quiet. Success of Seventeenth Army (IV Corps) has been further extended.

Center: The withdrawal of Tenth mot. Div. at Mikhailov (Guderian) appears to have had very distressing consequences.

On the northern wing of the Fourth Army (Armd. Gp. 4) and in Armd. Gp. 3, the situation is very tense. Strong penetrations from the north toward Klin.

East of Kalinin serious enemy penetrations, which could be checked just in time.

North: Very tight situation at Tikhvin. Army Gp. thinks it cannot hold the town and is preparing to take back its defense position to ~~base line~~ baseline of ~~Sakhtent~~ Sakhtent.

In the Ladoga sector, enemy reinforcements have apparently arrived from across the Lake. Violent attacks at Leningrad.

Air observation: a) Enemy concentrations east of Kerch. Have gradually increased for the past few days:

b) For several days past, unusual loading activities at Ribinsk. Arrivals from Moscow, destination undetermined.

Numerous phone talks with von Leeb (situation at Tikhvin), von Bock (situation of Third Armd. Gp.), Jodl (OKW must leave local commanders freedom of decision). Finally von Bock is given a free hand; von Leeb must not withdraw further than Artillery range from Tikhvin.

The occurrences of the day have again been heartbreaking and humiliating. ObdH is now no more than a messenger boy, if that much. The Fuehrer, over the head of ObdH, gets in direct touch with the Cs-inC of Army Gps. But worst of all, the Supreme Command does not realize the condition our troops are in and indulges in paltry patchwork where only big decisions could help. One of the decisions that should be taken is the withdrawal of AGp. Center to the line Ruza-Ostashkev.

Col. Kinzel:

a) Enemy: Upon advice of the British, the Russians seem to have changed over to the Brigade system (smaller, more maneuverable, easier to control). Brigade consists of three Bns., one Arty. Bn., one Mortar Bn. (one lt. and one mod. Btry.), AT Co. or Bn., and mot. Eng. Co.

b) Intensive enemy air activity.

c) Russia after the loss of the Donets basin is not so much short of production plants as of raw materials. We can readily compute the production capabilities left them after their reserves are used up. Prior to ~~the~~ May the Russians can either:

- a) Fill up the front, foregoing any new activations, or
- b) Activate 35 fully armed Inf. Divs. plus 20 Armd. Brigs., leaving less for refitting of the front.

von Etzdorf: Japani A conflict with the U.S. possibly imminent.

Thailand, Borneo,

France: Apparently the Fuehrer still hopes to come to terms with Britain at the expense of France. France is short of coal. (Paris: question of the hot meal.)

England: Leaverbrook — Bevin — Hoare.

Italy: Populations fearful that Germany might swallow Italy.

Gen. Garcke: Railroad situation aggravated in Center due to mechanical failures from frost, but no cause for anxiety.\*

Gen. Brand: (Arty.)

- 1.) Corps artillery Commanders; directives.
- 2.) Gcq Artillery was 60% ready for battle early in November, now perhaps 40%. Heavy losses must be reckoned with during movements.
- 3.) Dora Gun. 80 cm. Weight of projectile: 7 tons. An extraordinary piece of engineering, but useless.

Gen. Wagner: 294th Div. Typhus in one Bn. (15 cases).

6 December 1941 (170th Day).

Situation: Air observation: Many standing trains on the rail net south of Rostov. — Movements from Voroshilovgrad toward IV Corps. — From the Oka river (Serpuukhov) movement toward Moscow. — Heavy concentration south of the Volga dam. — Large-scale movement southward from the Svir front along Lake Ladoga.

Railroad movement in the area Ryazan — Ryazhsk indicates that new forces are moving up against Guderian's flank. Ca the front of Second Army Cavalry has appeared from Voronezh which only a short time ago was on the front of Seventeenth Army (Russian Twelfth Army, a mobile Gp.). Transport movement Ribinsk — Bologoye (yesterday and today) possibly it will continue in the direction of Kalinin.

Friendly troops: AGp. South expects continuance of the offensive.

The unusual movements along the east shore of the Sea of Azov, coupled with the freezing of that body of water serve to warn us to be on our guard against surprises across the frozen sea, perhaps also against Kerch.

Assault on Sevastopol will start on 10 Dec.

Troop movements from Sixth Army to First Panzer Army are proceeding satisfactorily, but the troops are weakened and suffer severely from the cold. Ammunition supply to First Panzer Army is disrupted because the railroad must accommodate replacement transports.

Center: Satisfactory development in Second Army and Second Panzer Army. We may now think of changing over to the final winter position.

Northwest of Moscow, Twentieth Russian Army has been in action since 6 Dec. In this sector we are anticipating increased enemy pressure which, so far, has not yet materialized.

The Yakhroma front has fallen back without trouble, and so has freed small reserves for liquidation of the situation at Klin, which is now in progress. In the whole, the desired shortening of the front has been accomplished. Situation remains tight, however.

East of Kalinin the enemy attacks on a seven-Div. front. Here, too, the situation is serious. This pressure point looks to me the most dangerous of all, because we have nothing back of the line.

North: In the Valdai area only local attacks. The front of the Spanish Div. has been under attack. Local withdrawals of our lines on the Volkhov front.

Evacuation of Tikhvin in progress. Attack against 254th Div. repulsed. Over Lake Ladoga troops are moving eastward, supplies westward.

According to radio intelligence it would appear that the NKVD agencies are being converted to Div. Staffs.

Africa: Rommel must call a halt and fall back to the Ain el Gazala position. In this process considerable elements will remain entangled in the Solum front and at Bardia. The siege of Tobruk has been raised on the eastern side. The British are preparing to attack south of Tobruk on a one or two-Div. front, in spite of severe losses. One to two Divs. are in the Bardia-Solum area, one in Tobruk. Another Div. is moving up from Egypt. The further course of the battle will depend on whether the British have armor in sufficient strength to envelop the southern flank of the Ain el Gazala position and then break through with sufficient forces south of the Djebel, toward the Syrte. This move alone is the crucial danger at the moment.

Japan appears to have opened hostilities against U.S. and Britain by air surprise raids and naval attacks against Honolulu, Shanghai and Malaya.

Lt. Col. Radke: Propaganda matters. - Christmas celebrations. - Religious question (Goebbels' positive attitude).

Phone talk with von Graiffenberg: AGP. views the situation at Klin as reasonably stabilized and thinks it can also cope with the Kalinin situation so that there is no longer any question of falling back any farther at the moment.

Gen. Bogatsch:

- a) Proposal to effect a fundamental change in the Close-range Recon. organization by converting it to a "tactical Air Force" (Barsowich's idea). He proceeds from the premise

that with air observation being impossible without air combat, reconnaissance had to be carried out by fighter craft. All units must be re-equipped with FW 189s and organized in "Combat Gruppen". In that way the Close-range Rcn. organization would be disbanded, and a big pool of reconnaissance flyers would be formed in the Air Force; two craft would always operate together as a team (one with camera, one with bombs). Air Force would assign such teams to the ground commands according to need. (A sort of livery stable, as it were.)

The proposal is the outcome of the undoubtedly unsatisfactory situation in the Close-range Rcn. set-up\* and merits close study by the Army.

- b) Formation of an "Interpretation Section" in OKH for evaluating air observation, radio intelligence, etc.
- c) Problems of air Rcn organization in Finland.

Phone talk with Field Marshal von Bock: He outlines the situation. Result: "Army Gp. is not anywhere in a position to check a concentrated attack". Grave concern about Kluge's right wing and Guderian's left wing. XXXVIII Corps has only little defensive strength. Decision to withdraw involves loss of enormous quantities of materiel. If the enemy were to make a concentrated attack, the consequences would be incalculable. Unless we can form reserves, we face the danger of a serious defeat.

Evening situation: No important changes in South. In Center stronger pressure on Second Army, whose thin line has been breached at several points by newly arrived enemy Cavalry (two Divs.). Guderian seems to be pulling together his forces in good order. The enemy, by rail and on foot, is moving close to his east flank. Very difficult situation in Armd. Gp. 3; deep enemy penetration, Armd. Gp. 4 takes over command. East of Kalinin dangerous penetration. North relatively quiet. Tikhvin is being evacuated.

9 December 1941 (171st day).

Situation: South: Our forces repel attacks, some of which hit III Corps very hard. An attack against Seventeenth Army was likewise beaten back. Attacking force apparently lacked depth and consisted of hastily gathered units. On the Kerch front, the enemy is massing.

Center: Increasing pressure on Second Army (where a Cav. Div. has broken through) and on the eastern front of Second Panzer Army. Forces comprising at least four Divs. have evidently been moved to this sector on the Voronezh-Ryazan railroad; some are old units from Sixth Army sector, others are new activations.

Very tense situation on the northern wing of Fourth Army. Although some Divs. located by our radio intelligence have not yet shown up on this front it is safe to assume that those attacks have no depth and so are merely of tactical significance. The object of these very troublesome attacks southeast of Kalinin is probably the recapture of the city.

North: Attempts have failed to widen the Tikhvin corridor. Withdrawal will be necessary. Unfortunately, OKW interferes in this purely tactical matter with direct Fuehrer orders. The command of Army Gp. is vacillating, but this is in part due to interference from top level. Although the danger is not acute at the moment, it may well happen that the few available forces are wasted on tactical patchwork, leaving no troops to deal with the Ladoga business.

Constant radio communications between the Red Gen. Staff and the Armies at Tikhvin, Ladoga and Leningrad suggest an attempt to coordinate the activities of these groups.

Phone talk with Field Marshal von Bock: Guderian reports that the condition of his troops is so critical, that he does not know how to fend off the enemy. "Serious break of confidence" in the field commands. Reduced fighting strength of his Infantry! He is scraping together in the rear whatever forces he can get hold of (in one Armd. Div. 1,600 rifles!); tank gunners and drivers of course are not used as Infantry. Army Gp. needs more men! CG XXVII Corps is said to have completely disappointed.

Col. von Bernuth:

- a) We discuss the training program ordered for the East; it must take into account the psychological strain of the troops at this time.
- b) Instructional Pamphlet on training of Ski Troops.
- c) Training orders for Fifth Mt. Div.
- d) Indicator shells\*

Gen. Matzky: Report on tour to Spain. — Official line for Attaches when U.S. enters the war.

Gen. Wagner (Gen G):

- a) Order on continued supply in the East when the front changes over to defense.
- b) Freeing of Security units from the Rear Area for frontline service.
- c) Horses: 1,100 dead daily. By April one quarter of our horse strength will be removed (including sick horses). Requirement 160,000. Requisition 85,000 now plus additional 85,000. Must be at the front when spring operations begin.
- d) Organization of AGp. Supply Chiefs when front changes over to defense.

von Graiffenberg (Center): Friction with Army Commanders. "Break of confidence." Wants OKH to step in. (Suggests a teletype letter by ObdH to Army Commanders.)

Gen. Paulus: Report on political plans. Conversation Darlan-Ciano. Further negotiations between France and the Reich Marshal, to start conversations going with the French. Fuehrer expects France will come under pressure by reason of America's entry into the war. He wants to win France over to our side and use her in Africa and the Mediterranean in the struggle against Britain and U.S.

Gen. Garcke: Railroad position. -- Difficulties of transloading and distributing supplies to the units due to icy roads. -- A locomotive reserve pool has been organized.

Col. Heusinger: OKW is again communicating directly with AGp. North about sending of fresh reinforcements. Movement of 81st Div. to the front is to be expedited, and SS Brigade Nord is to be diverted to Stettin on its return voyage from Finland.. Army Gp. wants first its replacements, as planned.

10 December 1941 (172nd day).

Situation: Air reconnaissance: On the Kerch and Rostov fronts no significant changes in the picture. Oil pipeline is on fire.

West of Starobelsk, movements and-AAA defense.

Pressure and movements from the direction of Ryazan. Traffic across frozen Lake Ladoga, curiously there seems to be also heavy traffic in a western direction.\* No new developments in railroad movements: Apparently no big frontward transports. Indications of a compact movement from the Caucasus toward Rostov.

AGp. South: Attack against III and IV Corps. Heavy enemy losses. IV Corps apparently also has losses.

Center: Increasing enemy pressure between Yelets and Livni. Preparations are believed to be in progress for an attack in the direction of Tim. Pressure from the east on Second Armd. Div. (three new Russian Divs.). West of Tula the withdrawal of 296th Div. has created a gap in our front the consequences of which cannot yet be foreseen.

Relative quiet on Fourth Army front. Withdrawal of the first reserves to the rear has been initiated.

North of Klin the situation continues grave. A new enemy Div. has been identified.

The penetration southeast of Kalinin has been precariously closed.

North: Tikhvin evacuated. Traffic across the ice of Lake Ladoga. The usual attack across the Neva. The sorties from Leningrad are gradually losing their earlier punch.

Africa: Rommel has now started withdrawal to the Ain el

Gazala position; his left wing is still on the western front of Tobruk and is reforming before disengaging.

East Asia: Great victories of the Japanese Navy. After successes in Honolulu and a landing in Malaya, the Japanese today report the destruction of American warships in Manila.

Matzky-Kinzel: Organization of "Interpretation Group" in Section "Foreign Armies East".

Col. von Bernuth: The Staff Officers Training Course will be accommodated in the camps around Chalons (71st Div.).

Gen. Jacob: Basic outlines for Directives on Defense of the European Coast. — Ice mines. — Material for field fortifications at Army Gps. (wire and mine production!).

Gen. Buhle:

- a) Output will drop after Feb. 1942. — Losses at the front. — 200 tanks to Africa. Tanks for Armd. Regt. Hungary. — SS Adolf Hitler and "Grossdeutschland" will get one Armd. Bn. each. We still can activate 22nd, 23rd, 24th and (by expanding Tenth mot.) 25th Armd. Divs. But that will be all!
- b) Trucks: It will be impossible to re-equip the Armd. Divs. fully by spring, 1942. A partial solution must do. Mot. Divs. must be partly equipped with bicycles! — Exchange of trucks between the Eastern and Western theaters. 900 Prime Movers have now been ordered for the Army Gps. — Available trucks must now be sent to the front; the plan of a systematic rehabilitation in the ZI is dropped.
- c) Replacements: 300,000 from civilian occupations, 100,000 each at the end of Jan., Feb., and March. In addition about 80,000 to 100,000 convalescents each month. — Comb-out in the ZI.
- d) Report on conference in Berlin: Recruit quotas. — Remount position. — Equipment position.
- e) Mobile Divs.\*: By April we may perhaps have 9 or 10 mobile Divs. (Armd. and mot.) ready for operations, but no more.
- f) To be alerted in France for shipment to the East: 216th, 88th, 208th, 246th Divs.

2345 Field Marshal von Bock on phone: Second Army front breached at Livni (Red Second, Fourteenth Cav. Divs. one Guards Div., behind them transport movements from the east to Yelets, movement from the south to Yelets, troops detraining at Kastornaya) positions of 95th and 134th Divs. overrun. A big hole is gaping in our front. Guderian is moving up one-half of 293rd Div., and one Security Div. is coming up from the rear to Orel. Needs help. Can air-borne troops

be sent to Orel? Can Sixth Army send any help to Kursk? SS will arrive at Novosil on 13 Dec. at the earliest, 29th mot. Div. on 13/14 Dec.

2400 Phone talk with von Sodenstern: Request for help. Result: One Regt., 168th Div., set on march from Belgorod to Kursk through Oboyan; will arrive 14 Dec., evening. One Regt. of 299th Div., which will reach Oboyan tomorrow, has been diverted to Kursk, will arrive on 13 Dec., evening, at the earliest.

11 December 1941 (173rd day).

Situation: Air reconnaissance severely hampered by bad weather.

South: Attack uncoordinated. Enemy is massing opposite XIV Corps. We must expect a new attack. Local penetrations from the east and north in IV Corps front have been sealed. Air base is shifted westward from the Don (New airport).

Center: It seems that the critical situation in Second Army has not yet reached its peak. Troops detraining at Yelets and Kastornaya. In XXXIV Corps, supply movements are at present disrupted by enemy pressure on the supply road.

Second Panzer Army confronts the enemy Tenth Army (six Inf. Divs. and one Cav. Div.), which is pushing from Mikhailov on Tula. Five of these Divisions are newly activated.

Fourth Army: Opposite its southern portion, enemy Artillery has become more active. Main effort of his attacks is in V Corps sector and to the north. The gap at Klin seems to be open still. At Kalinin, the arrival of 251st Div. is having its effects. The enemy has seven Divs. and one Cav. Div. in this sector.

North: A big attack of Red Fifteenth Army is reported scheduled for 15 Dec., the object being to destroy the winter quarters of our Valdai front. On the Volkhov front local crises. — On the Ladoga front, arrival of the first elements of 291st Div. On the Neva, the usual attacks. — In the Kronstadt area lively patrol activity (reconnaissance).\*

Africa: Armd. Gp. is falling back on the axis Ain el Gazala-Derna. The enemy pursuit does not seem to have pushed beyond Tobruk. 90th Lt. Div. is falling back on Agedabia to secure the Derna position. Lack of fuel reported reason for taking back of front.

Railroad situation, complicated by lack of coal, (Will be remedied!)

Capt. Weygold (Navy): Report on basic features of the Japanese-American naval war.

von Ziehlborg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

Evening situation:\_ On the whole less tense. Remaining pressure spots: First Panzer Army and Seventeenth Army, Second Army, Second Panzer Army, Klin and Kalinin.

12 December 1941 (174th Day).

Situation: Air observation: Indications of northward shift of forces from the area west of Starobel'sk (perhaps Livni or Yelets).  
Unloading of troops at and north of Kastornaya. Ribinsk - Kastornaya: No indications of shifting of troops.

AGp. South: Four enemy Divs. at Sevastopol. 10,000 Caucasian replacements have arrived. Scattered attacks against First Panzer Army; one Armd. Brig. and one Rifle Brig. are new. Attacks on IV Corps compel us to straighten the front in 76th Div. No important new developments in Sixth Army sector.

AGp. Center: Critical situation in Second Army. Second Panzer Army repels attacks. The gap between 296th and 31st Divs. regrettably is not yet closed. Situation at Klin still confused and as tense as ever; at Kalinin enemy reinforcements.

AGp. North: Patrol activity in the Valdai area. Enemy pursuit detachments on skis, enemy pressure at Tikhvin; apparently enemy tanks at Shum.

1130 Phone talk with Field Marshal von Bock:

- 1.) The situation has entered an acutely critical stage.
- 2.) 134th and 45th Divs. are no longer in any condition to fight. No supplies. Bankruptcy of the command of the sector between Tula and Kursk.
- 3.) Army Gp. order envisages withdrawal to the line Tula-Novosil-Tim in several stages. This movement requires unified command and subordination of Second Army under Second Panzer Army. In this operation Second Panzer Army must fall back to the general line of the Upa river, keeping contact with Second Army at all times.
- 4.) Question of anti-tank weapons.
- 5.) Armd Gp. 4\* labors under very difficult conditions on its northern wing (36th mot. Div). Withdrawal to a straight line Kalinin - VII Corps is planned.

1230 Phone talk with OKW (Jodl), sketching the situation in AGp. Center.

Col. Grimmeis (Ground Forces Liaison at ObdL\*) reports. Briefing on his mission.

- Gen. Buhle:
- a) Organizational orders for the winter (Troop Hqs will carry out rehabilitation as the tactical situation permits).
  - b) Truck position: First instalment from new production will arrive around first of the year.
  - c) Rehabilitation and new output of tanks. With the output scheduled we cannot wage any war at all.
  - d) Assault Guns. Here, too, scheduled production is entirely insufficient.
  - e) Refilling of the Western Divs. scheduled for transfer to the East.
  - f) Reorganization of Artillery Commander system: Creation of Army Artillery Commanders.\*\*

- Gen. Wagner:
- a) Reorganization of depot system. Simplification and economies.
  - b) Truck maintenance. The workshops moved to front by BdE must be transferred to control of Field Army.
  - \*\*\*e) Set-up for safeguarding of German interests in Transnistria.#
  - f) France: Retaliation for the recent outrages: 100 persons shot, deportation to the East, of 1,000 Frenchmen with police records##. Proclamation to the French population.
  - g) Report on Medical Services: Apparently, all right. Battlefield evacuation of wounded has everywhere been successful.

OQu IV. Maj. Metz: Situation in West Africa. -- Financial position of Romania -- Asiatic Theater of War.

<u>Air Force:</u>		South	Center	North
	( Bomber Gruppen	5	7	5
Friendly	( Divebomber Gruppen	2	3	-
Air Force	( Long-range Fighter Gruppen	-	1	-
	( Fighter Gruppen	3 1/3	5 1/3	3 1/3

Taking 30 aircraft per Gruppe, our Air Force compares with enemy's as follows:

		German	Russian
<u>South:</u>	Fighters	100	252
	Bombers	210	192
			156 (other craft)

		German	Russian
<u>Center:</u>	Fighters	160	88
	Bombers	330	67
			55 (other craft)
<u>North:</u>	Fighters	100	105
	Bombers	150	80
			65 (other craft)

Evening situation: South: Mud and slush. Attack against our Mius line broken up. The Italians report slight gains. East of Astyemovsk local penetrations; attacks from the north repelled. Planned shortening of our lines. Patrol activity on front of Sixth Army.

Center: Army Hq 2 put under the Command of Second Panzer Army. Very serious situation in Second Army. Enemy attack and troop concentrations in Ninth Armd. Div. sector. An advancing German Regt. Has been encircled by the Russians at Yefremov; the same happened at Burslomy.\* Situation in XXXIV Corps unchanged grave. Impossible to get supplies through. Second Panzer Army has repelled enemy attacks. Situation at Tula difficult. Taking back of the front of Second Army and Second Panzer Army, as planned by AGp. has become unavoidable. Fourth Army on the whole had a quiet day. Armd. Gp. 4 beat off an attack, as did apparently also Armd. Gp. 3. Attack at Kalinin repulsed.

North: Pressure on 126th Div. and northern wing of Twelfth Armd. Div.

Supply situation: AGp. Center: Difficulties in XXXIV Corps (supplies cannot get through), no clear picture of situation in Armd. Gp. 3. In AGp. North heavy snowdrifts blocking railroad lines, severely hampering supply and movement of 291st Div.

Transport situation: Running smoothly.

13 December 1941 (175th Day).

Situation: Reconnaissance results:

- a) Hq of the Russian Southwest Front has been located at Voronezh; is in communication with Tenth Armd. Brig. at Svoboda. Various Hqs and units have been located northwest of Voronezh. Troop movement between Stari Oskol and Yelets indicates that the enemy is exploiting his

- unexpected success with newly acquired forces.
- b) Heavy column traffic (march columns) from Tikhvin in the direction of Lake Ladoga. Railroad traffic from the east toward Tikhvin.

AGp. South: The main body of 125th Div. has joined III Corps. Seventeenth Army is relieving units within its sector, without serious enemy interference. Local fighting in Sixth Army sector.

AGp. Center:

- a) All attacks against Ninth Armd. Div. along the railroad line repelled. More attacks likely. German troops yesterday reported encircled at Yefremov are free again.
- b) Two new enemy Divs. between Tula and Yepifan. Attacks beaten back; heavy enemy losses. Enemy infiltration west of Tula.
- c) Northwest of Moscow, four new Rifle Brig. and one new Armd. Brig.
- d) Situation at Klin, which is still in our hands, apparently slightly improved. Second Armd. Div. has closed the gap south of Thirtysixth mot. Div.
- e) Successful disengagement southeast of Kalinin, but we hold Kalinin itself.

AGp. North: Patrol thrusts southeast of Lake Ilmen. Serious Artillery losses in the retreat from Tikhvin (two Lt. Fd. How. Bns., one Med. AAA Btry.). Severe weather complicates shifting of 291st Div. Opposite 122nd Inf. Div., marked enemy movement. Attack is expected.

Africa: Ain el Gazala position reached. The southern wing, where the Italians fell back only slowly, had first to be freed in hard fighting. Two vessels, each carrying one Armd. Co., sunk.

Phone talk with Gen. Brennecke (North): Army Gp. judges it impracticable to hold out for any length of time forward of the position now occupied east of the Volkhov river. There is even a slight intimation that withdrawal to the Volkhov river would be unavoidable. My objection is that the resulting pressure from the east would then make it impossible to launch an attack to restore the situation on the Ladoga front. Army Gp. is convinced it still has a chance to carry off the Ladoga operation and so wants to move 254th Div. across the Volkhov river into the position on the western edge of the big marshes. 291st Div. would replace the Div. south of Shum. Owing to the complication caused by the snowstorm and the strain of their long march the striking power of the Div. must be expected to have fallen off severely. This condition automatically rules out the launching of

any attack to restore the situation on the Ladoga front, regrettable as that would be.

Everything will have to be done to fight Army Gp.'s tendency to resign itself to the narrow corridor on the Neva after their many fruitless attempts, and to wait for the results of attrition to take effect in Leningrad.

The troops retreating from Tikhvin to the Volkhov river seem to experience great hardships owing to severe weather and the harassing attacks of the enemy.

Col. Ochsner: Report on inspection of troops in AGp. Center. Morale of troops good. One-third of the trucks immobilized by mechanical defects. Winter clothing has arrived, but material for cold-weather operation of vehicles (winter oil, etc.) is still outstanding. Russian Rocket Launchers are appearing increasingly, especially those of medium caliber. Hard to fight because of their high mobility. The Russians are reported to have 15 to 16 Rocket Launcher Regts., of three Bns. of three Btrys. each, with four launching trucks to a Btry.

Gen. Gercke: Ordered to report to the Reich Marshal. The deficiencies of our railroad service must be shown up: Shortcomings of personnel and lack of material support for the rail operations of Army.\*

Evening Situation: South: Local penetrations in Seventeenth Army sector (IV Corps) are only of tactical scope. At Sevastopol, apparently arrival of enemy reinforcements.

Center: Efforts to check the penetration in XXXIV Corps continue, but enemy Cav., with Artillery, is already roaming far behind the front. No clear picture yet of the situation of the Divs. of XXXIV Corps. Attacks on the rest of the front were repelled.

West of Tula a deep penetration by light enemy forces, which compels us to shorten the front. Movement hampered by icy roads. In Fourth Army intensified combat activity and local fire fights. At Klin the front has been taken back and the gap closed. Withdrawal to the position on Lama river must be expected. Southeast of Kalinin our front is disengaging; a counter attack was launched directly southeast of the city.

North: Vehement local attack against X Corps on the Volkhov front (216th Div.). Falling back to Volkhov is being considered.

14 December 1941 (176th Day).

Situation: AGp. South: Motorized movement from Voroshilovgrad toward Seventeenth Army (IV Corps), apparently of tactical importance only. IV Corps is under attack; local penetrations. AAA and fighter protection north of the Donets is very conspicuous. Troops entraining at Kantemirovka. Railroad traffic from southeast and southwest to Liski. No confirmation could be obtained on reported enemy concentrations opposite Sixth Army.

AGp. Center: Nothing alarming on the southern wing of Second Army. In central sector and on northern wing, the situation seems to be improving a little. Guderian evidently has his Second Panzer Army firmly under control and is leading it back step by step. The gap southwest of Tula is rather awkward, but I can see no way of sealing it. In Fourth Army, no acute trouble, but some minor penetrations of merely tactical significance. At Klin the situation seems to be gradually stabilizing. At Kalinin, fluctuating battles with generally satisfactory results.

AGp. North: Enemy attack against 126th Div. comes at a bad time. The withdrawal of XXXIX Corps apparently is proceeding according to plan. After a long time the enemy is again attacking I Corps at Volkhovstroi (as a result of Tikhvin!). Also in XXVIII Corps sector, on the Ladoga front, enemy activity is reviving again. No important news from the Neva and Kronstadt fronts.

Train arrivals have dropped to an alarming low. The reason given is demolitions by partisans. Railroad repair shop at Velikie Luki burnt down.

Col. Heusinger. We discuss the report by AGp. North in reply to an inquiry from OKW. The front east of the Volkhov river cannot be held indefinitely. Accordingly the advanced wing at Volkhovstroi would also have to be taken back. We would gain strength. Widening of the corridor. We concur with this concept. The front must be taken back to the Volkhov river also for the additional reason that evacuation of Kalinin, which will soon be unavoidable, will increase pressure on the front, at which time reserves would be needed to hold our ground.

Col. von Bernuth: New binding for skis -- Demonstration Div. (71st) goes to the camps round Chalons -- Training of the Mt. troop replacements this year also in the mountains (longer training period for recruits). -- Training problems of Seventh Mt. Div. and Fifth Lt. Div.

Casualties: 22 June - 10 Dec., 1941.

Wounded:	18,220	Off.	561,575	NCO and EM
Killed:	6,827	Off.	155,972	NCO and EM
Missing:	562	Off.	31,922	NCO and EM
Total:	25,609	Off.	749,469	NCO and EM

Total losses (excl. medical casualties):  
775,078, i.e., 24.22% of the Eastern Army, at an average strength of 3.2 million.

1830 Field Marshal von Brauchitsch on phone, after conference with von Bock, von Kluge and Guderian:

Situation in Second Panzer Army: Gap between 45th and 134th Divs. has not yet been closed. The troops dispatched to block the enemy are arriving very slowly. Further north, Second Panzer Army is conducting a planned withdrawal in several bounds. The situation west of Tula is difficult. Open gap in this sector. (137th Div. is being moved into it from the north; present whereabouts unreported.)

Fourth Army: The front holds, but is very thin. No reserves in back of it. The position from its southern wing all the way to VII Corps is good enough, in 267th Div. sector the situation is obscure. Nothing big can be expected of commitment of 255th Div. Hoepfner is sending down tanks.

von Kluge: Will be able to decide tomorrow whether the situation can be maintained. Further enemy progress in 255th Div. sector endangers our communications line between Mozhaisk and Volokolamsk. Very grave reports from Armd. Gp. 3.

Intention: Kalinin must be evacuated. Gradual withdrawal to the protective defense line Staritsa- VII Corps.

c Condition of the fighting: Second Army has little freedom of movement. Armd. Gp. 3 reports heavy materiel losses. Fourth Army also will suffer materiel losses when it moves back its front.

Conclusion: The troops will arrive in the new line greatly weakened, and it is doubtful that it can then be held against heavy attacks. In order to ensure orderly withdrawal we must do everything to bring up fresh forces and, after that, Artillery and explosives for Engs. Immediate decision required: Army Gp. must be given discretion to fall back from the northern

protective line, as the situation requires. Army Gp. must be given freedom to order withdrawal to the Oka line if it judges that step necessary.

Talk with Gen. Jodl: Portray seriousness of situation.

QQ I: Result of the Berlin conference on future organization of Ren. Aviation. (Next spring we are going to get 20 Staffeln of FW 189, 20 Staffeln HE 126, the latter for reorganization\*). -- "Attila". -- "Isabella". -- (Both still feasible even after withdrawal of forces from the West). -- Need for more troops makes it necessary to cut down on Finland and the Balkans.

Conference with the operational Section Chiefs: Review of the situation. -- Speeding up of replacement shipments. -- Moving of Artillery and explosives to the front -- . Train collision at Vyazma will paralyze the station for three days.

15 December 1941. (177th Day).

Situation: Air observation:

- a) Rail movements Kupyansk - Liski and Likhaya - Liski under AAA cover, possibly in direction of Second Army front.
- b) Apparently one movement\* each from southeast and east toward Moscow, through Ryazan.
- c) Moscow toward Tula: troop movement.
- d) Yaroslavl - Bologoye: one movement.
- e) Vologda - Tikhvin: one movement.

AGp. South: Situation in Seventeenth Army sector is still somewhat uncertain. Pressure spot east of Artyemovsk.

AGp. Center: Weak spots:

Second Army: On the southern wing the enemy is apparently attempting to widen the penetration by an attack on Livni, without success. However, we must still reckon with the possibility that he may be committing additional forces.

Second Panzer Army is pulling out in good order. Critical weak point west of Tula; relief forces from the south cannot get through, and from the north we can send only weak elements which moreover will take long to get there.

Fourth Army: Heavy pressure against 255th Div., where the enemy might be able to roll up the northern portion of the front or disrupt orderly withdrawal.

V Corps also is under heavy pressure.

Klin relatively free from pressure. Withdrawn from the Klin area: Fourteenth mot. Div. and Seventh Armd. Div. -- Attack beaten off north of Klin. Ninth Army has heavy losses at Kalinin.

AGp. North: More active south of Lake Ilmen, but only patrol activity.

In 126th Div. rather confused situation. Enemy elements which broke through our lines are now fighting in rear.

All quiet on the Ladoga and Leningrad fronts.

North Africa: Rommel has fallen back to the Ain el Gazala position. The enemy is following only slowly. Heavy Italian losses in transport and tanks. The French help us with aviation fuel and food from Tunis.

1200 von Greiffenberg (Center):

a) My talk with Jodl: Where front can be held, no withdrawal; where untenable, shorten line and then fall back; no retiring before all preparations are completed.

b) Situation in Reinhardt's Corps tight (forests) and confused. The disengagement of Ninth Army seems to be proceeding orderly. Army Group wants to hold on the Volga bend until 17 Dec. evening, in order to safeguard planned withdrawal of Reinhardt and Ninth Army.

c) Situation at the Ruza position unsatisfactory; parts of Nineteenth Armd. Div. and Third mot. Div. have already been committed to relieve it. Rear elements are already in action in the Ruza position, but we are short of men. French Regt. in Ruza.

1230 Brennecke (North): He sees no major threat at Novgorod. 2 Bns. from a Div. in the rear will be moved to area north of Novgorod. Time of arrival still uncertain. South of Lake Ilmen, only intensified reconnaissance. Radio intelligence would indicate that the enemy has reinforced his air force in the area. No marked increase in Artillery activity. The retreat from Tikhvin is proceeding in good order. No materiel has been lost. Fuel supply got through \* without enemy interference. The intention to widen the corridor by offensive action is still being upheld.

Examine possibility to maintain communications with Oranienbaum by means of tanks!

1300 Sodenstern (South): Eleventh Army will attack Say after tomorrow. Divebombers will be brought up tomorrow; a small portion will remain with Seventeenth Army.

Tactical situation of First Panzer Army consolidated. Seventeenth Army has moved one Regt. of Ninth Div. from the rear to Artyemovsk.

76th Div. is being taken back to free some Bns. for other assignments, not because of enemy pressure.\* 97th Div. has put up a very good fight. Good work, Fretter-Pico!

Reichenau for the time being wants to put the Airborne Regt. around Stalino, in order to have it handy also for Seventeenth Army. It will take the Regt. 8 to 10 days, to be assembled in the area including its rail-borne elements.

Sixth Army is moving forward two-thirds of 299th Div., in order to close up east of Oboyan. Security measures on the Seim river. No enemy pressure in that sector. Road Kharkov-Belgorod-Kursk good for troop movements.

Heusinger reports: Withdrawal of the troops in AGP. Center, if absolutely unavoidable, must be staged so that the Staritsa line would be reached by 20 Dec. At Kalinin, everything is being made ready today for evacuation; whether the plan will be carried out depends on the situation. No orders yet regarding withdrawal beyond the Staritsa line. Rear position is being prepared along the line: Kursk - Orel - Kaluga - Gzhatsk.

A call to Jodl ~~verifies~~ <sup>verifies</sup> Fuehrer's approval of withdrawal of Ninth, Third and Fourth Armd. Divs. to the Staritsa line. As to further withdrawals he wants to talk to ObdH.

Would it be possible to get 218th Div. from Denmark?

1320 Gen.Obst. Fromm: Saw the Fuehrer this morning at 0030. Question: What units are available to be flown to the front?

a) "Walkuere".\* Four Divs. of two Inf. Regts. each; one hv., six lt. Btrys; two to three Ren. Troops; one Eng. Bn., one AT Bn., one mixed Signal Co.\*.\*\* Only some rear service troops. Activation ordered. The Cos. obtained will be shipped to Gross Born, Mlawa, Wattern, Neuhammer. # Leave 18 Dec., arriv 20 Dec. evening, training, etc. until 27 Dec. Composition: Training personnel, convalescents. Age-group 1922 and scheduled Replacement Transfer Bns. will not be touched.

b) Rheingold: \* Last reserve. Will disrupt domestic economy,\*\* both as to personnel and production (trucks),\*\*\*  
Activation 7 days, then 3 - 4 weeks training..  
Five complete Divs., Inf. like First Draft, no med. Arty., only one Eng. Co., mixed Signal Co.  
Men at the expense of civilian economy; entails a drop in output. Moreover, absorbs contingents ultimately destined for current replacements.  
Replacements will have to be covered by taking 100,000 more men from the civilian economy (raising total to 600,000).

1330 Gen. Gercke reports on talk with the Reich Marshal: Started out with extravagant accusations and demanded a schedule to the East of 300 trains per day.. Then Gercke enumerated the factors responsible for keeping down railroad capacity (personnel, steel, coal, water pumps, food, sidings etc.), and in the end the Reich Marshal promised his support. Tomorrow conference with the Fuehrer.#

1400 Filed Marshal von Brauchitsch returns from his front tour to AGP. Center. Orient him on the situation and on Fromm's and Gercke's reports,

von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters. Many losses due to exhaustion and sickness. -- New Year proclamation.##

1800 - 1930 Very serious talk about the situation with ObdH. He is very despondent and cannot see any way of extricating the Army from its present predicament

OQu I: Basic features of future organization of Army  
Air Obsn. No objection to control by Air Force in administrative matters,### but assignment of missions must remain in hands of the Army.

Evening situation: South: The increase in shipping in the Kerch Strait is noteworthy.  
Rest of the front more or less quiet, except for continued attacks in the Artyemovsk area.

Center: At the moment the penetration in Second Army seems no longer moving, but reinforcements are flowing in that direction; we must also reckon with a southward expansion of the penetration.

Second Panzer Army, east of Tula, is subjected to heavy pressure from the northeast. Local penetrations. Morale seems to have declined. Materiel losses and fuel shortage. The situation in the Dubna gap, west of Tula, is obscure. Fourth Army is holding its position against attacks. In sector of Armd. Gp. 3, the situation is confused.

Ninth Army has repelled attacks and is preparing to fall back to the Staritsa position. Food supply difficult. Loss of combat vehicles.

North: Local attacks south of Lake Ilmen. New enemy forces apparently are moving up through Valdai, possibly also against Novgorod. Strong pressure on Malaya Vishera. Withdrawal to Volkhov river has been ordered. On the Leningrad front, several attacks, in Bn. strength, this time west of the Neva, were repelled at great cost to the enemy.

16 December 1941 (178th Day).

Situation: Air reconnaissance: Heavy railroad traffic Moscow - Bologoe - Tikhvin.

South: The enemy is bringing reinforcements, \* apparently also combat forces (Artillery) to Sevastopol.  
The enemy is digging trenches opposite Sixth Army.

Center: 134th Div. has fought its way out; no report yet from 45th Div. The enemy is feeding new forces into the penetration between Yefremov and Yelets.

Guderian is falling back. Heavy pressure on Third Armd. Div. and on the front south of Aleksin.

North: Enemy pressure on Malaya Vishera compels us to take back the front.  
Shifting of enemy forces across Lake Ladoga has apparently resulted in a strengthening of Ladoga front.\*\* Attacks out of Leningrad have been stepped up in several sectors.

1200 von Bock calls up: Situation report. Anxiety about Armd. Gp. 3. XXXXIII Corps shaky.

Gen. Fellgiebel reports on allocation of his raw materials. Army needs must have priority. Air Force demands excessive.

Gen. Gercke: Ordered to report to the Fuehrer. Troops will not be moved as Divs. Only Inf. is to be sent to the front. The fighting lines need fighting men.

Field Marshal von Leeb: Report on Fuehrer conference: Fuehrer accepts Army Gp's proposal to fall back to the Volkhov river.

Gen. Obst. Busch came in for report to Fuehrer. Drops in briefly.

Midnight Ordered to the Fuehrer: ObdH, I, Chief Op. Sec.

- a) Order: General withdrawal is out of the question. Enemy has made substantial penetration only in a few places. The idea to prepare rear positions is just drivelling nonsense. The only trouble at the front is that the enemy outnumbered us in soldiers. He does not have any more Artillery. His soldiers are not nearly as good as ours.
- b) Has directed added air support in front of four Bomber Gruppen, reinforcements for the two existing Long-range Fighter Gruppen, plus a third Long-range Fighter Gruppe. This gives an increase of 120 planes, not counting the Long-range Fighters.
- c) Withdrawal to shortened line only when fuel has arrived and fresh Infantry is available to take up the units.
- d) New Divs. must be committed: At Dubna (Second Armd. Div.) and in Armd. Gps. 3 and 4. Replacements necessary in Fourth Army. Also Second Army must be reinforced.
- e) Two hundred transport aircraft in addition to the Air Transport Gruppe of AGp. South will be available for air lift.
- f) Railroads: Capacity limited. To the front first of all Infantry with light weapons, AT units and Eng., perhaps also an Arty. Bn. Must take along canned food for eight to ten days, fuel tablets, chocolate.
- g) Two thousand SS will be shipped from Cracow by air; can be driven to the front by SS Brigade at Novosil.
- h) Division from Denmark will go to Reval by ship.

17 December 1941 (179th Day).

Situation: Air reconnaissance: More railroad traffic through Bologoe. Unloading at Kresttsi.

AGp. South: a) Assault of Sevastopol has commenced and gained 5 km in first leap. Four enemy Divs.

with Artillery and tanks are reported in the fortress.  
b) Enemy attacks on the northern front of IV Corps.

AGp. Center:

- a) Nothing of importance south of Livni.
- b) Between Yefremov and Livni, the enemy seems to be bringing in new forces. No crisis. Sector will be defended.
- c) In the battle area of Second Panzer Army, heavy enemy pressure on 212th Div.
- d) West of Tula, severe pressure on 31st Div. The Dubna gap remains a serious danger spot.
- e) Aleksin sector reports attack by three enemy Divs.
- f) In IX Corps things appear to have been fouled up badly. It seems that some Divs. held on while others fell back. Chaos, with resulting loss of heavy weapons and vehicles.
- g) Situation in Armd. Gps. 3 and 4 still confused, but apparently tenable in spite of vehicles losses.
- h) Ninth Army has taken back its front slightly, but otherwise seems to be under control and holding on.

AGp. North: East of the Volkhov river, the situation appears to be fair. Penetrations at Malaya Vishera have been sealed. Two Divs. from the Leningrad area have appeared on south shore of Lake Ladoga.

Conference with OQu I, Op. Sec., Gen Qu, Org. Sec., Foreign Armies East on measures to implement the orders given at yesterday's Fuehrer conference. Organization of shipments to the front. Infantry ahead.

Short conference with ObdH:

- a) Sixth Army must immediately free one Div. for the northern wing, Fourth Army one for its southern wing.
- b) 1,000 more trucks for AGp. Center. Steps to speed arrival.
- c) von Bock seriously ill. Need someone to take his place.

- d) ObdH wants to disband NCO Schools temporarily to get replacements for the front. \*

After return of ObdH from Fuehrer, conference with Fromm at ObdH:—

- a) Fromm will need some time to relieve 218th Div. in Denmark. He wants to put in its place replacement units from Mil. District XI, together with Regional Defense units. One crew for two Btrys.!
- b) Jagd Kommandos:\*\* Partisan fighting. Will be employed in Rear Areas and directly behind the front. Organized in Cos., formed into Bns. Composition the same as for inland.
- c) BdE has yet one Mt. Inf. Regt. each of XVII and XVIII Corps; 15 Regional Defense Bns. now used as PW Guards, and 10 Construction Bns. Will let us know about them.\*\* \*
- d) Moving of new trucks to front. Must be used to transport troops. Open! # Organization for route movement. Drivers from Gen Qu Truck Clms. (Also snow clearing, winter accessories.)
- e) In addition to 10,000 convalescents, 100,000 men on occupational deferment will be released each month for the Eastern Army, starting January.
- f) Release initial class of NCO Schools! 1,400 men. Have completed one year's schooling. No schooling in branch of service.
- g) Replacement Army is said to have many high NCOs which Field Army does not want. ##

Col. Heusinger: Draft plan for moving the forces now available to the East. Inf. Divs. will be moved on a schedule whereby the Inf. elements go to the front first. Along with them will go the "Walkuere" units. They will not be formed into Divs., but instead will probably be absorbed into existing Divs.

Shipment of 218th Div. from Denmark to Reval by sea is doubtful because of ice.

Gen. Gercke:—

- a) Report on conference with State Secretary Kleinmann### in Fuehrer's Hq.
- b) Instead of the 122 trains per day now running, 140 trains will be run starting 1 Jan., 180 starting 1 March.

Evening reports:

- a) At Sevastopol stiff resistance after initial successes due to surprise. The assault will be continued tomorrow. Otherwise all quiet on the southern front. 168th Div. is being shifted to the northern wing of Sixth Army.
- b) In Center, the enemy appears to be regrouping for further attacks in the penetration area at Verkhoye. Our front has been fairly consolidated, but it is rather weak. Guderian has regrouped his Second Panzer Army in depth, but is not taking any serious measures to counteract the threats at Verkhoye and Dubna. In a phone talk with von Greiffenberg, Army Gp. is reminded that at least 29th mot. Div. must be brought up to Novosil. The situation at the Dubna danger spot is still confused. The enemy who breached our line here seems to be hampered by the difficult terrain. Up to now at least there has been no attempt to press home the attack. The situation west of Serpukhov is uncomfortable. Massed enemy attack. Seventeenth Div. has been taken out of the line and is being shifted to South. In Armd. Gp. 4, the sore spot at Ruza is still very sensitive, but it looks as if the situation had slightly improved. This is certainly due in part to the firm stand by V Corps, whereas the Command of IX Corps to all appearance was less determined and so is not without its share of blame in the resulting confusion. As to the situation in Armd. Gp. 3, we are still unable to obtain any clear picture. Monitored radio traffic sounds very listless. \* Ninth Army is doing its job with great calm and efficiency. The enemy is building up for an attack against its northern front.
- c) In North local fighting, which, however, does not interfere with the orderly execution of the scheduled withdrawal to the Volkhov line.

Initial forces arriving by air tomorrow:

1,600 replacements from East Prussia for Armd. Gp. 4. Flight via Orsha. If possible will be landed at Ruza.

The initial elements of the SS from Cracow will be landed at Kaluga.

A Replacement Bn. of AGp. South, consisting of 3-400 men will be put down at Orel.

18 December 1941 (180th Day).

Situation: On the whole a satisfactory day. Advances at Sevastopol. Nothing to note in the sectors of Seventeenth and Sixth Armies. The anticipated attack in Second Army sector has not materialized, which helped us a good deal in consolidating the front. Second Panzer Army continues regrouping in depth.

The breach at Dubna is still a source of concern. There were enemy attacks at Aleksin and Serpuukhov, which were repelled evidently with great effort. Threat continues in both areas! Some replacement shipments have arrived.

West and northwest of Moscow the enemy has brought up six new Divs. Nevertheless our withdrawal to the Ruza-Lama line seems to have been executed in fairly good order.

In North only local attacks. Withdrawal behind the Volkhov river planned for 22 Dec.

Col. Balck:

- a) Questions concerning tank requirements for rehabilitation and for the coming year.
- b) Training Instructions for Mtrcl.-mtd. Rifle Bn.

Gen. Matzky:

- a) Report on Tripartite Pact Commission.
- b) Basic features of the cooperation between Japan and the European Axis Powers. 70° N longitude! \*
- c) Reports from Turkey. Trends in the Arab world.

Gen. Oehquist:

- a) Difficulties in courier service to Finland.
- b) Situation of Finnish national defense, also transportation questions.
- c) Implications of the changed situation in AGP. North for the Finnish front.

Gen. Guendell : Suggestions for a Christmas celebration on 24 Dec. 1715.

von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

von Etzdorf: Report on the State Secretary's estimate of the political situation. Conflict with U.S. is not unwelcome at the present moment.

Phone talk with Brennecke: AAA protection of the "corridor" \* (three med. Btrys. needed).

von Bock calls to say good-bye. (Turns over the command to von Kluge on account of illness.)

von Greiffenberg (several times on phone): Situation, arrival of replacements, and Second Panzer Army support for restoring the situation at Dubna.

Keitel informs me about the Fuehrer's talk with Guderian (support for Dubna breach).

Jodl: Situation estimate and orientation on Fuehrer's talk with Guderian.

19 December 1941 (181st day)

Situation: South reports enemy counter attack with tanks support at Sevastopol. Concentration of enemy air force at Krasnodar.

Center: Attacks everywhere. Four more new Divs. two plus one Armd. Brig. at Livni; one at Yefremov, one (plus one Cav. Div.) south of Tula; also one Div. appearing in radio picture. On front facing Armd. Gp. 3, one new Rifle Brig. Enemy tanks at the motor highway.

North: Nothing of importance. It seems that the enemy continues to reinforce by air, but the effective strength of these Airborne Regts. is low.

1300 Summoned to the Fuehrer:

a) The Fuehrer is going to take over the High command of the Army himself after departure of ObdH owing to ill health. I am to carry on the functions\*, while Keitel will take over the administrative part \*\*. New routine: Daily conference, along with Tra. G., Chief, Signal Chief and Gen Qu.

b) Two mistakes have been made,

1.) The notion of "rear position" was installed into the lower echelon commands. Such positions do not exist and cannot be created. \*\*\*

2.) Provisions against extreme cold were inadequate. Army works too mechanically. Air Force pointed out as model. Has been educated in entirely different spirit by the Reich Marshal.

c) Orders to hold present positions. Not worried about any threats to the flanks. #

d) Concerned about Leningrad. New Bomber Gruppen are being committed, as are more Fighters. Scheduled new forces must be transferred by low sea, if possible as far as Reval.

1700 Talk with von Brauchitsch, who went to the Fuehrer to surrender his command. No essentially new viewpoints.

Gen. von Buhke:

1.) Current problems of organization.

2.) Reinforcements for the front.

1.) The notion of "rear position" was installed into the lower echelon commands. Such positions do not exist and cannot be created. \*\*\*

2.) Provisions against extreme cold were inadequate. Army works too mechanically. Air Force pointed out as model. Has been educated in entirely different spirit by the Reich Marshal.

- a) "Jagdkommandos" activated by General Army Office. Twelve Bns. = 36 Cos. First four Bns. in early January.
  - b) Current replacements through April 58,000, beyond that date 20,000.
  - c) First instalment of trucks, 3,000, starts off on 22 Dec. Will arrive end of Dec.
- 3.) Readjustment in arms production. Requirements in tanks and guns for restoring our Divs. to full strength are extremely high. Drop in output cannot be tolerated.
  - 4.) 10 Regional Defense Bns. and 10 Construction Bns. will go to the Field Army in early January.
  - 5.) Denmark garrison will be reorganized on territorial basis \* in order to free 218th Div.

Evening Situation: South: Gains at Sevastopol. Otherwise quiet.

Center: Attack against Second Army repelled. Enemy is bringing up reinforcements over railroad embankment.\*\* Attacked by 18 of our aircraft. Second Panzer Army is now regrouped in great depth.

Fourth Army! Danger of encirclement in the direction of Kaluga. Penetrations north and south of Tarusa and Aleksin. Situation very tight. At Ruza penetration from the northwest. V Corps is fighting its way back in good order. Enemy is pushing on behind.

Armd. Gp. 3 apparently is again aligned in fairly good order. 36th Inf. Div. and First Panzer Army are falling back under pressure.

Ninth Army reports pressure on the Kalinin road.

North: The front has been taken back only in the sector of 291st Div. Otherwise quiet.

Field Marshal von Kluge reports: According to statements of local population an enemy force, 2,000 strong, is marching on Tikhvin.

North of Khanino, forward elements of enemy Cav. are advancing on Kaluga.

Heavy fighting in 31st Div. sector. Holding at Titova.

Tanks have crossed the Oka river; cannot climb the steep banks.

North of Aleksin the enemy has broken through in the direction of Shopina.

South of Tarusa enemy Ski Bns. have broken through. Enemy in Lgova! \*\*\*

Blumentritt gives a sad picture of the situation. Troops are apathetic. Situation very unhealthy.

The Russians attack during night and turn up behind our positions at the break of daylight. No reinforcements can be expected for tomorrow. In conclusion: Protva front cannot yet be taken back. We must wait for tomorrow. If the decision is taken tomorrow, the move can start the day after.

Evening: Meeting of all officers in the Gen. Staff:  
Reading of the order announcing assumption of the Command of the Army by the Fuehrer.

20 December 1941 (182nd Day).

Situation: Still very tense. In South, advances at Sevastopol. Otherwise quiet.

In Center, the enemy attacked with local successes on the right wing of Second Army, and without success in the Verkhovye penetration area. Worst of all, he pushed into the gap west of Tula, and then thrust with Ski troops and Cav. all the way to the area south of Kaluga. Against this it is heartening to see that the front of XXXXVIII Corps withstands even heavy attacks. On the remainder of the front several major, which in part gained some local successes. In Ninth Army sector intense fighting and local withdrawal.

In North: Local crisis. Only item to report is disengagement of I Corps, which apparently came off moderately well.

Situation conference: Fuehrer holds forth at great length on need of holding the line. Every man must fight back where he stands. No falling back where there are no prepared positions in the rear. \* Defends the encirclement of Leningrad. -- Tanks to Africa.

Several phone talks with von Kluge (Center): Repeated requests for authorization to withdraw are denied. Guderian, who wants to initiate the scheduled disengagement, is instructed to countermand order. -- Talk Guderian/Fuehrer, after I have informed the Fuehrer.

Gen. Keitel (Personnel Div.): Officer position very tight. Due to activation of Divs. in the ZI and transfer of Divs. from the West, which must be brought up to full strength, our officer reserve has been removed. New officers reserve not before

April. Definite picture of the situation possible only after 1 Jan.

Field Marshal von Brauchitsch says good-bye to his Staff (1700). 1849 departure from the Camp in special train.

Evening situation: Generally unchanged. More enemy forces seem to be moving toward Second Army, Second Panzer Army and the gap west of Tula. The situation south of Kaluga, where enemy Cav. is approaching our lines, is painted very darkly.

21 December 1941. (183rd Day).

Situation: In South, no important new developments. The report that the enemy has broken through the northern wing of Sixth Army has not been confirmed.

In the sector of Second Army the enemy breaks through Sixteenth mot. Div. and Ninth Armd. Div. all the way to the Tim river. Local withdrawal necessary. I prevent abandonment of the town of Tim. At Verkhovye strong enemy attacks with local successes, but on the whole, the front stands. Guderian's front is holding the newly reached line.

The focal point of the crisis is south of Kaluga. The enemy has penetrated into the town from Odoev and could just in time be thrown back by elements of a Security Regt. which arrived at that moment; he is still sitting with tanks in the Kaluga Ghetto. XXXXIII Corps (Henrici) to the east of Kaluga, where the enemy effected a break through from the east, must be taken back.

In the remainder of Fourth Army sector local attacks, some carried through with great violence and breaching the line. The Commanding Generals\*\* report that their troops are too exhausted to be able to cope with any further attacks. Order has been given to hold the front. Ninth Army was able to repulse violent attacks south of Kalinin. Here, too, our troops are overstrained.

In AGP. North, the withdrawals are on the whole going according to plan. Local enemy penetrations south of Gruzino. The situation on the left flank of I Corps is still obscure. Partly violent attacks out of Leningrad, which were repulsed west of the Neva. Also an attack across the Neva was beaten bad after hand-to-hand fighting.

Conference with the Fuehrer: He emphasizes the necessity for holding the front. Discussion on means for improving the supply situation by a fundamental reform of Transport Services. The jurisdictional division must be changed in such manner that specific individuals would be held responsible for operations on specified lines.

Several phone talks with Field Marshal von Kluge: On situation at Kaluga and Tim. He is gradually yielding under the pressure of the demands by his subordinate commanders. We have to steel him against them. Guderian seems to have lost his nerve completely. I obtain a Fuehrer order making Guderian alone responsible for holding the Oka river line as far as the mouth of the Zhizdra river.

Dispatching of officers

(Gen.Lt. Mueller, Col. Ochsner, Col. Balck, Lt.Col. Eulenburg, Lt. Col. Radke) to frontline and Rear Area Hqs to restore order and self-confidence. \*

Field Marshal von Bock calls. He gives ill-health as the reason for resigning the command. We discuss von Kluge and Guderian.

Evening reports show enemy penetrations in the Tim area, and heavy pressure and penetrations on the front southwest and west of Moscow.

22 December 1941 (184th day).

Very heavy battles in Second Army sector on the Tim river and at Verkhovye, which on the whole come out well. In Second Panzer Army sector, overwhelming pressure from Tula against the northern wing, which has to be taken back. The southern wing of Fourth Army southeast of Kaluga is enveloped, and at the same time penetrated by a thrust from Tarusa. An exceedingly difficult situation has developed here, and it is beyond anyone's power to say how it will be restored. And yet it is impossible to prevail on the Fuehrer to order any long-range withdrawal. But at least he releases the hollow-charge projectiles. \*\*  
Farther to the north very heavy attack against Fourth Army front, especially in LVII and XX Corps sectors.

No major developments in AGps. North and South.

Reports: Buhle, Wagner, von Ziehlberg, Paulus. Gyldenfeldt presents me with a sword of honor.

23 December 1941 (185th day).

Situation: South: Signs of preparations for an attack against Seventeenth Army (IV Corps).

Center: Second Army and the front of Armd. Gp. 2 mostly report defensive successes \* in partly heavy battles. Only Guderian's northern wing has been pressed back, the result of his over-extension in depth!  
Very troubling situation on the southern wing of Fourth Army. Von Kluge takes a very grave view of its operational implications. To me it also looks quite uncomfortable, but less of operational than of tactical scope. A great many phons talks about Kluge's intention to take back the southern wing of Fourth Army (XIII, XII Corps). The Fuehrer will not agree. The rest of Fourth Army front has held firmly in heavy fighting.  
Ninth Army has fallen back under heavy attacks; pressure from the north.

North: Withdrawal to the Volkhov river is largely proceeding according to plan. Heavy attacks out of Leningrad west of the Neva.

Weather: No severe frost, but heavy snowfalls which hamper air operations.

Gen. Obst. Fromm has a long talk with the Fuehrer on the manpower and raw materials aspects of the arms production program.

Gen. Buhle reports details of the conference of Fuehrer with BdE.

Gen. Bogatsch - Gen. Paulus: New ruling on reorganization of AAA in an AAA Div. for each Army Gp.

Heusinger on my recommendation to the Fuehrer is promoted to the rank of General. -- von Hobe \*\* becomes Major.

24 December 1941 (186th day).

Situation: South: Successes at Sevastopol. Attacks against the northern flank of IV Corps (Seventeenth Army).

Center: Constant pressure against Second Army and Second Panzer Army, with local enemy successes.

Heavy pressure on the northern wing of Second Panzer Army, which must be taken back. Grave threat to the gap between northern wing, Second Panzer Army, and southern wing, Fourth Army. Confused situation south of Maloyaroslavets, where the enemy effected a strong penetration. On the remainder of the front defensive successes. Withdrawal of the southern wing of Fourth Army has been initiated. Ninth Army is falling back in good order. Pressure from the north.

North: Our troops are deployed in good order behind the Volkhov river. Attack out of Leningrad.

Many telephone conversations with Field Marshal von Kluge who is thinking more of his Fourth Army than of the gap to Second Panzer Army. \*

1715 Open-air Xmas celebration of GHQ. Real Xmas atmosphere.

1900 Christmas celebration of my personal staff. Dinner together.

25 December 1941 (187th Day).

A very hard day. On Seventeenth Army front an enemy attack against the Italian sector is repelled. Army Gp. Center has a critical day of the first magnitude. An enemy breakthrough compels Second Army to pull back its line. Guderian retreats to the Oka-Susha line without letting Army Gp. know anything about it. Army Gp. demands Guderian's immediate relief of his post, which Fuehrer directs at once. Schmidt takes over Second Army and Second Panzer Army. Hq XXIV Corps with Fourth Armd. Div. is being shifted to the northern wing of Second Panzer Army. Army Gp. is trying to check the enemy who has crossed the Oka river in several places (Hq XXIV and Hq of 216th Inf. Div. committed). No news from the gap between XXXIII and XIII Corps. Nineteenth Armd. Div. is supposed to help in this sector. The rest of the front repels attacks, put on partly in great strength, in particular at Volokolamsk. Front of Ninth Army begins to crumble. On the northern flank in the Torzhok area and to the westward, the outline of a new threat is defining itself, and we have nothing left at the moment to meet it effectively.

In AGp North, no important events. Enemy movement Tikhvin -- Lake Ladoga.

Gen. Brand reports on Artillery preparations in AGp North.

He is directed to compute ammunition requirements for gas attack on Leningrad.

Gen. Gercke: Measures to increase railroad capacity. There will be a marked improvement by 1 Jan. and an even better one beginning of March.

26 December 1941 (188th Day).

Situation: Some easing of tension over the preceding days.

South: Enemy crossing at Kerch. Seventeenth Army repelled an enemy attack.

Center: The enemy seems to be following behind the withdrawing Second Army and Second Panzer Army only in some places.--The Oka gap has not widened so far, although it would appear that a Cav. Corps has gone across the Oka.--Fourth Armd. Div. is stuck in snow north of Byelev. Stumme is organizing resistance. Kuebler has at last arrived at Fourth Army.--At Kaluga the situation has eased up a little; some let-up apparently also to the northeastward. Many attacks against Fourth Army repelled.

In North, no noteworthy events. Withdrawal behind the Volkhov river.

von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

OQu I: Organization of Air Reconnaissance.

OQu IV and Chief, Foreign Armies East: Work of our Ic officers is deteriorating. -- Organization of cooperation with Air Force.

27 December 1941 (189th Day).

Situation: Enemy is crossing at Kerch. Difficult tactical situation. On the boundary between First Panzer Army and Seventeenth Army violent attacks by the concentrated enemy forces in the area. Penetrations. Counter attack. No danger. Further extension to the west possible.\*

AGp. Center is the most seriously perturbed. Right wing must be taken back following an enemy penetration at Trudki. Center holds. On the Oka, an enemy Cav. Corps has made a regular break-through (Stumme). Desperate attempts to check the enemy east of Sukhinichi. Situation aggravated by deep snow and delayed arrival of railroad transports. Northeast of Kaluga the situation has apparently been stabilized to some extent. XIII Corps must be taken back. The rest of Fourth Army front is under pressure only in 106th Div. sector (penetrations!).

Ninth Army is being attacked on its northeastern front by three numerically superior Assault Groups, on its northern front by a force many times outnumbering our troops. Local penetrations and shortening of our lines.

North expects enemy attack on the Volkhov river and from the Ladoga area. So far only local attacks, which were beaten off.

Buhle: We discuss organizational plans for the coming year. EM replacements. -- Miscellaneous business.

Gen. Bieler: Designated CG, V Corps. We talk about the Crimean campaign.

von Below: General directives on Instructional Pamphlet for Defensive Warfare.

28 December 1941 (190th Day).

Situation: South: The Kerch thrust has not yet been reduced. The enemy is moving in reinforcements. The assault on Sevastopol is being continued. First Panzer Army has repulsed attacks. In this sector all serious danger seems to have been removed.

Also in Seventeenth Army sector (IV Corps) the enemy seems to be near the end of his striking power (radio message of a senior commander).

In Sixth Army Sector, wide sectors of 75th Div. are for the first time attacked by larger forces (groups of several Bns. strength). Enemy concentration at Volchansk.

Center: On the southern wing of Second Army the enemy is attacking with tanks, including super-heavy types. With hollow-charge ammunition now again at the front, there is a chance that the attacks will be repelled.

Second Panzer Army: Although the Trudki gap has been narrowed by taking back the front, it still exists; elimination will be possible only after arrival of Third Armd. Div.

Tensions on the northern wing, where the enemy seems to be concentrating.

The Oka gap continues to be the most serious danger spot. In addition to the leading elements of 208th Div., Tenth mot. Div. also is being moved to Sukhinichi, partly by road and the bulk by rail. Also to be moved from the north to this sector are Tenth Armd. Div. (starting 1 Jan.), and Nineteenth Armd. Div., after closure of the gap between XXXXIII and XIII Corps.

Fourth Army moves XIII Corps out of the line to take out one Div. The rest of the front has to fight off local attacks, some quite heavy. Our 106th Div. is particularly hard hit by them.

Ninth Army is under very heavy attack. The front, already very thin, is hit by three Assault Groups, and on top of that, the northern flank has to withstand strong attacks conducted in part by new Divs. (five); here we face a serious threat at the moment.

North reports increasing signs of impending attacks against the Volkhov front and southward from the Ladoga front. A new Hq., which apparently will be in command of the entire offensive, has been identified by radio intelligence. At Leningrad an attack of the usual scope was repelled.

OQu. IV: Call for units equipped for winter mobility: Of our Allies only the Romanians have reacted so far.-- Current business of his section

Gen. Jacob with Gen. Dehmel:

- a) The latter reports on rear fortifications in AGp. Center. Tools and obstacle material have arrived at the front. In addition, Ninth Army and Fourth Panzer Army have each completed 60 shell-proofs\*; 60 more are under construction. Regrettably also combat troops were used on this project, which would have had much better employment at the front. A few labor detachments\*\* seem to have been put on the

job; local population must shovel snow, and is being used only in few instances.

- b) Dismantling of fortifications construction materials in the West and on the old eastern frontier. Restoring the West Wall for defense would take seven weeks\* (one week's preparatory work, then two weeks each for the three priority stages. Rehabilitation of the main fortifications would be part of the first stage). Restoring fortifications on the eastern frontier for defense would take three months! Better get the material from the West!
- c) Studies on foreign frontier fortifications (France, Belgium, Poland, Netherlands).

Evening situation: Uncomfortable situation in the Oka gap. Troops are under very severe strain in Armd. Gp. 4. -- Very heavy defensive battles in Nineteenth Army.

OQu I: Training questions. -- Training Instruction for Mtcle.-mtd. Rifle Bn.

29 December 1941 (191st day).

A very bad day! In the Crimea, the CG of XXXXII Corps (Count Sponeck) withdraws 46th Div. from the Kerch peninsula under the first shock of an enemy landing at Feodosia. He has at once been removed from his post, but the damage done can hardly be repaired. In First Panzer Army and Seventeenth and Sixth Armies everything is in good shape.

In AGp. Center, however, the enemy's superiority on the fronts of Second Army and Second Panzer Army is beginning to tell. We did succeed in sealing the penetrations, but the situation on the over-extended front, at which the enemy keeps hammering with ever new concentrations, is very difficult in view of the state of exhaustion of our troops. Strong penetration north of Mtsensk and on the northern wing of Second Panzer Army. In the Oka gap, near Sukhinichi, a solid combat group is being formed, which has already been active with reconnaissance forces in combat strength (Stumme), but the bulk of the enemy is advancing unchecked in the direction of Yukhnov (paratroop landings!) Kaluga and the salient to the north must be abandoned in order to collect forces strong enough to stem the enemy break-

through across the Oka. On the Army front to the north, partly very heavy fighting resulting in enemy penetrations.

The situation in Ninth Army is becoming very difficult. Under pressure from the direction of Torzhok and after successive enemy breakthroughs, the Army line had to be taken farther back again.

At Fuehrer Hq. dramatic telephone conversations with Richthofen, who temporarily will take over command of VI Corps after its CG, Foerster, has been relieved. \*

In AGp. North, local enemy penetrations on the boundary of Sixteenth and Eighteenth Armies.

Op I: Training matters (Instructional Pamphlet). \*\* ---  
Preparations for a rear position on a big scale.

30 December 1941 (192nd day).

Again a hard day! In the Crimea, the enemy landing at Feodosia has created a very difficult operational\*\*\* situation. Nevertheless Army Gp. has decided to continue the assault on Sevastopol. Behind the front facing Sixth Army, baffling rail movements.

The flanks of the Oka salient are now slightly better lined by minor individual units and as a result of regrouping within XXXXIII Corps, but the gap is still far from being closed.

Crisis in Fifteenth Div. Dramatic phone talk between the Fuehrer and von Kluge. The Fuehrer vetoes the proposal to take back the front of the northern portion of Fourth Army.

Very serious crisis in Ninth Army, where the Command must have lost its nerve for a time.

At noon von Kluge calls up excitedly, to inform us that Ninth Army wants to fall back behind Rzhev. But in the end C-in-C of Army Gp. appears to have asserted himself. By nightfall the front of Ninth Army is pressed back slightly, but the general atmosphere is clearer. Some small reinforcements have arrived. Fourth Armd. Gp. must free reserves.

In North, a counter attack has been initiated against an enemy breakthrough on the Volkhov.

Also on the Ladoga front disagreeable attacks.  
Nervous tension

von Ziehlberg: Gen. Staff personnel matters, in particular Gen. Staff Training Course.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Security troops from Rear Areas of AGps. South and Center must be sent to the front. Current supply matters, specifically forage for horses from paper mill \* (cellulose).

31 December 1941 (193rd Day).

Again an arduous day! At Sevastopol, the attacks by 22nd Arm'd. Div. have had no decisive success. We must now suspend the assault to free forces for Feodosia, where the enemy has reinforced and expanded his beachhead. Second Army and Second Panzer Army have beaten off most attacks. Enemy pressure on the northern wing of Second Army at Byelev. The enemy is moving Inf. into the Oka salient. Pressure on XXXVIII Corps now also from the east. Penetrations in LVII Corps north of Maloyaroslavets. V Corps seems to have repulsed heavy attacks. In Ninth Army, very difficult situation following a breakthrough by strong enemy on both sides of VI Corps. In AGp. North, the front is generally quiet.

Lt. Col. Radke, Count Eulenburg, Col. Ochsner, Col. Balck report on their tours to the fronts of Ninth and Fourth Armies, Rear Area, northern part and center of Arm'd. Groups 3 and 4.

Col. von Krosigk reports as new C of S, I Corps.  
Briefing!

Gen. Paulus: Measures to return Twelfth and Eighth Arm'd. Divs. to the front, which were sent by Army Gp. far to the rear in Estonia for rehabilitation.

1 9 4 2

1 January 1942 (194th Day).

Situation: New developments:

- a) Attack against the northern wing of Sixth Army; the enemy is manifestly massing forces also against the rest of Army front.
- b) A full-staged attack against the corner of AGp. North front at Tigoda has started.

Developments in the old pressure points:

Crimea: Situation tight; practically no chance of restoring it without reinforcements.

Southern wing of AGp. Center again is under heavy attack.

Oka bulge; flanks are being lined with our forces.

Fourth Army under heavy pressure in several sectors.

Armd.Gps. 3 and 4 are repelling enemy attacks.

The enemy has broken through Ninth Army on both sides of ruined Staritsa; the Army is fighting to maintain integrity of its front.

Fuehrer situation conference: Detailed discussion on planned reform of Transport organization. Outcome: Reich Minister of Transportation takes charge of the entire railroad service up to railheads directly behind the front.

Gen. Mueller reports on his tour to Second Panzer Army and Second Army. Situation very bad, but not untenable. Better supervision needed behind front. Troops in good shape. No signs of demoralization.

Presentation of the War Service Cross First Class to a number of officers in GHq.

2 January 1942 (195th Day).

A day of vehement fighting. In the Crimea a temporary check has been imposed on the enemy advance by our Air effort. On the southern half of our front the enemy is launching rather heavy drives against the northern wing of Sixth Army and the southern wing of Second Army, but there appears to be not threat of operational scope. In the Oka gap, into which the enemy is introducing sizeable reinforcements, there are signs that the flanks of the penetration are being stabilized. In Fourth and Ninth Armies, however, the situation is taking a critical turn. The breakthrough north of Maloyaroslavets has split the front and we cannot at the moment see any way

of restoring it again. The front of Ninth Army has been broken through from the direction of Staritsa. As far as we can see, there was a mix-up in Hq, in which a non-existent "Koenigsberg position" supposed to be in back of the front, appears to have played a disastrous role. The front was taken back, and now appears to be breached again.

In view of these situations, Field Marshal von Kluge demands withdrawal also of the adjoining sectors. Very stormy discussions with the Fuehrer who persists in his own views. So, the front will remain where it is, regardless of consequences.

The withdrawals in Ninth Army against the will of the Supreme Commander occasion mad outbursts on his part at the morning conference. OKH is charged with having introduced parliamentary procedures in the Army, and with lacking incisiveness of direction. These ravings interspersed with utterly baseless accusations waste our time and undermine any effective cooperation.

Subsequently, talk with the AGp. Cs of S to orient them on the pattern of views held on top level.

Repeated phone talks with von Kluge, who is at the end of his wits and talks of utter loss of confidence.\*

3 January 1942 (196th Day).

The situation in AGp. Center has become very precarious in consequence of the deep penetration between Maloyaroslavets and Borovsk. Kuebler and von Kluge are deeply upset, and Kluge demands authorization to move back the front next northward.

Another dramatic scene with the Fuehrer, who calls in question the generals' courage to make hard decisions. The plain truth however is that with the temperature down to 30 below freezing\*\*our troops simply cannot hold out any longer.

The Fuehrer decides: First close the breach by attacking from the adjoining sectors, then we can talk about moving back the front. But in every individual instance he will have to give the word for withdrawal.

The other fronts are fairly quiet. Sixth Army has apparently eliminated the local penetrations. Second Army and Second Panzer Army seem to be holding. Some troops are being collected on the flanks of the Oka bulge, but the enemy, too, has gradually closed up in this sector and may yet give us a bad time in the days to come. In Ninth Army the situation is still rather confused in some sectors, local penetrations into the newly withdrawn line.

In AGp. North all combat activity has died down in 42 degrees of frost.\*\*\*

Gen. Keitel (Personnel Div.): Personnel questions. Promotion of 1st Lts. and Capts. must be accelerated, as nearly all are commanding Bns. now.

OQu I: Training program. NCO training. I approve special measures, but not a duration of 3 - 6 months.

4 January 1942 (197th Day) Sunday.

A day without important changes. Situation in the Crimea and in Ninth Army is steadily deteriorating. -- Transportation situation!

Zeitzler makes the daily report to the Fuehrer.

Gause reports on Africa in a gloomy strain.

Martineck reports on arrival.

- Col. Kinzel:
- a) Submits a collection of statistical data. All efforts to plot the enemy railroad movements on a statistical basis have been abortive.
  - b) At last we have some fairly informative data on the enemy replacement system. All trained replacements have been exhausted. Age class 1923 is being inducted now.
  - c) Tabulation of the Divs. and Brigs. activated since early Dec. totaling approximately 60 units.

5 January 1942 (197th Day)

Casualties: 22 June - 31 Dec., 1941.

Wounded:	19,016 Off.	602,292	NCO and EM
Killed:	7,120 Off.	166,602	NCO and EM
Missing:	619 Off.	35,254	NCO and EM
<hr/>			
Total:	26,755 Off.	804,148	NCO and EM.

Total losses in the East 830,403, i.e. 25,96% of the Eastern Army (3,2 million).

Situation: South: Enemy landing at Yevpatoriya apparently is only a local effort. At Feodosia, the enemy is building up his beachhead. Penetration on the northern wing of Sixth Army. Reinforcements coming up by rail.

Center: Increased tension in the Oka bulge! Danger of an expansion of the Maloyaroslavets salient. Heavy breakthrough west of Rzhev.

North: Continued enemy attacks, but nothing on a major scale; all quiet in the Lake Ilmen sector.

von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

Gen. Gercke: Plans for extension of railroad construction and changing of gauge.

OQu I: "New West Wall \*". -- Method of bringing replacements to the front in Replacement Transfer Bns. (combined in Divs.) and Field Replacement Bns.

6 January 1942 (199th Day).

On the whole a somewhat quieter day. In the Crimea the episode at Yevpatoriya is drawing to its close. Enemy at Feodosia shows little activity. In the Oka bulge, the enemy is now moving strong Inf. forces against Sukhinichi, where our troops are in a difficult situation (encircled). But otherwise the bulge is being pushed back by small-scale offensive operations. Even such small gains are encouraging.

The Maloyaroslavets penetration has for the moment been contained by Hoepfner, striking from the north. The attack will be continued tomorrow.

At Rzhev, very tight situation. West of the town, four enemy Divs. are already attacking, while to the eastward three Inf. Divs. and three Cav. Divs. are massing for further attacks.

In AGp. North no important news.

Long talk with Fromm on situation, weapons and replacement resources.

Col. von Hanstein, who had to be relieved of his post of C of S, I Corps, reports.

Gen. Gause, reports out on returning to Africa.

7 January 1942 (200th Day).

Situation: Enemy has advanced against encircled Sukhinichi and to the northward. The situation in this breakthrough salient is getting increasingly uncomfortable. AGp. Center must develop more determination in taking forces out of the stabilized front south of the breakthrough, to throw them against the breakthrough flank from the south. On the southern wing of Armd.Gp. 4, our own attack drove head-on into an enemy attack. Outcome is not yet clear.

Ninth Army today somehow managed to pull through west of Rzhev. Tomorrow the penetration is to be tackled from both sides. East of Rzhev, a heavy attack with new forces, seems to be in the making.

In AGp. North, an attack on Chudovo must be expected soon according to deserter statements. Shifting of forces to the Ladoga front across the lake .

Gen. Heinrichs, C in C of the Karelian Army, charged with a special mission to the Fuehrer, calls. It is a real joy to be with this man together again.

Col. Ochsner wants to sell me on the idea of launching gas warfare against the Russians.

OQu I: Training matters ( We must use training resources in France).--  
Organization of Air Reconnaissance.

8 January 1942 (201st Day).

Very grave day. The westward advance of the Sukhinichi breakthrough is becoming threatening for Kluge. He urges taking back Fourth Army front to free forces for the protection of his supply line.-- Kluge argues his point with me already in the morning! Put before the Fuehrer! the usual see-saw begins. No decision, but a great deal of energy is expended in thinking up piddling makeshifts to protect the supply road.\*

Finally the Fuehrer has a talk with Kluge, which produced nothing conclusive. In the afternoon, Kluge again urgently requests freedom of decision over the moves of Fourth Army, so as to enable him to disengage. I talk to the Fuehrer on this matter. He wants to talk to Kluge himself.

Result: Army Gp. is authorized to disengage step by step, in order to free forces for the protection of the supply line. At the conference Kluge reports that Hoepfner, on his own initiative, gave an order to withdraw without notifying Army Gp. The Fuehrer at once orders his "expulsion from the Army" with all legal consequences!\*\*\*

All quiet at Rzhev. Enemy is closing up and massing. In AGp. North, the full-scale attack against the Volkhov front has started. Thrust south of Lake Ilmen.

Balck reports: Organization for bringing new tanks to the front is all fouled up. No drivers! A large proportion of the tanks were damaged!

9 January 1942 (202nd Day).

The situation is ripening toward the grand decision!

In the Sukhinichi breakthrough gap, the enemy is still pushing westward. We have only light forces to oppose him, but somehow, with extreme effort, expansion of the gap southwest and northwest was checked.

West of Rzhev we have failed to contain the enemy breakthrough. It has widened and there is every reason to anticipate a decisive battle here. We have no means available for countering this threat. South of Ostashkov, two enemy Divs. throw back our weak holding forces and effected a penetration in this sector, too.

In AGp. North, penetration at Staraya Russa. We probably shall be able to check it. The attack against the Volkhov front was repulsed. It seems that both here and on the Ladoga front, the main attack is yet to come.

Several phone talks with von Kluge and with Jodl. We have reached the point where a big decision on taking back the front is absolutely essential, but the Fuehrer cannot make up his mind yet and wants to talk to Kluge directly. So, to our great distress, decision on this burning question is put off again, while we lose precious time.

10 January 1942 (203rd Day).

Very bad weather gives us a relatively quiet day. In the salient south of Kaluga, a major enemy build-up, aimed at Bryansk, is beginning to crystallize. The disengagement of Fourth Army and Fourth Panzer Army\* seems to have come off smoothly. North of Medin, the situation is confused. The enemy's southward drive west of Rzhev apparently was only a strong reconnaissance thrust. The alarm report from the western wing of XXIII Corps so appears not quite substantiated.

In Sixteenth Army sector, attack through the Valdai lake district against our weak forces. It looks as if more is to come.

At Staraya Russa the situation continues tense. Remainder of the front of AGp. North is quiet.

Owing to adverse weather, Field Marshal von Kluge could not fly to the Fuehrer. The decisive conference on continuance of the operations is therefore put off to 11 Jan.

11 January 1942 (204th Day, Sunday).

The whole day with Field Marshal von Kluge at Fuehrer Hq.  
The Fuehrer upholds his order to defend every inch of ground.

Very untoward developments in the Sukhinichi salient and west of Rzhev. The situation is now becoming really critical.

Return from the Fuehrer at 0100 in the morning. Subsequently, conference with Op. Chief and OQu I.

12 January 1942 (205th Day).

The southern wing of AGp. North came under heavy pressure today as the result of an attack against 123rd Div. by elements of four Divs., across the frozen lakes. Von Leeb is at once thinking of withdrawing. Fuehrer disapproves. Talk Fuehrer/Leeb. Von Leeb is summoned for a conference tomorrow.

Situation at Staraya Russa has been stabilized and is now going to be restored.

On the Volkhov front there is now the calm before the storm.

Center: Relatively quiet. The enemy appears to be closing up. The effects of the snowstorms of the past days are telling on him, too.

South: Reichenau protests against taking over Second Army. Doesn't help him. He must free two Armd.Divs. of First Panzer Army.

Gen. Buhle: Discuss organizational projects in rehabilitation of the Army, and division of the front into a defensive and an offensive front.

Says good-bye on his transfer to OKW.

13 January 1942 (206th Day).

A particularly tough day.

AGp. South is gradually eliminating the penetration on its northern wing, but is expecting another enemy attack.

AGp. Center: Several desperate phone calls from C in C Army Gp. Whereas the breakthrough at Sukhinichi is gradually being contained at its southern head, Fourth Army apparently is still unable to check the enemy pressing from the south against two points of its supply road, which

is already interrupted. Consequences for continued supply of Fourth Army cannot yet be predicted.

Fighting around Medin has reached such a pitch that von Kluge asks permission to abandon the town. Reluctantly the Fuehrer agrees.

The gap north of Medin is as perturbing as ever. Heavy penetrations in V Corps. At Rzhev a southward push by strong enemy forces through the gap between VI and XXIII Corps has resulted in pressure against the Rzhev - Sichevsk railroad line. Fighting is in progress for the latter station. As a result, the only railroad supplying Ninth Army and Third Panzer Army is cut. The consequences cannot yet be estimated.

In the afternoon, von Kluge reports that Hq Ninth Army has ordered XXIII Corps to withdraw. This move further aggravates the situation in AGp. Center.

AGp. North: The conference of Field Marshal von Leeb with the Fuehrer produced no agreement. The Fuehrer insisted on compliance with his order that the front of the Valdai hills must be held. Von Leeb stated that, though he would try, he would not succeed, since the necessary reinforcements were not to be had! (The earliest Div. due was 218th; its first Regt. was earmarked for the Volkhov front, and successive elements were scheduled to arrive at a very slow rate, starting 28 Jan.)

Evening report by Wagner and Baentsch, on railroad matters (organization, dictatorial control) and supply situation of Fourth Army, as affected by the latest enemy successes.

14 January 1942 (297th Day).

Casualties: 22 June, 1941 - 10 Jan., 1942:

Wounded: 19,564 Off. 628,325 NCO and EM

Killed : 7,337 Off. 173,455 NCO and EM

Missing: 674 Off. 38,611 NCO and EM

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Total: 27,575 Off. 840,391 NCO and EM

Total losses (excl. medical casualties) 867,966, i.e., 27.12% of the Eastern Army at an average strength of 3.2 million.

Situation: Situation southeast of Kursk is slowly improving.

No major developments in the Sukhinichi bulge. The enemy apparently is moving in new forces. North of Medin, contrary to expectations, enemy pressure has not yet been felt.

Heavy, successful enemy attacks at Volokolamsk.

The situation southwest of Rzhev is becoming increasingly dangerous. Three to four enemy Divs. are already operating

in our rear. XXIII Corps must be taken back. Situation in the Valdai area very uncomfortable. In these circumstances it is impossible to hold the front any longer. Von Kluge reports that he must move back if he wants to extricate himself from Rzhev. The Fuehrer appreciates the necessity for taking back the front, but will make no decision. This kind of leadership can lead only to the annihilation of the Army.

von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters. Now we have 41 Gen. Staff Officers on sick leave in the ZI!

von Buttler: Reports transferred to OKW. Report on Norway.

Evening Gen. Wagner: Preparations for a retreat of AGp. Center.\*

15 January 1942 (208th Day).\*\*

In AGp. South, the attack on Feodosia has started. Good initial success. On the northern wing of Sixth Army the situation is being progressively restored. In the Sukhinichi bulge, the enemy is reinforcing. Main pressure to the northward. The gap north of Medin has not yet been closed. Enemy pressure against the southern wing of Fourth Panzer Army. Another attack at Volokolamsk. The enemy is moving more troops southward through the Rzhev gap. XXIII Corps under pressure, chiefly on its western wing. Penetration on the southern wing of Sixteenth Army. Slight advances at Staraya Russa. Relatively serious penetrations on the Volkhov front. Otherwise all quiet in AGp. North.

Von Leeb asks to be relieved of his post. — Strauss cannot carry on any longer. — Von Reichenau has had a stroke.

16 January 1942 (209th Day).

Continued enemy movements into the penetrations at Sukhinichi, north of Medin, west of Rzhev, and west of Ostashkov. Heavy fighting at Volokolamsk and on the Volkhov, where the enemy is attacking on a surprisingly narrow frontage. In the Crimea, the counter attack at Feodosia is making progress. In AGp. South, the enemy is apparently closing up for an attack between IV Corps and the area north of Kharkov.

Zorn corps in as new CG of XXXX Corps. Report on Twentieth mot. Div.

von Ziehlberg: General reshuffle in Gen. Staff personnel as a result of the changes in higher command posts (von Kuechler/ von Leeb; Model/ Strauss; von Bock/ Reichenau).

17 January 1942. (210th Day).

Relatively quiet day without new alarming reports. The enemy seems to have difficulties in bringing new forces to the penetration areas (supply, railroad situation). The situation on our railroads is well-nigh disastrous and jeopardizes preparations for the Rzhev counter attack.

Haas reports on organizational planning for rehabilitation of the Army following stabilization of the front.

Bonin, Ia, Seventeenth Armd. Div., calls. Refreshing impression. German Cross in gold.\*

Model calls; takes over Ninth Army.

OQu IV presents report on new standard procedure in official business with the foreign army contingents.

OQu I on utilization of French facilities for officers training.

18 January 1942. (211th Day).  
Sunday

Situation: Good progress at Feodosia. -- Attack against left wing Seventeenth Army and against Sixth Army has started, also at Belgorod. Second Panzer Army is making good progress in the direction of Sukhinichi. In Fourth Army, troop movements are restricted by snowfall. The enemy is pushing toward Yukhnov in an attempt to envelop the northern wing. Fourth Panzer Army has initiated the transfer of six Regts. from the north to the breach. The enemy is maintaining pressure against the eastern front, in particular in V Corps sector. West and southwest of Rzhev, he is moving more troops to the front. The situation in the Ostashkov-Kholm gap is becoming very uncomfortable. The enemy is pushing from south and west. Our advance elements are already approaching Kholm. In AGp. North, von Kuechler has taken over command, with Hasse, as his C of S; von Leeb and Brennecke are leaving. At Staraya Russa, only patchwork which does not really improve the situation. Also the Volkhov front looks rather unhealthy. Remainder of the front quiet.

At noon at Fuehrer Hq., with Field Marshal von Bowk, who receives his briefing.\*\*

Four OKH Officers are dispatched to Kholm - Toropets front: VI Corps, V Corps, Fourth Army.

Col. Ehlfeldt (Artillery Chief): Disposition of enemy Artillery. -- Organization of "Do" Rocket Projector Bns.\*\*\*

19 January 1942. (212th Day).

Situation: The attack in the Crimea is making good progress. On the northern front of Seventeenth Army and in some sectors of Sixth Army the enemy has now opened his full-scale offensive, which earlier indications linked with Kharkov.\* The most critical spot is the boundary of Seventeenth and Sixth Armies. We shall go through trying days before this crisis is resolved. Another penetration has occurred in the southern part of Second Army front. We have no forces available to check it at the moment, but I see no threat to the broader operational situation.

Second Panzer Army has made further progress toward Sukhinichi. Meanwhile there has not been much change in the Sukhinichi bulge. Evidently the enemy here is experiencing major difficulties in collecting any sizeable force.

Withdrawal of the eastern front of AGP, Center is continuing. We have not yet fully succeeded in closing the Medin gap, but it looks as if good progress is being made in that direction.

At Rhzev, the enemy is unaccountably inactive. In the direction of Toropets and Kholm a rather embarrassing gap has appeared as a result of the rapid withdrawals of our troops in that sector. Approximately four enemy Divs. are pushing on behind our retiring forces on this vast front. While this move neither constitutes an operational threat, it does draw forces away from other sectors, and eventually the front will have to be straightened again by a large withdrawal.

Fighting continues at Staraya Russa. I suggest counter measures from the east.

On the Volkhov river very heavy battle in Sixteenth Army Sector. We have succeeded in establishing an effective defensive barrier. Also further north, in Eighteenth Army Sector, major attacks seem to be getting under way. Ladoga front still quiet, but here, too, the enemy will soon come to life.

von Etzdorf reports on his conferences with the State Secretary. We discuss the international situation: Signs of beginning war weariness in Britain. Negotiations toward establishing a new relationship with France have not yet been definitely authorized by the Fuehrer. We have no binding French promise to join in the war with Britain. In Spain, Sünner's position is now weaker. As a result of the Rio Conference the Latin-American Nations will probably sever diplomatic relations with us.

Gen. Kuebler (Mt. Troops) talks on situation at his front after conference with the Fuehrer. Nothing essentially new. He does not feel equal to the task.

20 January 1942 (213th Day).

The attacks in AGPw. South (Seventeenth Army) cause uncomfortable situations in some sectors. The worst is that we have nothing that could meet the enemy tanks on anything like equal terms. On the northern wing of Sixth Army, the situation is gradually returning to normal. In Second Army heavy penetration by an enemy Guards Cav. Corps; we shall have nothing effective to put up against it before 23 Jan.

Center: The front is being taken back gradually. All quiet in the Sukhinichi bulge. The situation at Medin is not yet restored. At Rzhev, the enemy is moving more troops in southern direction. Difficulties at Sichevsk.

Boundary gap.\* Toropets lost. Enemy is attacking Kholm.

North: The situation seems to be stabilized today. More attacks from the Ladoga front are impending.

to 21 January 1942 (214th Day) } Laid up with  
23 January 1942. (216th Day) } influenza.

24 January 1942. (217th Day)

Situation: In South, the attacks on the Crimea have been suspended for the time being.

Things are in bad mess in Seventeenth Army. In a three-day battle, the front was breached in two places (Izyum and boundary with Sixth Army). Later these two penetrations were merged into one large salient. The enemy is threatening railroad communications between First Panzer Army and Seventeenth Army. Sixth Army and First Panzer Army have come to the rescue, notwithstanding the gravest risks to their own safety. We are in for a stretch of difficult days before this threat will be eliminated. I think we shall make it.

The Cav. penetration at Kursk appears to have been contained. South of Sukhinichi an enemy attack from the west against LIII Corps creates an uncomfortable situation. Directly westward of this area, we mounted an attack and freed Sukhinichi.

South of Yukhnov, increasing enemy pressure. The breach northwest of Medin has not been closed yet. We seem to be too weak there.

The corridor at Rzhev opened yesterday was widened today, but strong enemy forces are very active at Sichevsk.

In the gap between Center and North we are faced with a full-staged offensive. Two enemy "Assault Groups" of about a dozen Divs. have broken through in this sector and are advancing southward. That is in any event better than if they were going north, for now they are driving right towards our reinforcements that are moving up now; the other way the Leningrad front would become untenable.

In AGp. North, hard fighting. No important change.

Gen. Buhle: Rehabilitation project:

- a) 100% rehabilitation: Nine Armd. Divs., each of three Bns. (Three Divs. from the West, three from the South, three from Center.)  
Five Inf. Divs., mot., each with one Armd. Bn.  
Inf. Regt. Grossdeutschland  
SS Adolf Hitler
- b) West: For time being only one German Tank Bn. and one captured enemy Tank Bn. for each Armd. Div.
- c) As of May, we shall thus be stripped of all tank reserves.
- d) The other Armd. Divs., in the East get nothing and must try to get along on what they still have, acting as "fire brigades" on the defensive front. They keep one Armd. Bn., and eke out the rest with bicycles.
- e) Inf. Divs. of AGp. South (excluding Second Army) will be filled up; however, no new trucks, only old trucks of mobile Divs. The remainder of the Inf. Divs. will get no trucks at all.  
Armament will be approximately up to full strength. In the Divs. of AGp. South, Artillery will be replenished with "Do" Rocket Projectors. The other Divs. will get only three pieces per Btry.  
Short in med. Inf. Guns and lt. Inf. Guns. Mortars full strength!
- f) Six Western Divs. will be refitted for combat and brought east for exchange as of 1 May. Eastern Divs. moving to the West to take their places will be equipped with captured enemy Artillery.  
Additionally, four more Divs. from the West for the East (?).\*
- g) Replacement situation: After 1 May reserve stocks of materiel will be very low. The specified six-month stock of ammunition is not full, some of the most current Artillery categories have only a two-month stock. All this means that we shall be able to start an offensive, but unable to carry it through.

Fromm is going to discuss these problems with the Fuehrer tomorrow. That will get things humming!

25 January 1942. (218th Day). Sunday.

Situation: On the whole unchanged. Very severe frost.

Major von Schoenfeldt reports. Takes over Planning Bureau in Transp. Chief's Section.

Col. von Wuthmann: Special Aide (z.b.V.) to Transp. Chief.

Gen. Oehouist: Reports out; leaving for protracted frontline command in Finnish Army.

Maj. von Voss comes for orientation on general situation at Eastern front on behalf of C in C West.

Col. Zeitzler (First Panzer Army): Review of situation of First Panzer Army.

Gen. Wagner with Maj. Toppe: Report on Vyazma.\* Current logistical matters.

Casualties: 22 June, 1942 - 20 Jan., 1942.

Wounded: 19,940 Off. 641,579 NCO and EM.

Killed: 7,473 Off. 177,511 NCO and EM.

Missing: 678 Off. 39,447 NCO and EM.

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Total : 28,691 Off. 858,537 NCO and EM.

Total losses in East (excl. medical casualties): 886,629, i.e., 27.77% of the Eastern Army at an average strength of 3.2 million.

26 January 1942. (219th Day).

Situation: South: Seventeenth Army is finding itself in a progressively deteriorating situation. The enemy is pouring in increasing Cav. through Izyum. We have no indications yet as to whether the attack will develop southwest or south. The possibility cannot be ruled out that Seventeenth Army might be attacked also from the east.

On the remainder of the front no important new developments. The enemy seems to be planning to commit new forces under Army Hq. 30 against the newly formed front west of Rzhev. We'll see!

In the gap between North and Center the enemy has carried the penetration up to the line Velikie Luki - northeast of Ilino.

In North, enemy attacks did not achieve any further gains. Attack on the Ladoga front must be expected soon!

The failure of the transportation situation, which now is the exclusive responsibility of the Reich Minister of Transportation, has reached catastrophic proportions.

Afternoon Gen. Obst. Fromm reports on our resources for new activations and for troop and materiel replacements.

Lt. Col. Haas: Current Org. Sec. matters, ?Clarifications of the concepts Executive Power and Powers of Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber.

von Ziehlberg: Current efficiency ratings and reassignments.

27 January 1942. (220th Day).

Situation shows no important changes in the great picture:

The penetration in Seventeenth Army seems to be directed against its western wing and in part also against the southern wing of Sixth Army. Counter measures initiated by Army Gp. will not become effective before early Feb. Reinforcements essential.

Center will have to liquidate the enemy group west of LII Corps before it can attack further northward beyond Sukhinichi. Closing of the gap between Fourth Army and Fourth Panzer Army is still a problem. The enemy forces cut off by our attack at Rzhev together with Third and Fourth Assault Armies are beginning to get active in the area north of the Smolensk-Vyazma highway. Protection of the highway and counter measures have been initiated.

In North, local enemy successes of only tactical scope on the Volkhov river. The attack in the Ladoga sector has started.

Reports on front tours: Count Eulenburg, on boundary Center - North; Capt. Bleyken, on Rzhev and Sichevsk; Capt. von Graevenitz, on V and LVI Corps.

Col. Ehlfeldt: Rehabilitation of Artillery at Sevastopol.

von Ziehlberg and von Below: Training of Gen. Staff officers by assignment to frontline Hqs and at Berlin Training Course. Current schooling matters.

28 January 1942. (221th Day).

No important changes in the situation. von Bock places Army Ho 17, which seems to be battle-worn, under the command of Ho First Panzer Army and forms a Combat Group Mackensen under CG III Corps on the left wing of Seventeenth Army.

New advances of Russian Third and Fourth Assault Armies in the Velizh area.

In North, enemy gains on the Volkhov river; attacks on the Ladoga front were driven back.

Dispute over whether we ought to hold or evacuate Sukhinichi. Fuehrer wants to hold until the results of the Medin attack could be assessed clearly. Phone talk with Schmidt, C in C Second Panzer Army. It develops that Sukhinichi was about to be abandoned. Counter order has gone out, let us hope, not too late!

Gen. Jacob: Coastal Fortifications West. — Construction projects in the East. — Question of special fortress zone legislation on the Vistula.\*

Lt. Col. Haas: Current matters. — Shortages in equipment of the reinforcements arriving from West and ZI.

Gen. Gercke: Transport situation is catastrophic. A representative with full powers dispatched to Minsk.

29 January 1942. (222nd Day).

No essential changes in the situation. The violent struggle along the entire front continues. Very deep snow! In the Crimea the enemy may soon launch a new attack.

Gen. Matzky: French Legion. — Hungarian request for Liaison Officers. — Current OQu IV matters.

Gen. Fellgiebel: Informs me on current matters concerning copper allocation. — Monitoring of telecommunications.

Col. Mattias (from Staff of Inf. Chief). Requests of the Infantry concerning armament and new developments. — Instructional Pamphlet on Close Combat against Tanks.

Gen. Heusinger: Current matters. — Disposition of our forces for defense, taking into account terrain unusable during the muddy season.

Gen. Wagner (Gen. Qu): Materiel losses. — Frost damage. — Current Gen Qu reports.

Maj. von Below: Lessons of the Eastern campaign applied to training material for Gen. Staff Training Course.

30 January 1942. (223rd Day).

Again no essential change in the situation: On the battlefield of Seventeenth Army, the enemy is moving in some forces from the northeast, our forces close up for the counter attack.

In AGp. Center, the main threats are:

- 1.) Forces moving on Vyazma through the Medin gap.
- 2.) Local penetration in 219th Div.
- 3.) Heavy attacks from the north against the Rnzev defensive barrier position.
- 4.) Continued advance of Fourth Assault Army on Velizh.

In AGp. North, very tight situation on the Volkhov river. Defensive success on the Ladoga front.

Maj. Grantz (Tng. Sec.) reports on his visit to Fourth Army;  
Capt. Sinkel (Staff of Arty. Chief) on his tour to VI Corps.

Officers reporting on promotion or transfer to OKH.

Fuehrer speech in Berlin on the anniversary of the Party's accession to power.

31 January 1942. (224th Day).

With snow falling along the entire front, no important change in the situation. Massing of troops for the counter offensive in South continues.

In Center, the situation of Fourth Army remains tight. More heavy fighting on the supply road to Yukhnov. The enemy is moving new forces westward through the gap between Fourth Army and Fourth Panzer Army. The attack to seal the gap has been postponed to 3 Feb. Reinforcements from AGp. North, including Tenth Armd. Div., are scheduled to participate in the operation.

Enemy air landings continue. Highway and railroad line between Smolensk-Vyazma still not cleared. Condition of troops in Fourth Army is serious! Supply difficulties.

Enemy Fourth Assault Army is making only slow progress.

In North situation on the Volkhov is still serious. Counter attack will be continued tomorrow.

Oberstabsarzt\* Dr. Schreiber: Position of dentists in Medical Corps. Medical officer replacements.

Lt. Col. Haas: Program for work on organizational planning for spring.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Change of track gauge on the railroad line Smolensk-Vyazma.  
Military Government France.  
Personnel matters and decorations for Army Supply Chiefs.

1 February 1942. (225th Day).

No important changes in the situation. Railroad situation slightly improved. C in C North submits a situation estimate couched in very serious terms.

Gen. Jordan, CG, Seventh Div., reports (Oak leaves). \* Gives a picture of the situation and the fighting of his Div.

Gen. Matzky: New ruling on situation briefing of our own and foreign Mil. Attachés. Attaché personnel matters.

Maj. Jessel, Ic, AGp. North, submits situation report. Discussion on Leningrad.

2 February 1942. (226th Day).

Situation: The new offensive of AGp. South is beginning to show results, even though progress so far was slow because of continuous snow.

In Center, the build-up for the attack against the Medin salient is forming up. The operation will be launched tomorrow.

The enemy elements which infiltrated behind our front are now being attacked by Fifth Armd. Div. The scenes in this battle behind the front are absolutely grotesque and testify to the degree to which this war has degenerated into a sort of slugging bout which has no resemblance whatever to any form of warfare we have known. An instance in point is the inept commitment of a group of several Divs. from the Ostashkov area against the deep flank of AGp. Center. It is ineffectual as an operational measure and will merely serve to pin down some of our forces for a while, without producing any decisive results.

Col. Balck: Training Instructions on ground-air identification for Armd. troops and on Anti-tank fighting.

von Kuechler requests that CG, Sixteenth Army, be relieved of his post because of lack of cooperativeness in carrying out our instructions. Fuehrer decides: CG, Sixteenth Army, is to be summoned to Hq for a conference with the Fuehrer and me tomorrow.

Lt. Col. Haas: Instruction to C in C West for activation of new Divs.

3 February 1942. (227th Day).

In AGps. Center, the gap west of Medin is closed now. At Staraya Russa the enemy has apparently made new gains and introduced reinforcements. Effective counter action by our Air Force. On the Volkhov river, local enemy advances. No essential changes in the situation.

Conference Fuehrer/Gen. Obst. Busch to iron out divergences between Busch\* and von Kuechler. In the afternoon I have a long talk with Busch.

Gen. Matzky: Current matters of his section.

Gen. Blumentritt reports as OQu I. German Cross in Gold!

In the evening long phone talk with von Kuechler to insure cooperation between him and Busch.

4 February 1942. (228th Day).

Casualties: 22 June, 1941 - 31 Jan., 1942.

Wounded:	20,538 Off.	662,703 NCO and EM.
Killed :	7,683 Off.	184,113 NCO and EM.
Missing:	714 Off.	42,234 NCO and EM.
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Total :	28,935 Off.	889,050 NCO and EM.

Total losses 917,985, i.e. 28.69% of the Eastern Army at an average strength of 3.2 million.

Situation: Apart from local enemy advances on the Volkhov, no important changes. - - Dissensions between von Kuechler and Busch have been straightened out.

Reports: von Ziehlberg. -- Wagner (Gen Qu). -- von Greiffenberg (AGp. Center).

5 February 1942. (229th Day).

Situation: In the South deep snowdrifts are impeding our counter attack. 293rd Div. and 25th mot. repelled unexpected enemy attacks (Divs.) lacking depth. In Ninth Army sector, the enemy is falling back southwest of Rzhev. We gain some ground. -- In North, continued stern fighting at Staraya Russa and on the Volkhov river.

Generaloberarzt Dr. Handloser:

- a) Report on medical casualties. Total in the Armies of the East 60,000, plus 977 officers.
- b) Typhus: 4,400 cases -- 729 fatal.
- c) Regular and improvised hospital trains.
- d) Shifting of more Medical Corps units from the West (Ambulance Bn., Base Hospital Bn. etc.).
- e) Report on inspection of Sixteenth and Eighteenth Army.

Gen. Heusinger, Wagner, Col. Baentsch, Lt. Col. Koerner:  
Cutting of troop shipments in favor of stockpiling, particularly in view of the forthcoming mud period.

Gen. Heusinger: Tentative planning of disposition of troops during the mud period.

6 February 1942 (230th Day).

Situation: Mainly unchanged, Counter attack at Izyum delayed by unremitting snowstorms.

Attack against the eastern front of Second Panzer Army repelled. The enemy seems to be introducing strong forces in the Sukhinichi bulge. Reinforcements southwest of Yukhnov.

Successful fighting against the infiltrated enemy around Vyazma (Fifth Armd. Div.). Fourth enemy Assault Army appears to be halted by supply difficulties as well as our resistance.

In North the situation continues serious. Enemy reinforcements at Staraya Russa.

Lt. Col. Hielscher reports as C of S, VII Corps. Briefing on his job.

Capt. Wagner (Naval Operations Staff): We discuss pending matters concerning the Black Sea and Baltic. Great picture of naval situation.\*

Col. von Grolmann: Report on VI Corps and 256th Div. in the critical days of 29 and 30 Dec.

7 February 1942 (231st Day)

Situation: Counter attack by Seventeenth Army is beginning to gain momentum.\*\* On the southern front of Fourth Army and in the newly formed corridor to Fourth Panzer Army intensified enemy pressure and arrival of reinforcements. In Fourth Panzer Army heavy frontal attacks.

More violent attacks against Ninth Army northwest of Rzhev.

In AGp. North situation on the whole unchanged.

Gen. Talvela (Finland) reports. Talk about experiences in fighting the Russians.

Maj. Krueger (Op. Sec.) reports on his frontline observations in the sector of Fourth Panzer Army.

OQ I: Organization of Army Rcn. Aviation. — Training of the "Rheingold" Divs. \*\*\*

8 February 1942 (232nd Day)

Sunday.

No fundamental change in the situation. Staraya Russa tight ! Enemy is bringing up reinforcements. Situation in Russian Fourth and Third "Assault Armies" is obscure.

In the afternoon I have to lie down with an attack of the 'flu.

9 February 1942 (233rd Day)

Failure of counter attack from Staraya Russa by one-half of Fifth Lt. Div. No important changes on the front.

Col. Ochsner reports on the situation in the field of chemical warfare.

Gen. Wagner (Gen. Q1.) reports on current matters of his section, as does OQ1 I.

10 February 1942 (234th Day).

Situation unchanged. The enemy has made no significant progress at Staraya Russa, but our supply difficulties are beginning to tell. Sixteenth Army will have to be supplied by air. On the Volkhov river no further enemy advances. Heavy attacks on the southern front of Leningrad were repelled. Situation of Third Panzer Army and intentions of enemy Fourth Assault Army still cannot be made out clearly.

Gen. Brand (Arty): Artillery activity at Leningrad. -- Artillery tactics. -- Rehabilitation of Coastal Btrys.

Gen. Gercke: Defends himself against unwarranted attacks by the Reich Minister of Transportation. -- Transportation problems.

Gen. Keitel (Personnel Div.) Employment in the West and ZI of Generals no longer fit for service in the East. -- Officer replacements.

11 February 1942 (235th Day)

Important items brought out at situation conference:

- a) Railroad movements from the Moscow area in the direction of Mtsensk, Sukhinichi, Yukhnov, and motorized movements in the direction of Staritsa,
- b) Situation in Sixteenth Army aggravated by loss of last supply, road to 290th Div. With the Air Force stating its readiness to supply the Div. even over

a protracted period, the order to hold the position is upheld. No indications that the enemy is bringing up new reinforcements against Staraya Russa.

- c) Enemy striking effectiveness on the Volkhov front appears to be weakened by losses; the same applies to the Ladoga front.

Visit by Antonescu: Attends the noon conference on the military situation at Fuehrer Hq (presentation made by Jodl). In the afternoon Antonescu visits OKH and stays for tea.

Japanese have taken Singapore.

12 February 1942 (236th Day)

Situation: In the Crimea, it is beginning to thaw. Enemy on the Kerch peninsula has gone over to the defensive. In the breach in Seventeenth Army front, the enemy is apparently moving up reinforcements.

In Center, no important new developments. Pressure spot in 197th Div. is not yet eliminated. Pressure continues against the northern front of Ninth Army. The main body of the Russian Fourth Assault Army has now closed up against Third Panzer Army, but in scattered formation and with its units much weakened.

Whereabouts of the Russian Third Assault Army obscure. Some parts might have gone to North.

In North the situation at Staraya Russa has progressively deteriorated: No new enemy forces, but the old enemy is making an attempt to encircle II Corps. Delay in arrival of Fifth Light Div. is aggravating the situation. On the Volkhov river no important change.

Gen. von Waldau (former Chief of Operations, Air Force, now Air Commander "Africa") reports out. Luncheon.

Lt. Col. Haas: Basic features of the rehabilitation program. Instruction on OKH planning.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Reassignments.

Gen. Wagner (Gen. Qu): Transport problems. -- Supply questions.

13 February 1942 (237 Day)

Main points in the development of the situation:

- a) The anticipated attack by VI Guards Cav. Corps from the North in support of the enemy attack at Izyum has not yet materialized.
- b) On the front of combat Team Kraiss in Sixth Army, the enemy has launched two concentrated tank attacks, but made no gains against our line.
- c) In 197th Div. (Center) the situation has not yet been restored.
- d) Heavy attacks northwest of Rzhev repulsed.
- e) The situation in Sixteenth Army, which was approaching a critical stage, has not deteriorated further. (Probably due to restrictions of movement and supply.)
- f) The enemy has made no further progress on the Volkhov and Ladoga fronts.

Phone talks with AGp. North, C in C Sixteenth Army and Chief of the Gen. Air Force Staff, on the situation in Sixteenth Army. We must combat Sixteenth Army's tendency to resort to makeshift solutions. The Fuehrer is in emphatic agreement with my view that nothing less than an eastward attack from Staraya Russa would achieve an effective solution, and that all resources of the Ground and Air Forces must be concentrated to that end. Attack not before 17 Feb., more likely 18 Feb.

Maj. Pistorius: Report on findings of investigation on Kaufmann and on Foerster.\*

Col. Kinzel, with Maj. von Pezold: Tabulation of enemy strength during the campaign. The peak seems to have been reached. Survey of present activation potential as regards manpower and material (60 Divs.)

OQ I: Armament aid and activations in Hungary.

14 February 1942 (238th Day).

No change in the situation except at Staraya Russa, where the enemy is pressing westward, south of the town, and has broken through with sizeable forces in the direction of Kholm. At Kholm, too, the situation is very unhealthy.

Maj. Menzel (Op.) reports on his frontline visit to 29th mot. Div. and LIII Corps Hq of Second Panzer Army.

Maj. von der Chevallerie, Ia, 21st Inf. Div., reports on battle at Volkhovstroi and on present situation. Good impression. In the evening we have a small party.\*

15 February 1942 (239th Day)

Sunday.

Casualties: 22 June, 1941 — 10 Feb., 1942:

Wounded: 21,130 Off. 681,236 NCO and

Killed: 7,872 Off. 191,276 NCO and

Missing: 729 Off. 43,730 NCO and

Total: 29,731 Off. 916,242 NCO and

Total losses (excl. medical casualties): 945,973, i.e. 29,56% of the Eastern Army (3,2 million).

Situation south of Lake Ilmen has tightened. Enemy reinforcements have appeared and more are following. On the remainder of the front, no important changes. Everywhere defensive successes. Some enemy pockets are being cleared (Fourth Army). Our own losses are rising.

Gen. Gercke: Railroad preparations for the spring offensive. -- Ruling on cooperation Transp. Chief/Gen. Qu.

16 February 1942 (240th Day)

Fuehrer back at GHq.

No important change in the situation. At Staraya Russa, a Russian attack south of the town was repelled. -- Breathing spell on the Volkhov. On the Ladoga front. we beat off heavy tank attacks.

Lt. Col. Radke: Cultural activities and other current matters.

Lt. Col. Haas: Replacements for Fifth Army. Replacements for the West: Men in occupational defenent category (28-31 years old), and untrained recruits. -- Rehabilitation and new activations in the West. Regt. Grossdeutschland. \*\*

Maj. von Below: Report on Demonstration Div. -- Rheingold Divs. -- Tactical problems.

Announcement to the Generals of the order on Sponeck's death sentence. \*\*\*

17 February 1942 (241st Day).

Relative quiet along the entire front. Even at Staraya Russa, where Fifth Lt. Div. has launched the counter attack, the enemy has refrained from any major effort. New unsuccessful attacks against the eastern front of Second Panzer Army. At discussion of the situation in North, the Fuehrer promises help from his own reserves. Result: 337 (!) cargo planes will be made available by 18 Feb., plus five Police Bns., Norwegian Legion (1,100) and one Bn. of Leibstandarte.\*

Col. von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

18 February 1942 (242nd Day)

Another day without any significant changes in the situation.

Behind the front facing the southern wing of Sixth Army as well as in the Izyum area we may expect dense concentrations of enemy (23 Feb?) \*\*

The attacks against the eastern front of Second Army and Second Panzer Army achieve only negligible local gains. Eastern front of AGp. Center on the whole quiet. Defensive successes at Rzhev.

Mounting enemy pressure at Velizh, also at Kholm.

Situation at Staraya Russa has become stabilized as a result of the attack by Fifth Lt. Inf. Div. New enemy forces are reported reaching out far to the south, Volkhov and Ladoga front mainly unchanged.

Fuehrer conference, with von Kluge and von Kuechler attending.

Result: von Kluge is promised Third Armd. Div., von Kuechler Eighteenth Lt. Inf. Div.

Oberstabsarzt Dr. Schreiber submits statistical material on typhus and other medical casualties

Lt. Col. Haas: Order on regrouping and reforming of the entire front next spring.

19 February 1942 (243rd Day)

No important change in the situation except at Staraya Russa, where the enemy has now broken through also north of the town. Also important to note is resumption of railroad operation on line Ostashkov - Toropets.\*\*\*

Lt. Col. Westphal (Ia, Armd. Gp. Africa) reports on the battle in North Africa. Very good results despite that bad blunder in the battle of Tobruk, of thrusting into empty space at Solum.

Capt. Weygold (Navy) reports on the break-out of the battle-ships from Brest and their dash through the Channel. Very impressive ! \*

OQI I reports out for conferences with BdE on organization and training of replacements.

20 February 1942 (244th Day)

Situation at Izyum is deteriorating: Danger on the boundary line Mackensen/Sixth Army. Conclusive evidence that a major attack against Sixth Army is being prepared (Kharkov). AGp. Center reports increasing numbers of paratroops put down behind its lines. Enemy strength opposite Third Panzer Army still undetermined. Possibility of increasing pressure on the left wing of XXIII Corps and on Kholm from the south. Increasing pressure on Kholm from the north. The enemy pushing from direction of Ostashkov by-passes II Corps to the south and west. Enemy attempt to envelop our Staraya Russa defense position from the south.

Capt. Haertel and Maj. Fruzzler, Planning Bureau of Transp. Chief Section, report.

Maj. Weller (Qu Rome)\*\* reports on supply situation in Africa.

von Ziehlberg: Current questions. New ruling on signing of documents, occasioned by reorganization of OKH. \*\*\*

Gen. Heusinger: Distribution of forces in France. — Draft plan for Southeastern operation. †

Clash Fuehrer/State Secretary Kleinmann\*\*, following presentation of Army Morning report in presence of myself and Transp. Chief.

21 February 1942 (245th Day)

The development of the situation is dominated by the Russian offensive announced for 23. Feb.

South: In the Crimea, preparations for an attack at Sevastopol and at Kerch.

In Seventeenth Army, heavy attack against IV Corps, which compels taking back of front.

Grave situation on the western wing of Seventeenth Army, against which a strong Inf. attack has been launched.

In Sixth Army sector unmistakable preparations for an attack against the "Kharkov front".

Center: Reinforcement and intensified activity of enemy behind front facing Fourth Army. Attack with new forces against central sector and western wing of XXIII-Corps. (Ninth Army).

It looks as if the enemy had no intention of launching any further heavy attacks against Velizh, and that instead, he is trying with the fresh forces of his Fourth Assault Army to link up with 39th Army.

North: Three objective of the enemy effort south of Lake Ilmen: Kholm, Staraya Russa, and isolating II Corps. On the Volkhov river and apparently also on the Ladoga front, no major developments are to be expected. The enemy broadly comments the relieving of Police Div. on the Leningrad front.

Lt. Col. Kossmann (formerly C of S, VII Corps, assigned to Paris) reports on the battles of VII Corps. Briefing on his Paris mission.

Gen. Wagner: Preparations for the rehabilitation of the Armd. Divs. behind the front of AGp. Center.

22 February 1942 (246th Day) —Sunday.—

Situation: In South, the situation has tightened in consequence of the rout of a Romanian Div., which apparently came as a surprise even to the enemy so that he failed to exploit it at once.

Center: On the western wing of XXIII Corps intense pressure from the north and from the west.

North: In II Corps it became necessary to pull in the outposts. "Fortress Demyansk". \* Difficulties at Kholm, also on Ladoga front.

Haj. von Rosenstiel (Gen. Qu's Sec.) reports out, he goes to one of the Rheingold Divs.

Gen. Dihm: Personal matter; his impending transfer. Diabetes. Organizational difficulties of the position.

A major attack is expected along the entire front tomorrow, in celebration of the "Day of the Red Army".

23rd February 1942 (247th Day)

The expected enemy attacks for the "Day of the Red Army" have not materialized. Situation on the whole unchanged. Pressure spots are in the Ukraine (Izyum), the area southwest of Yuhnov, the left wing of XXIII Corps, and in AGp. North.

Gen. Weckmann, Commandant of the Gen. Staff Training Courses, reports. We discuss the objective of the Training Courses.

Gen. Blumentritt reports on his conference with BdE in Berlin.

24 February 1942 (248th Day)

Casualties in the East 22 June - 20 Feb. 1942.

Wounded:	21,555 Off.	708,455 NCO and EM
Killed:	8,107 Off.	198,017 NCO and EM
Missing:	747 Off.	45,019 NCO and EM
Total:	30,464 Off.	915,491 NCO and EM

Total losses: 981,895, i.e., 30,68% of the Eastern Army at an average strength of 3,2 million.

On the whole a paradoxically quiet day ! \*

In the Izyum pocket, the pressure to the westward appears to be increasing. In the sector of Second Panzer Army considerable partisan activity. On Fourth Army front, the fighting is again spreading to the Yuhnov supply road. Also the Vyazma supply road is temporarily under enemy fire.

XXIII Corps repelled attacks from the north. The enveloping movements from the west and southwest are beginning to define themselves.

No change in AGp. North. Only on the Volkhov river, the pressure to the north \*\*, toward Lyuban, seems to be on the increase. On the Ladoga front heavy attacks were again repelled.

In the afternoon we have a showing of the Russian documentary film on the liberation of Moscow.

25 February 1942 (249th Day)

Along the entire front surprisingly quiet day ! The enemy

apparently to regrouping and moving personnel and material replacements in preparation for forthcoming attacks,

Lt. Col. Aue (Staff of Signal Chief) reports out on transfer to OKW.

Gen. Bennecke, CG, XXXXIII Corps, comes in.

Col. Lottner, new C of S, XII Corps, reports. Briefing on his job. Gives his estimate of the Romanians and of battle in the Crimea.

Gen. Blumentritt and Gen. Bogatsch: New ruling on command and cooperation of Air Force Rcn. and AAA units.

Capt. Thon reports about his frontline tour to XXIV and XXXVII Corps.

Gen. Wagner (Gen. Q1.): Administrative organization of farming activities in the occupied territory. — Specifications on ammunition procurement.

#### 26 February 1942 (250th Day)

On the whole a very quiet day! Intensified enemy pressure (tanks) against Fourth Army supply road. No important changes.

Gen. von Salmuth visits me on his rest leave in East Prussia. Discusses experiences with the Romanians.

Gen. Herrlein reports as new Inf. Chief to ObdH. \*

Col. Balck reports on 300th Tank Bn. (remote controlled). Personnel replacement of Tank Bns. very poor! Frontline NCO Schools.

Gen. Matzky (OQu IV): Current matters of his section. Instructors to help out in Hungarian Gen. Staff and War Academy.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

#### 27 February 1942 (251st Day)

Enemy attack in the Crimea has opened and scored gains against the northern wing (Romanians) on the Kerch front. Counter attack is being prepared. On the rest of the front no substantial changes.

Maj. Oehmichen reports on his tour to Fourth Army sector.

Maj. Zoeller (Army Mission Romania) reports on progress of training of the German Detachments \* and on the work of the Army Mission.

Maj. von Below NCO Training Courses following completion of training at the several Army Arms Schools \*\* Artillery in the West, Infantry and Armor in Poland.

Ministerialdirigent Dankwarts \*\*\* Status of the civilian employees of Admin., who will no longer have assimilated Army service status.

28 February 1942 (252nd Day)

The entire front has become considerably more active:

Heavy attacks in the Crimea from both sides+ were repulsed.

Heavy attacks against Mackensen and on the Bakhmut river, weaker ones against Il. ##

Intensified enemy activity at Mtsensk and Sukhinichi.

The usual attacks on the supply road to Yuhnov and the eastern front of AGp. Center.

Sensation on the western wing of XXXIII Corps ! ###

Enemy railheads reported to be operating right up to enemy front facing it. Also roadways which did not exist before, carrying plenty of traffic, are now said to lead from Ostashkov and Toropets to that area.

In North, continued heavy pressure on Kholm from north and south. Situation in II Corps difficult and unchanged. Airborne supply just barely sufficient.

North of Lake Ilmen the enemy is collecting all his forces to bring greater pressure to bear on Lyuban in the bulge west of the Volkhov river, resulting in considerable slackening of pressure on XXXXIII Corps.

General Fuehrer conference with C in C AGp. Center and his Army Commanders, i.e., Second Panzer Army, Fourth Army, Fourth Panzer Army, Ninth Army, Third Panzer Army. \*# Oak leaves are presented. Model is promoted Gen. Obst. The conference confirms the situation pictures formed on the basis of Army reports. The orders issued thus far remain in force.

1 March 1942 (253rd Day)

Situation: Continued heavy attacks in the Crimea and in the Izyum salient. Everywhere heartening defensive successes.

On the eastern front \*) of Second Panzer Army and Fourth Army the enemy seems to be preparing for new attacks. Strong enemy pressure against the western wing of XXIII Corps, so far without success.

No change in AGp. North. The enemy elements thrusting on Lyuban have been pinched off.

Gen. Zorn (formerly XXXX Corps) reports on his work in XXXX Corps. Nothing essentially new.

Lt. Col. Haas: Organization matters. Straight talk on the necessity to start producing after so much paper work.

2 March 1942 (254th Day)

Fuehrer conference with G in C and CG's of AGp. North. Results: Start of operations on the Volkhov front: 7 March (to last until 12 March). Concentration of Air Force in that sector is requested for period 7 - 14 March. Fuehrer specifies: air preparation beginning several days before opening of offensive (heaviest bombs against camps in forests). After elimination of the Volkhov salient, no blood is to be wasted on reducing the enemy in the marshes; he can be left to starve to death.

Start of offensive at Kholm: 5 March. Inf. is yet to be moved to the front. Artillery and heavy weapons already on the ground. Reinforcement of II Corps by Air Force Field Bns. desirable. Replacements now ready at Army Gp. must be moved to front.

Start of offensive at Staraya Russa scheduled for 13 to 16 March. Plan of attack not yet decided. To my mind it must be divided into two phases: Opening of corridor to II Corps \*\*) and subsequent capture of the Staraya Russa - Demyansk road.

Inasmuch the offensive of AGp. Center on Ostashkov will probably take place between 12 and 16 March, the Air Fleets of the two Army Gps. can strike only for their respective Army Gps.; this, however, does not preclude occasional help on special tasks.

The situation on the whole shows no important changes. The enemy attacks in the Crimea and against Seventeenth Army are beaten off. On the other fronts only minor fighting.

3 March 1942 (255th Day)

Situation: In the Crimea, the enemy attacks are letting up as thaw is spreading. Kleist has had some heartening offensive successes, especially at the danger spot in First Mt. Div. sector. No important developments on the rest of the front, only local attacks. It remains to be seen whether the attacks aimed at Orel and against our Sukhinichi salient, which we have anticipated for some time now, will really materialize.

In AGp. North, south of Lake Ilmen, no important change, north of the lake, continued enemy regrouping to expand the northern head of the penetration.

Capt. von Grothe reports on transfer to the Gen. Qu. Office.

Ministerialdirigent Sarnow: New economic regime (ownership of land) in the occupied eastern territories.

Gen. Hossbach reports en route. He relates frontline experiences.

Gen. Brand (Arty): Artillery situation at Karch. — Karl Gun \*) for Sevastopol.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff matters. Activation of Kommandogruppen von Seidlitz and Zorn. \*\*)

4 March 1942 (256th Day).

No important changes in the situation. Fuehrer has a talk with von Kluge on desirability to avoid overdispersal in the interest of the Ostashkov offensive.

Gen. Keitel (Personnel Div.): Decorations. -- Efficiency reports. -- Complaints about the Personnel Div. \* -- Officer replacements.

Gen. Herrlein: Questions of Inf. weapons and Training.

Gen. Jacob: Strengthening of Channel defenses. -- Matters relating to river floods.

5 March 1942 (257th Day).

Casualties in the Eastern campaign: 22 June -- 28 Feb., 1942:

Wounded:	22,119 Off.	725,642 NCO and EM
Killed:	8,321 Off.	202,251 NCO and EM
Missing:	792 Off.	46,511 NCO and EM
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Total:	31,232 Off.	974,404 NCO and EM

Total Army losses (excl. medical casualties): 1,005,636, i.e., 31.40%, of the Eastern Army at an average strength of 3.2 million.

Situation: No important changes. All quiet in the Crimea (ground conditions). In the Ukraine, attacks were repelled. South and southwest of Sukhinichi increasing enemy pressure. Enemy penetrations on the two wings of Fourth Panzer Army (Seventeenth and 35th Divs.), also on the northern front of XXIII Corps, all of local character. In North, no change. Pressure on II Corps continues.

Gen. Gercke reports on construction projects to improve the over-all capacity of railroads in the East. Will \*\* is to get another job. The post of Railway Engineer Chief \*\*\* will be created at GHq.

6 March 1942 (258th Day).

No essential changes in the situation. Enemy attacks are limited to local thrusts, partly because of the weather, partly because of recent losses.

Gen. von Seydlitz: Briefing on his mission at Staraya Russa.

Conference on Army rehabilitation: OQu I, Gen Qu, Chief Op., Chief Org., Lt. Col. Christ. Result: Maximum strength of the offensive Army.\* Doubts on availability of transportation. The defensive front, also must be adequately provided with arms and ammunition.

What the entire front needs first of all is new personnel to facilitate withdrawal of units from the frontline; successively, priority goes to supply movements to the offensive front.

7 March 1942 (259th Day).

No important changes in the situation.

Col. Ochsner summarizes our information on Russian chemical warfare, and reports on own developments.

Gen. von Both: Report on condition of the fighting and situation in I Corps.

Col. Kinzel and Maj. von Fezold: Statistical study on Russian Army strength.

Conclusion: Gradually dwindling.

8 March 1942 (260th Day).

Situation: Surprise attack against XIV Corps in von Kleist's sector, as also against the southern wing and the eastern front of Sixth Army.

Fuehrer releases Third Armd. Div. for von Bock, against my advice.

On the rest of the front no important new developments apart from a critical turn of the situation at Kholm. Center burns up its forces against Russian Thirtyninth Army. Fuehrer cannot yet make up his mind about giving a clear order.

Gen. Zorn gets his briefing on his special mission in II Corps sector.\*

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): 60-ton Truck Clms. (50,000 tons, of these 20,000 for the southern operation) -- Captured arms. -- Footwear of soldiers. -- Airmail.

von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

Maj. Pistorius reports on his tour to the Volkhov front.

9 March 1942 (261st Day);

Situation: Enemy attacks against southern wing and central sector of Sixth Army score local successes. Enemy at Sukhinichi has been greatly reinforced. Some successes on the western front of Ninth Army \* (Russian Thirtiyninth Army). At Kholm local gains, with strong air support,

Date for the Volkhov offensive postponed owing to adverse weather.

Prof. Dr. Handloser: General health, good (medical casualties 2%). Physical condition of troops poor, difficulties due to lack of water (cleanliness). Splendid bearing of wounded. Typhus 10,204 cases; 1,349 deaths.

Lt. Col. Haas: Probable replacement requirements. -- Progressive improvement of our AT weapons. -- Selection of the Divs. to go to the West.

Struggle over the phone with von Kluge about the order to stop the attacks of Fourteenth mot. Div. west of Sichevsk. None of his arguments to defend the forest zone convince me. Nevertheless the Fuehrer, called on the phone, approves continuance of the attack for another 48 hours.

10 March 1942 (262nd Day).

Situation: Attack against the southern wing of Sixth Army checked; enemy scores local successes against the eastern front of Sixth Army. On the whole, no decisive changes.

Conference at Fuehrer Hq with Field Marshal von Rundstedt, who takes over command in the West.

OQu IV reports on matters concerning foreign countries and on impending Attaché visits, etc.

(Georg Seiderer \*\* comes in for a visit).

11 March 1942 (263rd Day).

Situation: Despite bitter attacks against the eastern and northern front of Kleist's Group, no serious enemy successes.

Fuehrer conference with Feld Marshal von Kluge and Gen. Obst. Model. Discussion of situation. (Von Kluge's mind reacts only to immediate impressions \* and never plans ahead; is swayed entirely by his strong-willed Army Commanders .) We discuss plans for the western front of Ninth Army \*\* (the Fuehrer again leaves altogether too much freedom of decision!\*\*\*) and for the Ostashkov offensive. The presentation fails to convey any clear picture of the general idea underlying the plan of attack.

Several phone talks with von Kuechler: He is nervous about postponement of the Volkhov offensive, but the Fuehrer insists on putting it off until weather permits full employment of the Air Force.

We review the plan of attack for Staraya Russa; the main assault wedge looks too weak.

12 March 1942 (264th Day).

Situation: In South the attacks in the Izyum salient are letting up. Six Divs. are attacking Sixth Army. Local tension. Attacks against the eastern and northern front of Second Panzer Army continue. In Ninth Army the attacks on the northern front are flaring up again. In North, the Volkhov offensive has not started yet (no flying weather). Increasing difficulties at Fogostye.

Gen. Dihn reports out.

Gen. Banzai (Japanese Attaché) reports. Brief exchange of views. I congratulate him on Japanese victories.

von Ziehlberg: Personnel matters.

Gen. Blumentritt: Current matters of his section.

13 March 1942 (265th Day).

Situation: Crimea: Attacks on the Kerch peninsula have been resumed (local successes on the northern wing).

In Kleist's Group, the situation is eased by a successful counter thrust of 60th mot. Div.

Attacks against Sixth Army continue. The enemy Assault Group (apparently six Divs. strong) has been reinforced, it seems.

No important news on the rest of the front. Details:  
Attack northwest of Rzhev; apparently enemy reinforcements  
in the Dyemidov-Velizh sector; tight situation at Fogostye.

North: The Volkhov offensive originally scheduled for 13  
March has been postponed. Dissensions between Ground and  
Air Command.

Col. Thiele, formerly C of S, Signal Chief, reports out on trans-  
fer to OKW.\*

Gen. Brand (Arty.) reports on reconnaissance preparatory to employ-  
ment of Dora Gun \* in the Crimea. -- Current reports.

Gen. Rohde (Mil. Attaché Ankara) reports on the military-political  
situation. Turkey is drawing closer to us.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Current matters. Ammunition expenditure  
(above normal). Supply situation on the whole fair.

14 March 1942 (266th Day).

Situation: Kerch attacks repulsed with heavy losses. Continued  
attack in the Izyum salient repelled.

In Sixth Army sector, the attacks were repelled on the  
northern enemy wing; the dense forests permit of no clear  
picture of the southern wing. No change in the situation  
on the other parts of the front.

Heavy snowstorms sweeping almost the entire front, seriously  
hampering also all movements, and new drop of thermometer.

Casualties: 22 June - 10 March, 1942.

Wounded:	22,551 Off.	750,634	NCO and EM.
Killed:	8,456 Off.	210,595	NCO and EM
Missing:	805 Off.	47,959	NCO and EM
Total:		31,812 Off.	1,009,188 NCO and EM

Total losses (excl. medical casualties): 1,041,000, i.e. 32.53%  
of the Eastern Army at an average strength of 3.2 million.

Gen. Keitel (Personnel Div.): Personnel matters. -- Covering of  
officer requirements.

Col. Kurowsky (C of S, XXXX Corps) calls en route: Report on  
situation in XXXX Corps.

Col. Kuehne: Report on activities of BdE. -- Covering of personnel  
requirements; armament problems.

15 March 1942 (267th Day).

Fuehrer in Berlin.

Situation: In the Crimea, attacks at Sevastopol and Kerch; in latter sector local enemy gains.

In South, attacks south of the Donets river repulsed. North of the Donets, the situation is tight in the northern zone of attack, and very confused in the southern zone.

In Center, combat activity is on the whole curtailed by the extraordinary snowstorm. Only Ninth Army (northern front) reports very serious attack.

In North, the Volkhov offensive has been launched, scoring some gains in the southern sector, greater advances in the north.

On the Ladoga front, the enemy attacks are continuing; the situation remains tight.

Gen. von Schenkendorf, CG Rear Area A.Gp. Center, reports on anti-partisan measures.

OQu I. Chief Op. Sec. and Col. Mueller: Decision on the operational map to be adopted for the Caucasus region (1 : 500,000).

Major von Below reports on the Rheingold Div. and current training matters.

OQu I: New chemical warfare agent (Trilon). -- Hollow-charge Projectiles.

16 March 1942 (268th Day).

Fuehrer in Berlin.

Situation: Continued enemy attacks at Kerch and the other pressure spots of AGp. South, all without success. In Center also only local and unsuccessful enemy attacks. In North, slow progress on the Volkhov, defensive successes at Pogostye, but no reassurance against development of new critical situations.

Gen. Jacob: Coast Defense France. -- Strength of defensive forces and rate of fuel consumption. -- Sybel Ferries.

Col. Fangohr, C of S, LVII Corps, calls en route. Leaves heartening impression.

Lt. Col. von Olschewsky reports on composition and activities of our armored trains.

Gen. von Stuelpnagel (Heinrich) reports on taking over his post as Military Commander France. In the evening, we have a party for him.

17 March 1942 (269th Day).                      Fuehrer back from Berlin.

Situation: No important changes. The Volkhov offensive is gaining slowly. Situation at Logostye increasingly serious.

Gen. Eibel (Commander, 385th Div.), Gen. Kuehn (Commander, 14th Armd. Div.), Col. Vogel (C of S, XX Corps) report.

Gen. Heusinger: Losses and replacements.

OQu I: The peculiar features of current warfare in the East\* and tactical conclusions to be drawn from them.

von Ziehlberg: Affair of honor Merck/Spalke.

18 March 1942 (270th Day).

Situation: The attacks on the fronts of AGps. South and Center continue, but are disjointed and have only local character. No sizeable new units have been committed. At Kerch, the number of tanks committed is quite formidable, but the majority are worthless, obsolete types from training units, etc.

In AGp. North the attacking wedge striking down from the north along the Volkhov river is slowly gaining ground west of the highway, but the southern attack does not make any headway, owing to very heavy enemy counter attacks in the sector. In the Volkhov bulge, the enemy's attacking power seems to be gradually weakening, but at Logostye his continual small local gains are not adapted to alter our view of the seriousness of the situation.

von Kuechler, worried by the steadily deteriorating situation in II Corps, wants to launch the attack at Staraya Russa on 20 March, but the Fuehrer intends to withhold the go-ahead signal until the Volkhov breach\* has been closed. We can only hope, that the situation in Zorn's \*\* sector has not become untenable before then.

Conference with Gen. Buhle: Notes from his tour in France. Coastal defense very thin.

Conference with Gen. Heusinger: Computation of time required for build-up for the summer campaign. Assembly of troops would take until August. This won't do. Make more extensive use of roads!

Maj. Count Stauffenberg reports on his conference with BdE in Berlin.

19 March 1942 (271st Day)

Situation: The enemy is evidently trying to achieve local successes before thaw sets in. The day was quiet, but preparations for further attacks may be recognized at the old pressure points.

The Volkhov front is again an unbroken line! The situation at Fogostye is getting increasingly difficult.

Col. Kinzel: Cooperation with Air Force. Statistics on railroad movements, enemy air activity, etc.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Current matters. Preparations for the Ostashkov offensive.

20 March 1942 (272nd Day).

Situation: In the Crimea, a counter attack in Eleventh Army/sector on the Kerch Peninsula was partially successful. The attack of 22nd Armd. Div. came up against strong enemy armor and apparently was thrown back.

In Sixth Army sector new enemy attacks were repulsed in the northern part of the zone of attack.

AGP. Center reports no important fighting except in 35th Div. sector on the western front, but it looks as if the enemy were preparing for more attacks.

Our attacks in Ninth Army have had only negligible success.

At Staraya Rusa, the preparatory air effort has been started. The offensive will be launched tomorrow. The situation in II Corps is now viewed with confidence again.

On the Volkhov front, there were only feeble attacks against the corridor recently opened by our troops, but enemy reinforcements are moving up from the east.

At Fogostye, the situation is stabilized.

On the Kronstadt front, after a long pause, enemy local attacks supported by tanks.

Maj. (in the Gen. Staff) Kriebel, Ia of Second Armd. Div., reports. Brief review of the over-all situation.

Col. Peters (lately CO of a Regt. in 131st Div., now Armed Forces BvTo ) reports on his experiences as field commander.

Maj. von Mertz: Replacements. -- Organization matters.

Gen. Heusinger: Review of the general situation. Details regarding the individual Army Gps.

21 March 1942 (273rd Day).

Situation: Offensive at Staraya Russa has been launched. Gratifying gains by Fifth Lt. Inf. Div., elsewhere only minor successes. Apart from that, no change in the front-wide situation since yesterday.

Maj. Leyherr calls.\* Ia, Seventh Div. Report from the front.

Lt. Col. Radke: Political report. -- Political education within and outside the Army. -- Enemy propaganda.

Gen. Heusinger: Assembly of forces for the Southeast will take until 10 July, not counting the fourth transport echelon, which will be arriving at the front into Aug.

22 March 1942 (274th Day).

Situation: Offensive at Staraya Russa is making satisfactory progress. No important changes.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

Capt. Weygold (Navy) Report on preparations in AGp. North for an operation against the Estonian islands.

Maj. von Hobe:\* (Hq. Fourth Army) details situation of Fourth Army. En route to his new post in Grossdeutschland Div.

23 March 1942 (275th Day).

Situation: No important changes. Offensive at Staraya Russa is making good strides. The situation at Fogostye is becoming more critical every day. In order to pull through the Fuehrer releases the Mt. Regt. brought down for the islands operations\*

Gen. Lt. Mueller (z.b.V.): Religious questions and the Army. -- Complaints to agencies outside the Army.\*\*-- Other internal service problems.

Col. Ochsner reports on his tour to AGp. Center and on the condition of the Rocket Projector units in that zone.

Gen. Wagner: Preparations for the Ostashkov offensive. Questions concerning supply and materiel.

24 March 1942 (276th Day) King Boris visits the Fuehrer.  
No Fuehrer conference today.

Situation: On the whole an unusually quiet day. The Staryia Russa offensive is getting on quite nicely. The situation at Pogostye remains tight but may be expected to hold until the Mt. Inf. arrives.

An unpleasant trouble spot has developed around Yelnya, right in the rear of AGp. Center. The town is being vigorously attacked by partisans together with Army elements which have broken through our front. It will be two days till our reinforcements arrive.

Gen. Heusinger (with Transp. Chief): Assembly of forces for "Siegfried"\*, with main concentration on the northern wing.

Gen. Bogatsch reports decorated with the Knight's Cross.

25 March 1942 (277th Day).

Casualties from 22 June - 20 March, 1942:

Wounded:	23,026	Off:	773,490	NCO and EM
Killed:	8,640	Off.	216,919	NCO and EM
Missing:	819	Off.	50,122	NCO and EM
Total:	32,485	Off.	1,040,581	NCO and EM.

Total losses in the Eastern campaign (excl. medical casualties): 1,073,066 i.e., 33.53% of the Eastern Army at an average strength of 3.2 million.

Situation: Good defensive success on the Kerch front. Also Kleist's Group has scored a distinctive defensive success. Our troops are under great strain. Paulus launches a successful counter attack.

I In Center, resurgence of attacks against Fourth Army (supply road).\* The main concern, however, is with the

rear (enemy Guards Cav. Corps against Haase's Group). In Ninth Army new heavy attacks, in which the enemy commits one of his new Armd. Brigs'.

North: Good progress of the drive at Staraya Russa. Enemy attack at Fogostye resulted in fairly deep penetration, which seems to have been temporarily checked. Mt. Inf. is moving up for counter attack.

At Fuehrer Hq.: Field Marshal List presents a long report on the result of his inspection tour in Lapland and Norway. Opposes an OKW Theater Command for the North as redundant in as much as the northern sector must always act on its own, and the southern sector has good leadership.

26 March 1942 (278th Day).

Situation: Practically unchanged. Little combat activity anywhere. Also little air activity, due to danger of ice formation. Some action only in Sixth Army sector, where Breith's attack charged into an enemy counter attack, and at Fogostye, where the situation is developing badly (deep penetration, several reports of 52-ton-tanks). Thaw is spreading and supposedly restricting movement.

Gen. Bogatsch and Gen. Lohmann report. Turning over of business.\*

Reich Labor Leader Hierl\*: Review of the situation and employment of the Reich Labor Service in forthcoming operations.

Maj. Kienitz (Air Force): Statistical analysis by Air observation on railroad movements, shipping in ports, planes on air-fields, etc.

Capt. von Etdorf: Orientation on the military situation for the information of the State Secretary.

27 March 1942 (279th Day).

Situation: On the front facing Sixth Army, the enemy has committed his last reserves (III Cav. Corps). In Fourth Army sector pressure on Nineteenth Armd. Div., will delay the attack on Kirov. -- In Ninth Army sector, heavy attack from the north and south in area west of Rzhev. Result: Proposal to try a solution with limited scope, and growing reluctance to launch the Ostashkov offensive. In North, further deterioration of the situation south of Fogostye.

Gen. Heusinger: Disposition of forces and planned sequence of phases in operation "Siegfried". -- "Rehabilitation"\*\*\*-- (With Ehlfeldt) Reinforcement of Artillery before Sevastopol.

Gen. Matzky: Current matters of his section.

28 March 1942 (280th Day). British raid on St. Nazaire repelled.

Situation: Violent attacks from south and north against Ninth Army front west of Rshév result in a sharpening of tension. The enemy has punched through our "bridge"\* on the Volkhov front and has a line of communications again. Situation at Fogostye still uncomfortably tight. On the other fronts, the enemy continued his attacks at Kerch and Volchansk, while we made further progress in our offensive at Staraya Russa.

Army Gp. Command is growing increasingly unsure about practicability of the Ostashkov offensive. Also the Kirov operation, promoted earlier with such great eloquence, is being talked down to the proportions of a mere last-resort solution. The Command of AGp. Center is very weak, and most talkative besides. \*\*

Fuehrer conference on the over-all situation. Report on build-up for "Siegfried" Approved!

29 March 1942 (281st Day).

Situation: Apart from North, no important changes except in Fourth Army, where the pressure against Nineteenth Armd. Div. is increasing. In North, the "bridge" on the Volkhov is definitely gone now. The situation south of Fogostye is rather disagreeable. Attacks are impending against the "corridor" \*\*\* ,

The great picture shows the enemy desperately trying to score a decisive success before thaw sets in. Main effort in AGp. North.

Gen. Schmud: Comes to talk about the relationship of trust to the Fuehrer (promotions, disciplining)#. -- Grossdeutschland Div. -- First Mt. Div.

Col. Ehlfeldt: Current Artillery matters. -- Assault badge. ##

Evening. Phone talk with von Kuechler. Afterwards talk with the Fuehrer on the situation at Fogostye.

30 March 1942 (282nd Day).

Situation: No significant changes. Our attack at Staraya Russa has made no important ground gains; the main effort must be shifted to the northern wing. On the Volkhov the new gap has not yet been closed. The counter attack at Fogostye has had a promising start. Rest of the front relatively quiet.

Gen. Keitel (Personnel Div.): Reassignments. -- Personnel procurement.

Lt. Col. Poley reports on transfer to Gen Qu Sec.

von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

At noon with Field Marshal von Witzleben \* to the Fuehrer.

31 March 1942 (283rd Day).

Fuehrer conference, with von Kluge and Model. Both state that the troops have been under too great a strain to sustain an offensive against Ostashkov at the present time. Decision: Ninth Army will limit its effort on the Rzhev front to creating favorable conditions for the start of operation "Brueckenschlag" \*\* after the muddy season. In addition it will bar the lines of communication of the Russian Twentyninth and Thirtyninth Army with the greatest economy of forces. Apart from this, Army Gp. must restore order in its Rear Area \*\*\* and reform its forces.

Maj. Sperling reports as G Hq Commandant. -- Col. Zutavern, new Heeresnachschubfuehrer#

Col. von Ziehlberg: Replacement for Chief Section Foreign Armies East, who does not come up to my standards.

Gen. von Schwedler (CG, IV Corps) calls on his return to the front.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Current supply questions (ammunition). Personnel matters.

1 April 1942 (284th Day).

Situation: No significant changes. Slow progress at Staraya Russa.

Joint report by OQu I, Deputy Chief Org., Lt. Col. Christ, von Below. Meeting of replacement requirements in spring, 1942. -- Question of maintaining the policy of regional homogeneity in replacement units. -- Reorganization of the Divs. -- Armament and equipment matters.

Gen. Heusinger: Current matters. -- Allocation of forces in "Siegfried". Command set-up. \*

von Ziehlberg: Exchange Kinzel Gehlen. \*\*

2 April 1942 (285th Day).

Situation: No important changes. Bad weather precludes air support for the attacks of AGp. North, which are therefore suspended; meanwhile the troops are closing up.

Maj. von Below: Training matters. -- Instructional Pamphlets and Training Instructions.

Lt. Col. Eichheim: Report on fortifications construction, and on situation on the Volkhov river and in the Sukhinichi salient.

Gen. Gercke: Report on construction plans and progress of projects.

Col. Kinzel, with Gehlen: Replacements and new activations in Russia. -- Russian tank output.

3 April 1942 (286th Day). -- Good Friday --.

Situation: No essential changes. Also at Staraya Russa, attack is still held up owing to bad weather and lack of air support.

Capt. Weygold (Navy): Report on naval situation. The Navy insists on an attack in the direction of Suez. I am not interested.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Current supply problems. Machinery of supply for the summer offensive.

Evening. Visit of the Chief of the Romanian Gen. Staff, Gen. Steflea, who stays as our guest in a circle of comrades through the evening.

4 April 1942 (287th Day).

Situation unchanged. In South and Center, the situation is dominated by the beginning thaw. In North, the weather is still bad.

Gen. Torresan (Italian Gen Qu), accompanied by Marras, comes to discuss preparations for the forthcoming operations.

Gen. Jacob (Eng. Chief): Barbed wire stocks are ample for time being. There are not enough mines. Questions relating to fortification construction.

Lt. Col. Merz (Org. Sec.): Replacement requirements through the summer operation. -- Reforming of disrupted Divs.

5 April 1942 (288th Day). Easter Sunday.

Situation: Unexpectedly sharp attack against Ninth Army from the north. Tanks also reported attacking from the south. Heavy tank attack also against XXXX Corps (Fourth Army). Otherwise no change. The enemy fronting Seydlitz is gathering up all available forces, but is not introducing any reinforcements.

Lt. Col. Pistorius: Briefing for his tour to the West.

Gen. Herrlein (Inf. Chief): Questions of Infantry weapons. -- Pre-military training. \*

6 April 1942 (289th Day). -- Easter Monday.

Casualties: 22 June, 1941 -- 31 March, 1942.

Wounded:	23,541	Off.	799,389	NCO and EM
Killed:	8,827	Off.	223,553	NCO and EM
Missing:	855	Off.	51,665	NCO and EM
-----				
Total:	33,223	Off.	1,074,607	NCO and EM.

Total losses in the operations in the East (excl. medical casualties) 1,107,830, i.e. 34.61% of Eastern Army at strength of 3.2 million.

Situation: No important changes. The enemy continues to reinforce his Armor against Nineteenth Armd. Div.; attacks

against the northern front of Ninth Army are on a broadening frontage.

Gen. Brand (Arty.): General questions of counter battery fire. -- Sevastopol: Analysis of enemy Artillery shows a ratio of 2:1 in our favor, which would approximately correspond with the number of Divs. committed. On quiet fronts, one Btry. for every 4 km; Kerch 4 Btrys. for every km.

von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters, -- Efficiency Ratings, -- Decorations on 20 April. #.

Gen. Matzky reports on his tour to Hungary and Slovakia. -- Current matters of his section.

7 April 1942 (290th Day).

Situation unchanged. Front generally quiet, apart from local attacks against Fourth and Ninth Armies.

Col. Cramer (z.b.V. to Armd. Forces Chief) and Lt. Col. Remer (Assist. Mil. Attaché Tangier) report.

Lt. Col. Christ (Org. Sec.): Current questions. Gen. Staff policy on technical developments.\*\*

Qu I and Col. Mueller submit the war maps which are to be used in the forthcoming summer offensive.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Basic organizational data for "Siegfried". Command personnel.

8 April 1942 (291st Day).

Situation: von Seydlitz' attack \*\*\* is slowly forging ahead. The enemy has improved his position on the railroad embankment in the sector of Eleventh Div. Otherwise no change.

Lt. Col. Kusserow (Air Force Operational Staff). Reports planned Air Force build-up in "Siegfried", and discusses cooperation.

Col. Liss (Foreign Armies West) reports on the British Army.

Maj. von Below (Tng. Sec.) reports on his visit to Staraya Russa.

Lt. Col. Gehlen (Foreign Armies East). Enemy reinforcements received in March. -- Air Force statistics. -- Working methods for his Section.

9 April 1942 (292nd Day).

Situation: No important changes. Heavy attacks at Kerch were repelled. von Seydlitz is advancing. Situation at Pogostye is becoming ever more difficult. \*

Gen. Rupp and Gen. Fremerey call en route.

Col. Radke: Religious question in the Army. -- Indoctrination of the troops by means of political pamphlets. -- Propaganda outside the army.

Gen. Heusinger: Report on conferences in AGp. Center. Is too short in men to attend to its manifold tasks.

10 April 1942 (293rd Day)

Situation: No important changes. Enemy movements on Kleist's front bear close watching. Indications point to a developing build-up of strong forces in the Sukhinichi area. Relief forces have battled through to Combat Group Haas, which will be taken back. On the front facing Model's sector, the enemy is shifting forces to the west. von Seydlitz reports small gains. Situation at Pogostye serious. The ice is breaking on the Volkhov river.

Capt. Weygold (Navy) shows photos of S.S. Gneisenau. Damage from bombs received in drydock.

Gen. Ochsner report on tour to the Crimea. -- Question relating to passive chemical warfare and Chem. Mortars.

11 April 1942 (294th Day)

Situation: New strong attacks on the Kerch peninsula were repulsed. A landing attempt on the west coast of the Crimea was thrown back. Russian Fleet at sea. Striking movements of reinforcements to Kleist's eastern front. Troop movements from the southwest into the Sukhinichi area. Heavy attacks against Gen. Ruoff's southern wing. On Model's front more movements in westward direction. Puzzling movements from Toropets to the southeast during the night. At Kholm, the situation is very tight. Seydlitz is scoring small advances. At Pogostye, tension is easing.

Fuehrer situation conference: He vetoes proposals of AGP. Center regarding attacks on Ostashkov and towards Toropets. For the time being no attack at all. Ordered transfers of Divs. to the West and to South must be carried out.

Work on the orders for operation "Elau". \*)

Keitel . (Personnel Div. ) Personnel matters.

Heusinger: . Operation South.

12 April 1942 (295th Day)

Situation: No enemy attack at Kerch. Naval situation around the Crimea is obscure. More enemy reinforcements on Kleist's eastern front. On XXXX Corps front apparently preparations for an attack (two new Divs.; tanks brought up).

Seydlitz is advancing slowly. At Pogostye situation apparently firmer after protracted period of fluctuations.

Gen. Obst. Fromm: We discuss the ammunition position relative to armaments, and personnel. In the East, we are going to be 318,000 men short as of 1 May. From May to September we will have 960,000 men for less replacements, then nothing at all as of October. Age group 1924 will be called up on 1 Aug. Starts labor Service in May, if possible, to be used in West. This age group will yield 260,000 for the Army.

Suggestion: Send 240,000 men with two months training to the Eastern Army in May.

OQ I: Report on conferences in Berlin. Activation of Anti-partisan Jagdkommandos \* and Assault Bns. \*\* in the Armies.

13 April 1942 (296th Day)

Situation: Heavy attacks against Fourth Army, and XXXX and XII Corps. Difficult situation at Kholm. Pogostye better today.

Conference with Gen. Obst. von Kuechler at Fuehrer Hq. produces no new viewpoints.

Gen. Prueter (C of S. XXXXV Corps), Gen. Eberbach and Gen. Wessel, (Armor), and Gen. Sinzinger call.

Lt. Col. Christ: Current Org. Sec. matters (Romania, changes in the Rear Areas, new Hq AGp. South \*\*\*).

Gen. Wagner (Gen Q1): Fuel questions. — Ammunition issued to troops. — Conference of Supply Chiefs.

von Ziehlberg: New liaison officer from Org. Sec. #) Personnel changes in the Section.

Count Stauffenberg: Current organizational activities. OKW shows a desire to activate troops of its own. ##

Average daily casualties in March: First ten day period 3,478 (58))  
Second " " " 3,139 (67)  
Third " " " 5,947 (37).

14 April 1942 (297th Day)

Situation: On the whole unchanged. All quiet in South, including the Crimea. Also Center quiet after yesterday's defensive success by XXXX Corps. In North, small advances at Staraya Russa. No enemy progress at Fogostye. Snow is melting.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters. Formation of AGp. A. \*

Gen. Leeb: (Ordnance Off.): Report on new developments in armament and ammunition.

Gen. Brand and Lt. Col. Grosskreutz: Report on Artillery situation on the Ugra front. Many deficiencies!

Col. von Kurowsky reports as C of S, Second Panzer Army. Review of the situation of the Army.

Lt. Col. Oehmichen reports on his tour to the Fogostye front. On the whole quite a heartening picture.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Fuel situation — Quota system.

15 April 1942 (298th Day)

Situation: Unchanged. On the whole all quiet. At Staraya Russa our attack gains some ground.

Afternoon 1600 - 1800 Demonstration of new Inf. weapons, AT weapons and tanks with new guns (on Angerburg training ground).

OQu I., Chief Org.: Allocation of replacements in summer, 1942. Men with two months training must be sent directly to the combat units.

16 April 1942 (299th Day)

Situation: All quiet in South. In Center another serious attack against XXXX Corps. Russian Thirtythird Army \*\* has been liquidated. North: Tightening of situation on the Volkhov front. Otherwise no change.

Gen. Qu.: Demands by Eleventh Army for ammunition and materiel for Sevastopol and Kerch. Security forces for "Blau". Stocks of indigenous staples.

Gen. Brand (Arty): Comments and views of the plan for the Artillery assault of Sevastopol. — Rehabilitation. — Artillery tactics.

Gen. Schaal (Cav.): Report on his experiences during the retreat from Klin, and on present situation west of Sichevsk.

Evening at Fuehrer Hq: Gen. von Manstein presents report on Kerch and Sevastopol.

17 April 1942 (300th Day)

Situation: In South, opposite Kleist's front confused movements and radio silence. In Center, heavy attack against XXXX Corps. In North, on the whole no change.

Reich Labor Service Leader Hierl: Use of Reich Labor Service for Operation "Blau". Subsequently incorporation into Army. \*

Gen. Zeitzler: Reports as C of S, AGp. West. Briefing on the situation and his job.

Lt. Col. Stieff (Ia, Fourth Army) makes a very grave report on the condition of the troops.

Gen. de Raimondo (Italian Transp. Chief) calls after conferences with our Transp. Chief.

Conference with Gen. von Sodenstern (AGp. South) on operation "Blau".

Evening: Social evening with Sodenstern (Leyherr also here).

von Etzdorf: Report about India. — Situation in France.

Two phonetalks (morning and evening) with von Kluge on the situation of Fourth Army. 385th Div. must be moved to front.

18 April 1942 (301st Day)

Situation: Unaccountable quiet along the entire front.

1100 General Talvela (Finland) presents Finnish Cross of Liberation 1st Class with Oak leaves and swords, and makes a speech.

1600 For a short time, I attend the conference of Supply Chiefs in the Gen. Q's Office.

1730 Gen. Dittmar, Army radio spokesman. A few indications on how senior Commanders want news presented.

Gen. Mueller (z.b.V.) reports on his tour to AGp. North.

1600 Lt. Col. Mueller-Hildebrand (Chief Org. Sec.); Organization matters; = Allegation of AF guns.

1930 Maj. Pipkorn reports on his mission to Ninth Army, Hedel demands too much of his troops!

2300 Gehlen (Foreign Armies East); Statistics on rate of enemy losses.

von Ziehlberg: Gen. Staff personnel matters.

19 April 1942 (302nd Day)

Situation: Still all quiet on the front.

Callers: Col. Weinknecht, Lt. Col. Toppe, Eckstein, Gen. Krebs  
(C of S, Ninth Army).  
Out-of-turn promotions.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Gen. Staff personnel matters.

20 April 1942 (303rd Day)

Situation: Curiously quiet. Enemy is seemingly anticipating a German red-letter day attack. \* Enemy propaganda. Good progress on the Lovat river. The gap \*\* has been almost closed. Consolidation of the situation on the Volkhov river.

0900 Morning review in celebration of the Fuehrer's birthday. Address.

1230 At the daily morning conference, congratulations and presentation of books on Russian and Czech border fortifications.

1430 All to luncheon with the Fuehrer for his birthday. Take sharp issue with Reichsfuehrer SS on employment of SS at the front.

Afternoon Gen. von Greiffenberg (Center): Review of the situation.

Col. Schmidt (formerly C of S, V Corps, now C of S, Sixth Army) calls en route. Report on the situation at Vyazma.

von Ziehlberg: Fire destroys archive collection. \*\*\*  
Preventive measures!

21 April 1942 (304th Day)

Situation: On the whole quiet, except for new attacks on the Volkhov. Mounting indications of enemy build-up between Rostov and Yelets, \* also for preparations for local attacks at Sukhinichi, Fomina and on IX Corps front.

Gen. Hoefl (Commander, 206th Div.) calls while on leave in East Prussia.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hildebrand: Timetable of replacement arrivals. — Allocation of AT Guns. — Current organization matters.

Gen. Wagner: Continued fuel supply. — Truck replacement position tight and unpredictable. — Ammunition supply for Crimea. — Administrative Orders for "Blau" \*\*.

22 April 1942 (205th Day)

Situation: The movements opposite Kleist's Group continue. Opposite Sixth Army the enemy is shifting forces southward. Ominous assembly movement around Yelets. In Fourth Army sector, the enemy attack at Fomina was repelled. 385th Div. released for commitment at the front. Unusual movements on Yukhnov from the direction of Medin.

In North, the gap between X and II Corps has been closed, but the link needs more strengthening. On the Volkhov, the enemy penetration has again been eliminated. Volkhov river covered with floating ice. Situation at Pogostye has been stabilized now.

Gen. Brand (Arty): Preparations for Sevastopol. — Rehabilitation of the Observation Bn. — Activities of the Corps Artillery Commanders.

Col. Blaurock reports as C of S, XXXXIII Corps. Review of the events during the retreat of Ninth Army.

Lt. Col. Gehlen: American Armed Forces. — Situation in Burma.

Gen. von Salmuth calls. Will be substitute for Hoth during his leave to Seventeenth Army.

Gen. Matzky: "Legions". \*\*\*, — Report on the conference of the Japanese Attaches in Berlin.

23 April 1942 (306th Day)

Situation: Unchanged. A curiously quiet day on the entire front.

Visitors: Gen. von Mackensen. Returns from the ZI to the front. Review of the over-all situation. — von Trotha (Ia, 267th Div.). — Schoch (formerly 111th Div.). — Gen. Grimmeis (Army Liaison at ObdL): Discussion on co-operation with the Air Force.

Col. Balck reports on 24th Armd. Div. in France.

Col. Dr. Speidel\* reports, as C of S, V Corps. Briefing on his job.

24 April 1942 (307th Day)

Situation: Unchanged. Enemy continues relieving and regrouping movements opposite the southern part of the front. All quiet in AGC. North.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Rehabilitation matters. (Deactivation of Regts. etc.).

Gen. Ochsner: Current matters relating to Rocket Projector Troops. Preparedness for poison gas warfare on the part of enemy. Own defenses.

Lt. Col. von Below: Current Training matter. Application of the lessons of this war. Training of NCOs.

Evening: Fuehrer leaves for Berlin.

25 April 1942 (308th Day)

Casualties: From 22 June 1941 — 20 Apr. 1942:

Wounded:	24,088 Off.	828,892 NCO and EM
Killed:	9,077 Off.	232,236 NCO and EM
Missing:	874 Off.	53,787 NCO and EM
Total:	34,039 Off.	1,114,915 NCO and EM

Total Army losses in the Eastern Campaign (excl. medical casualties): 1,148,954, i.e., 35,9%, at an average strength of 3,2 million.

Situation: All quiet along the entire front. Local enemy probing on the front of the Second Army.

Lt. Col. Fistorius (with General Heusinger) reports on his tour along the French coast. Nothing new of importance.

Lt. Col. Richert (Ia, 134th Div.) reports on his Div. which apparently has recuperated to a satisfactory degree.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Gen. Staff personnel matters. — Complaints. — Marriage authorization.

Col. Schilling (lately C of S XXIV Corps, now C of S, Panzer Army 3) reports. Report on XXIV Corps.

Lt. Col. Gehlen: Enemy situation on front of Kleist's Group and of Sixth Army.

26 April 1942 (309th Day)

Situation: Unchanged quiet. Apparently the effects of the seasonal mud are severely felt in Center and North. In South, the enemy regrouping movements opposite our front continue.

Col. von Gyldenfeldt reports out, becomes Ia of new AGp. A

Gen. Martinek reports for special mission at Sevastopol. Briefing on the basic features of the assault.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Rehabilitation matters. — Light-weight guns for AGp. North\*.

Gen. Obst. Hoth: Talk on the situation of Third Panzer Army. Personnel changes for coming operations.

Col. Schultz (lately C of S XXXVIII Corps, now C of S, Eleventh Army) calls: Briefing on his new job. Report on his former organization.

Lt. Col. Schmidt-Altenstadt: Security forces for operation "Blau". Requisition for foreign security troops.

Evening departure for Berlin, 2005.

27 April 1942 — 1 May 1942 (310-314th Day).

Stay in Berlin:

27 April. Arrival in Berlin. Gen. Paulus calls (C in C Sixth Army).

28. April. 0900 - 1300 War Academy, Lecture Room A (Wenck) and B (Laegeler). At noon, luncheon with Gen. Laszlo, Commandant of the Hungarian War Academy. 1900 Social evening with the Officers of the War Academy.

29 April 0900 to 1300 War Academy, Lecture Room C (Staats) and D (von Bonin). Address to the participants, orientation on situation for instructors.  
1400 Luncheon with instructors.  
1600 Gen. Hemmerich, presents report in Office, Tirpitzufer.  
1630-1800 Chief, Army Archives (OQu V). General Stapf calls (talk on future assignment).  
1800-1930 Talk with Gen. Obst. Fromm: Replacements matters. — Organization. — Armament questions.

30 April. Dentist. Theater.

1 May. Visit Field Marshal von Brauchitsch. Leave by train in the evening.

2 May 1942 (315th Day)

Situation: Quiet day along the entire front, except on the Volkhov, where local fighting continues.

Conference with OQu I and Chief Op. Sec. on development of the situation during my absence.

Lt. Col. Gehlen: Development of enemy situation and situation estimate.

3 May 1942 (316th Day) — Fuehrer back at GHq—

Situation: No change. All quiet along the entire front. — "Exchange-Tel." \* brings striking report on our intentions from Moscow.

Afternoon Conferences with OQu I and Polit Liaison Sec. \*\* concerning security on operation "Blau". with Gen. Qu on the same subject.

Conference with OQu I, Chief Op. Sec., Gen Qu on progress of troop rehabilitation. As to trucks, we shall somehow be able to manage. But we shall not be able to cover our requirements for prime movers, even if our targets are scaled down to the utmost. All Btrps. of Div. Artillery of Armd. Divs. and in GHq Artillery units must be cut to three guns.

Evening: Lt. Col. Zerbel (Ia, 299th Div.) calls en route.

4 May 1942 (317th Day)

Situation: Attack to free Kholm has opened with good results. Strong attacks against 290th Div. were repelled; more attacks must be expected. At Group Winnenberg acute tension again due to enemy penetration.

Fuehrer conference:

- a) von Kuechler, von Seydlitz. Report on situation in North. At times very lively exchange of views. Von Kuechler's suggestion to abandon the offensive in South in order to maintain the operation in North, is sharply disapproved.
- b) von Kleist gets briefing on mission.

Col. Bamler reports en route. In the afternoon visit by Baroness Dyker. \*

5 May 1942 (318th Day)

Casualties: 22 June 1942 - 30 Apr. 1942.

Wounded:	24,368 Off.	843,314	NCO and EM
Killed:	9,152 Off.	235,908	NCO and EM
Missing:	875 Off.	54,218	NCO and EM
Total:	34,395 Off.	1,133,440	NCO and EM

Total Army losses in the East (excl. medical casualties)  
1,167,835, i.e. 36,49% of Eastern Army, at an average of  
3,2 million.

Situation: Kholm reached by an attack from the west at 0620. All quiet on the rest of the front. Changes: On the Kerch peninsula regrouping for defense. In the Izyum salient new forces reported moving into the northwestern corner; preparations for an attack at Volchansk. Opposite the right wing of Center (Mtsensk) the enemy is believed to assemble major forces. Opposite Fourth Army, the enemy front has been weakened by removal of units. Reports speak of impending arrival of enemy reinforcements against the boundary between Armd. Gp. 3 and Ninth Army, as well as opposite right wing of Ninth Army.

On the front of II Corps, the enemy is moving new forces against the sector of SS Deathhead. Two new enemy Divs. on Zorn's front. Reinforcements moving in direction of the Volkhov front.

Col. Balck: Report on Eleventh Armd. Div. Mission to visit Armd. Divs. in AGp. Center.

Gen. Breith (CG, Third Armd. Div.) reports on his command. Discusses his experiences.

Col. Sperl: (C of S, I Corps) calls Present report on his command.

Col. Radke: Current matters relating to troop welfare activities. Army Chaplains.

Gen. Buhle: Report on tour of AGp. South. (On the whole good)— Problem of best organization of Armd. units. (Brigade or Division).

Lt. Col. Gehlen: Tabulation on enemy strength.

6 May 1942 (319th Day)

Situation: At Khelm, the situation is further improved. Wounded can now be evacuated. Remainder of the front very quiet due to the weather and road conditions. Increased pressure must be expected from north and south against the corridor in Sixteenth Army, \* as also an attack from north against II Corps.

Gen. Osterkamp (Chief, Army Supply Office): Food situation.— Textiles and leather— Problem of the civilian employees.\*\*)

Gen. Garcke: Administrative Orders for Operation "Blau".— Technical problems of bridge construction.

7 May 1942 (320th Day):

Situation: Attacks in South, in the Slaviansk area, and in North, against II Corps, repelled. Otherwise all quiet.

Noon General Gariboldi, C in C. of the Italian Forces in operation "Blau" reports to the Fuehrer in my presence.

1700 General Gariboldi calls on me. Brief discussion of the peculiar features of this theater of operations.

- 1800 General Schell: Review of truck situation. Production and spare parts. Economic situation, organization of the economy. \*)
- 1900 Col. von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters, decorations, affair of honor.
- 2230 Gen. Wagner (Gen Q1): Truck situation. — Logistical arrangements for operation Blau.
- 2200 Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Replacements for AGp. Center (Combat Team Funck).

8 May 1942 (321st Day). Offensive on the Kerch peninsula starts. Naval victory in the Coral Sea.

Situation: Kerch offensive has opened with good initial success. Rest of the front quiet.

Col. Krabbe (Mil. Att. Madrid) reports on the situation. Spain is manifestly racked by economic and political strains. Likelihood of British invasion.

Personal visit by Gen. von Vietinghoff. Talk on troops and leadership.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Probable tank developments \*\*) in summer and fall. Consequences for organization.

Lt. Col. Gehlen: Attempt to compute enemy strength. — Enemy defense system in the interior.

9 May 1942 (322 Day)

Situation: Kerch: Breakthrough on the southern wing. Attack is making good progress. All quiet on the rest of the front.

General Zorn, who was in command of the pocket on the northern front, \*\*\*) reports back after completion of his mission. Quite worn!

Lt. Col. von Below: Training matters. — Foreign Legions. — Lessons of the Eastern campaign.

Kuehne (now O of S, XII Corps) and Toppe (appointed Head of Bureau in the Gen Q1's Section) call.

10 May 1942 (323rd Day) Sunday.

Situation: The Kerch offensive, which was going on so well, has been badly slowed down by adverse weather. Other fronts quiet. Velkhov line is again closed in Wandel's sector. \*

Gallers: Fonst (Commander, 293rd Div.), von Funck (Seventh Armd. Div.), Rasp (new G of S, XXIII Corps).

Col. von Ziehlberg: Current personnel matters. — Complaint against Gercke.

11 May 1942 (324th Day)

Situation: Heartening advances at Kerch; probably one-half of the enemy forces may be regarded as encircled. Otherwise nothing new.

General Keitel (Personnel Div.): Officer replacements. — Promotions. — Reassignments.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hildebrandt: Current organizational matters.

Col. von Krosigk, (C of S, I Corps) reports on situation on our northernmost wing. Worries about strength of units and condition of troops.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Current Gen Qu matters.

12 May 1942 (325th Day)

Situation: Good progress on the Kerch peninsula; 29,000 prisoners, 220 guns, 170 tanks, etc. Heavy enemy attacks at Volchansk and in VIII Corps sector against Sixth Army, objective Kharkov. The enemy used 100 tanks in each attack and has scored considerable initial successes. Air Force units must be diverted from the Crimea to this battle area. 23rd Armd. Div. is released for commitment at the front.

Gen. Woehler reports as new C of S, AGp. Center. Briefing by me and the Fuehrer.

General-Oberstabsveterinaer Schulze \*\* here for a conference of veterinaries, calls on me.

Lt. Col. Berger (Ia, 41st mot. Div.) calls en route.

Gen. Ochsner reports on the situation of the Rocket Projector units in South. Discusses use of gas against the partisans.

13 May 1942 (326th Day)

Situation: On the Kerch peninsula, the battle appears to have been decided in our favor (more than 40,000 prisoners). What resistance the enemy will be able to put up in the eastern part of the peninsula, cannot yet be estimated. In Sixth Army sector heavy attacks south and northeast of Kharkov, supported by several hundred tanks. Serious penetrations. Counter attack by 23rd Armd. and Third Armd. Divs. east of Kharkov. Grave crisis south of Kharkov (131st Div.).  
No important developments on the rest of the front.

Gen. Mueller (Map and Surveying Service): Optical reconnaissance of Italian border. \*

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Current organization matters. Allocation of AT Guns. \*\* etc.

Gen. Jacobs: Report on his tour to the French coast. —  
Continued supply of Engineer materials.

14 May 1942 (327th Day)

Situation: Crimea: We are approaching the town of Kerch in pursuing the enemy.  
South and east of Kharkov heavy enemy attacks supported by large numbers of tanks. The southern attack has the following strength: six or seven Rifle Divs., three to five Armd. Divs., one Cav. Div. and behind them, four Rifle Divs., one mot. Brig., three Cav. Corps (eight Cav. Divs.) and four to six Armd. Brig. The eastern attack comprizes: Twelve Rifle Divs., three Armd. Brig. and behind them, one Rifle Div., two mot. Brigs. one Cav. Corps (three Cav. Divs.). On the rest of the front no important changes.

Fuehrer situation conference: von Bock calls up and taking three to four Divs. out of Kleist's Group to patch up the front south of Kharkov. Proposal is disapproved. The situation can be restored only by an attack from the south, in connection with the preparations for operation "Fridericus".\*\*\*) Kleist's eastern front must be covered by regrouping, with main concentration to the north.

Presentation of decorations (Romanian) to Gen. Ochsner, Prof. Fontaine,\* Prof. Handloser \*\*, and Col. von Ziehlberg.

Col. Ehlfeldt: Questions relating to Coastal Artillery. — Artillery training and Artillery Schools. — Instructional Pamphlets,

Prof. Dr. Handloser: Statistics of medical casualties. — Epidemics control,

Col. von Ziehlberg: Gen. Staff personnel matters. — Assignment for latest age group of Staff assistants. \*\*\*

15 May 1942 (328th Day).

Situation: The Kerch offensive may be considered closed. Town and harbor are in our hands. Only the neck north of the town needs to be mopped up yet. South of Kharkov, the enemy penetration has been extended only slightly. Our front south of Kharkov was strong enough to throw back the enemy by a counter attack; high enemy losses. However, there is still a gap north of 454th Security Div. which has been closed only precariously by the Defense Team at Krasnograd. Here we may yet witness further enemy advances. On the whole, however, the impetus of the offensive seems to have been broken by our air sweeps.

In the penetration area at Volchansk, our counter attack has not had the expected success. Nevertheless the main thrust of the enemy offensive in the direction of Kharkov appears to be checked. A certain danger still exists north of Ternovaya, where we have only light forces.

On the other fronts, attacks are repulsed and troops can be exchanged; no major fighting.

At the situation conference at Fuehrer Hq, he exhibits extreme interest for the commitment of the M IV tanks with long-barreled guns and the med. AT Guns on SPM now coming off the line. — Apparently the output in the ZI of med. AT Guns has been much larger than anticipated.

Accordingly, after my return from the Fuehrer conference, I call a meeting with Gen Qu and the Chiefs of Org. by OKH, Op., and Transp. Sections to discuss the measures necessary to assure commitment of these weapons wherever needed by OKH.

Major von Wedekind goes as Liaison Off. to Kleist ("Fridericus" offensive).

Gen Qu and Lt. Col. Toppe report on the supply build-up for "Blau".

16 May 1942 (329th Day)

Casualties: 22 June 1941 - 10 May, 1942

Wounded:	25,779 Off.	850,534 NCO and EM
Killed:	9,450 Off.	241,572 NCO and EM
Missing:	849 Off.	54,551 NCO and EM
Total:	36,078 Off.	1,146,657 NCO and EM.

Total losses (excl. medical casualties): 1,182,735, i.e. 36.96% of Eastern Army of 3.2 million.

Situation: Pursuit of the enemy on the Kerch peninsula is drawing to a close. South of Kharkov, the enemy has struck with Cav. in the direction of Krasnograd, but was checked by an arriving Regt. of 305th Div. The attack to the north unfortunately has had a measure of success against the Hungarians. The worst part is that VIII Corps, under the shock of this development, took back the entire front. One Regt. of 305th Div. and other units, including Armor, are moving up from the area east of Kharkov. Disposal of the situation now is no more than a tactical matter.

East of Kharkov our tank attack has captured Ternovaya. As a result, the fighting in this area, too, is now reduced to mere tactical scope.

Opposite Second Army and Second Panzer Army the enemy is stirring. Quite possibly the show at Kharkov may now be repeated at Orel.

Nothing special on the remainder of the front.

At noon, at Fuehrer Hq, for the presentation of the CG of Third Honved Army. \* At 1700 he makes his official call on me.

1800 Conference with Gen Qu, Chief Op. Sec., Chief Org. Sec., on the progress of troop rehabilitation activities. Must draw on the "Christophorus" \*\*; vehicle reserve. Measures to equalize vehicle strength of Divs.

Gen. Herrlein reports on his inspection tour of Schools and Training Courses. — Questions of Inf. armament. — Training Instructions for Flame-thrower troops.

17 May 1942 (330th Day)

Sunday. Mother's Day.

Situation: On the Kerch peninsula, the remnants of the enemy are still putting up fanatical resistance northeast of the town.

The offensive of Kleist's Group ("Fridericus") has got off to a good start.

The enemy attacks south of Kharkov have made only minor advances. We cannot be too sure that we are past the crisis entirely, but it very much looks that way. East of Kharkov, there has been a big tank battle with the enemy attacking with large numbers of new tanks. While this battle was in progress, we were able to gain ground to the north, at Ternovaya, so that the crisis east of Kharkov may in the main be regarded as overcome. On the boundary between Second Army and Second Panzer Army the enemy apparently has not yet completed his build-up. An attack is being anticipated. On the remainder of the front, no important changes.

General Scherer the defender of Kholm reports. Gives me an account of the four months' siege.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Allocation of tanks after South has been filled up to full strength. (Western or Eastern Armd. Divs.?). Jagdkommandos (reorganization during summer). — Rehabilitation of the Armd. and mot. Divs.

Lt. Col. von Below: Current matters of Training Section. — Lessons learned in the war. — NCO Training Courses in the West.

Evening: Have Col. Kinzel in for fare-well; also present Gen. Scherer, Heusinger, etc.

18 May 1942 (331st Day)

Situation: On the Kerch peninsula, the few small remnants left are still fighting fiercely. While the battle raged around Kharkov, Kleist's offensive gained much ground in the direction of Izyum and to the southwestward. The situation of VIII Corps south of Kharkov is difficult, even after Corps has successfully beaten off the enemy's frontal attacks. The number of Tank Brigades committed by the enemy is really astounding: von Bock's estimates eight or nine south of Kharkov, and seven or eight on the front of LI Corps. At Volchansk, the over-all situation looks pretty good. Our tanks encircled at Ternovaya have not yet been freed, but it seems that they soon will be. Farther to the north, the situation is consolidated. On the boundary Second Army/Second Panzer Army the possibility of an enemy attack must still be reckoned with.

On the other fronts no important developments.

Col. von Hanstein reports as CO of an Artillery Regt.

Gen. von Greiffenberg reports en route to South AGp., to take over his new command (prospective AGp. A).

Field Marshal von Bock (on phone): Has serious misgivings about the situation in the Izyum salient. VIII cannot hold any longer, in fact it is a miracle that it held today. OKH does not realize the gravity of the situation, etc.

Later phone talk with von Sodenstern: The situation does not look quite that dangerous to him, but neither does he trust it. To his mind, the important thing at Kharkov is not just to score a "defensive success", but rather to smash the enemy, who is committing major forces on that front.

Phone talk with von Kuechler: Model is a very hard man to talk out of the plan to take Nelidovo. Attack against Byelov set for 24 May!

19 May 1942 (331st Day)

Situation: The Kerch offensive can be regarded as closed; 150,000 prisoners and large quantities of booty. The situation south of Kharkov is developed in gratifying manner. Kleist's offensive has made good progress. VIII Corps felt only little pressure today (whether or not as a result of Kleist's offensive is too early to say) and was moreover able to adjust its line by a counter-attack. The situation east of Kharkov is no longer dangerous. The final success of the counter attack will not be apparent before tomorrow. The remainder of the front is strikingly quiet.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Current matters in his Section. Basic directive for Chief of Chemical Warfare Troops at OKH\*.

Gen. Keitel (Personnel Div.) Officer replacements. — Reassignments. — Schooling.

Col. Schmidt-Richberg reports as new C of S, II Corps.

20 May 1942 (332nd Day)

Situation:

- a) Counter offensive "Fridericus" south of Izyum is making good progress, even though the Romanians have gained

only little ground. The enemy has reacted to the offensive from the south with great speed and vigor, opposing it chiefly with tanks and troops on trucks. The offensive substantially relieves VIII Corps, which now has been able to launch counter thrusts at some points of its front. Army Gp. reports intention to shift main effort of "Fridericus" to the northward and, after regrouping VIII Corps, to converge towards it in the area southeast of Kharkov.

- b) Baffling north-south railroad movements in the area north of Rostov.
- c) In AGp. North, attacks against SS Deathhead at and east of Molevitsi, and, from the south, against the corridor linking X and II Corps. The attacks were launched in bad weather to avoid our Air Force. Individual tanks succeeded in piercing our lines, but the massed Inf. attacks were repulsed with considerable losses to the enemy.
- d) On the remainder of the front no major fighting.

Gen. Cruewell reports out on leaving for Africa. Review of operational intentions in Africa for the coming months.

Gen. Bogatsch reports out; takes over the Vienna Air Force Service Area. \*

Gen. von Bernuth reports as C of S, Fourth Panzer Army. Goes to AGp. South tomorrow to head Advance Planning Staff.

21 May 1942 (334th Day)

Situation: Kerch operation concluded, Regrouping at Sevastopol, where the enemy is evidently making preparations against our impending attack. The Izyum offensive is taking a gratifying course. Kleist's northward drive has gained ground. Along the entire front we are now recapturing the initiative.

The situation at Kharkov continues to develop to our satisfaction. We have established firm contact with our encircled forces at Ternovaya. The front is closing. We can now take out forces from this sector and get them ready to meet Kleist converging from the north. All quiet on the remainder of the front, except in II Corps, where the enemy continues his unsuccessful attacks.

Gen. Homlok (Hungarian Mil. Attaché) brings a letter from his Chief. Wants to know details about the operation. I politely refuse.

Col. Ehlfeldt (together with Heusinger): Report on Sevastopol.  
Artillery attack against Ingermanland. \*

Gen. Wagner ( Gen Qu): Current Supply matters.

Capt. Seiffert (Org. Sec.) reports out.

Evening Social evening with Herrlein and a number of  
Section Chiefs.

22 May 1942 (335th Day) Fuehrer in Berlin.

Situation: The Izyum pocket has been weakly sealed on its eastern periphery. The plan envisaged by AGp. South for strengthening the ring in this sector, which probably will be subjected to considerable pressure in the coming days, is not well conceived: it calls for an attack in that direction with parts of Third and 23rd Armd. Divs. from the constricted bridgehead at Andreyevka. To my mind this is a very ineffectual solution. The right thing to do would be to have the Armor now becoming available east of Kharkov strike for Savintsi, on the north bank of the Donets. Bock had a talk with the Fuehrer and secured approval for Army Gp.'s plan. I think it is wrong. In the Kharkov sector, the enemy is pulling back his offensive front behind the Donets river. From the other fronts we have reports only of continuation of the attacks against the southern and the northeastern sector of II Corps, all unsuccessful.

Gen. Pfeffer (297th Div.) calls en route.

Gen. Jacobi: Report on procurement of steel and fuel \*\* for the Channel fortifications in the West.

Col. Gaede prospective successor of Knesch in Sofia, reports.

Gen. Ochsner: Report on Rocket Projector Regts. Preparation for chemical warfare.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand (with Count Stauffenberg):  
Organization of staff for the General on Special Assignment ( z.b.V.) and other current organization matters.

23 May 1942 (336th Day) Fuehrer in Berlin.

Situation: The Izyum pocket is firmly closed. The first enemy counter measures have been launched from the east.

Pressure from within the pocket seems to be preparing and will be felt from 24 May onwards.

At Kharkov, the enemy has withdrawn his tanks behind the Donets, but is still holding the western bank with strong forces. Local thrusts against Second and Third Panzer Armies and the northern front of Ninth Army, probably only to probe our strength. Attacks against II Corps have let up. In the bulges on the Volkhov and at Pogostye, the enemy is reducing his forces. The bulges shrink!

Col. Meister (Air Force): Report on forces committed for operation "Blau" (Stays for luncheon)  
of

Col. Balck reports on assuming command/Seventh Armd. Div. —  
Submits drafts of Training Instructions for Armored Trains and for Rifle Cos. of Armd. Divs.

Lt. Col. von Below: Current training matters.

Col. von Zichlberg: New GHq. — Personnel matters. —  
Efficiency ratings.

24 May 1942 (337th Day) Whitsunday.  
Fuehrer back at GHq.

Situation: In the pocket west of Izyum, which at last is solidly sealed, the enemy is making unsuccessful efforts to break out eastward. Attempts from the east, through Izyum and Savintsi, to crack the ring from without were repelled.

East of Kharkov, the enemy launched local attacks, apparently to keep us from withdrawing forces from this sector, and was thrown back.

On the boundary of AGps. South and Center, the enemy appears to be massing for an attack (8 to 12 Divs.); radio silence in his sector.

The attacks by AGp. Center against Cav. Corps Belo\* have made good progress (even without Air and tank support, which apparently was precluded by the weather). Stubborn enemy resistance. Increased enemy artillery activity from the outside. \*\*

The enemy seems to be concentrating forces for an attack against Byeloi.

In AGp. North a generally quiet day. Attacks against II Corps have let up.

Col. Ehlfeldt (Arty. Chief): Transfer of Artillery to the Kronstadt front after reduction of Sevastopol. Order to survey situation.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Basic directive for Liaison Officers from foreign Armies. — Replacements for Mt. Corps.

Lt. Col. Gehlen: The Russian Replacement Army. — Tentative tabulation of available Russian reserves.

25 May 1942 (338th Day). Whitmonday.

Casualties: 22 June, 1941 - 20 May, 1942.

Wounded:	26,301 Off.	873,940 NCO and EM
Killed:	9,610 Off.	247,410 NCO and EM
Missing:	879 Off.	56,687 NCO and EM
Total:	36,790 Off.	1,178,037 NCO and EM

Total Army losses in the Eastern campaign: 1,214,827, i.e. 37.96% of the Eastern Army at average strength of 3.2 million.

Situation: The battle around the pocket west of Izyum continues to evolve satisfactorily. The enemy's desperate and resolutely directed attempts to break out eastward were repelled, as were the feeble attacks with tanks from the east through Savintsi. East of Kharkov, the enemy has resumed the attack, and made some negligible local gains.

In AGp. Center the operations against the enemy in its rear (south of Vyazma) have made only slow progress due to bad weather and the resulting restrictions of movement.

All quiet on the other fronts (including North).

Col. von Bechtolsheim (lately C of S, XXIX Corps, now C of S, Army Hq. I), calls. His situation report portrays the gratifying combat effectiveness of the troops in his former command.

Gen. Jacob and Col. Abberger: Abberger reports on his tour to Hq Second Army. His visit seems to have been well-timed, because it is quite evident that the command has not yet grasped the importance of making preparations for speedy construction of fortifications on the northern wing of "Blau".

Col. Baentsch: Current Gen Qa matters.

Gen. Schirmer (on Special Assignment IV)\* reports on organization and results of supervision and services for troops behind the fronts.

Maj. von Widekind: Report on his participation in the battles of AGp. South (Hq of Kleist's Group) southwest of Izyum. I am glad to hear him give so high a rating to the effectiveness of our troops and weapons against enemy tanks.

26 May 1942 (339th Day) Rommel launches his offensive.

Situation: In the Izyum pocket, desperate break-out attempts to the east continue. Our attack has divided the pocket into two smaller pockets. More feeble attacks from the outside.

On the front east of Kharkov the attacks are dying down. The enemy concentrations are thinning. Tanks are withdrawing eastward.

In Center the attack against Cav. Corps Belov is still hampered by adverse weather, and is making only slow progress. Enemy is bringing up forces from Dorogobuzh. At Byeloi he is shifting his tanks, possibly preparatory to an attack.

AGp. North strikingly quiet. The enemy is withdrawing forces from the Volkhov and Pogostye bulges.

Callers: Finkh, von Baer, Daweins, Reichelt, Oswald, Nolte, Gen. von Boetticher, (back from U.S.).

Evening Farewell party for Baentsch and Finkh in my quarters. Welcome for Boetticher, Nolte also with us.

27 May 1942 (340th Day).

Situation: At Izyum, an attack from the outside was repelled. Reduction of the pocket is progressing; the enemy has been split into smaller groups, which are dwindling as our prisoner take mounts.

The attacks against Cav. Corps Belov resulted in a gratifying success. Here, too, the enemy has been split into smaller groups; some still are putting up stubborn resistance.

On the other fronts, no fighting of consequence.

Army Gp. intends to develop the success west of Izyum into further offensive operations east of Kharkov and east of the Donets, at Izyum, in order to gain further successes in the area before the start of operation "Blau".

Callers: Col. Baentsch reports out. Some young officers of the last age group report on their transfer to OKH.

Col. Ehlfeldt reports on allocation of Observation Bns.

Col. von Grolmann, Gen. Wagner report on their tour to AGp. South.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand reports on conferences at OKW (concerning Armd. Divs. )\*.

28 May 1942 (341st Day)

Situation: The battle at Kharkov and on the Donets is brought to a close with a large take of prisoners and booty. AGp. South has issued the orders for the next phases of the offensive: "Volchansk" and "Izyum". Fourth Army has closed the ring around the main body of Cav. Corps Belov. No noteworthy developments on the remainder of the front. In North, the enemy seems to be pulling out slowly but steadily from his bulges on the Volkhov and at Pogostye.

Gen. Hoernlein (Grossdeutschland Div.) reports.

Lt. Col. Schuchardt reports. Formerly at Ankara, now Ia in AGp.  
A. We discuss situation in Turkey.

Gen. Matzky: Restricting foreign Liaison Staffs at OKH during the operation. \*\*

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Current organization matters.

29 May 1942 (342nd Day).

Fuehrer in Berlin.

Situation: All quiet along the entire front (including Byeloi).

Callers: Unold (OQu, Center). -- Gen. Langermann (CG, XXIV Corps). --

Gen. von Oven (Commander, 56th Div.) - Gen. Bieler (CG, VI Corps).

It. Col. Mueller-Hildebrand: Gen. Staff specifications regarding weapons developments.

30 Mai 1942 (343rd Day).

Fuehrer in Berlin.

Situations: All fronts equally quiet. On the Volkhov, the access to the bulge has been narrowed down.

Callers: Capt. Meisner (Org. Sec.), Major Ziervogel (Op. Sec.), on their transfer to the front; Collasius and Weygold.

Generaloberstabsarzt Dr. Handloser: Preventive measures against malaria and typhus in Hq. (inoculation).

Gen. Heusinger: Conduct of the operation in the second phase of "Blau", modified by releasing Volchansk.\*

31 May 1942 (344th Day)

Situation: AGp. South has nothing to report except some local attacks. Build-up is proceeding according to plan. Movements hampered by bad weather. In Center new successes against Cav. Corps Below. Railroad disruption by partisans is on the increase.

North: "Erika" Schneise closed by attack from north and south, but apparently not without large casualties.

The enemy's intention to pull out of the Volkhov bulge is now quite obvious; not clear about Pogostyo bulge.

It. Col. Gehlen: Enemy situation and distribution of enemy forces.

1700 Report to Fuehrer (after his return from Berlin). Nothing to note.

1 June 1942 (345th Day). Fuehrer at AGp. South.

Situation: Unchanged. The mopping-up operation in the rear of Fourth Army is making good progress.

Gen. Obst. Hoth: Discussion of his mission in operation "Blau". -- Voronezh.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Personnel reshuffle within Gen. Staff. --  
Replacements for Gen. Staff.

Gen. Matzky - Wagner (Bleyken): Foreign units for security duty in the Rear Area. -- Security measures in Rear Area AGp. South.

Lt. Col. Pistorius: Anton - Ilona. (Instructions to AGp.D) \*

2 June 1942 (346th Day)

Situation: Artillery assault of Sevastopol has started. The enemy is apparently reducing his forces facing Sixth Army. -- Preparations for new westward attack against Cav. Corps Belov. -- On the whole, a day without important events or changes on the front.

Gen. Talvela reports back from the Crimea. Review of the situation on the Leningrad front.

Maj. Count Stauffenberg: Report on trip to the Divs. which participated in the Izyum battle (problem of Company Officers, horses shortage).

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Matter of organizational detail. -- Troop rehabilitation. -- Leave policy.

Gen. Keitel (Personnel Div.): Officer replacements. -- Reassignments.

3 June 1942 (347th Day).

Situation: The enemy has reacted to our Artillery attack on Sevastopol with counter battery fire. Work on fortifications in progress. Ship movements. -- No important changes on the other fronts.

Lt. Col. Jais (assigned to Rome): Report on plans for "Herkules." \* Requirements as to Assault Boats, Engineer troops, Sybol Ferries.

Col. Kramer: Report on condition of Armd. Divs. in AGp. North. Particularly good in Sixth Armd. Div.

4 June 1942: By plane to Berlin.

5 June 1942: Conferences with Gen. Starke, Gen. Obst. Fromm, Gen. Olbricht, Gen. Ziegler.

6 June 1942: Inspection of the June-July Course of the War Academy, Berlin.

7 June 1942 (Sunday): Return by plane to GHq. Assault on Sevastopol starts.

8 June 1942 (352nd Day).

Situation: Assault of Sevastopol makes satisfactory progress on the first day against stiff opposition; high ammunition expenditure and severe losses. All other fronts quiet. Successful counter attacks at Kirishi.

Gen. Jordan (Commander, Seventh Div.) reports of his command and the situation. Reassuring picture!

Hungarian Gen. Uizasz (Second Bureau) \* reports out and introduces his successor, Col. Vasvary,

Lt. Col. Gohlen: Changes in enemy strength during May.

Housing - Toppe: Transportation matters.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Current Ord. Sec. matters.

9 June 1942 (353rd Day)

Fuehrer in Berlin.

Situation: At Sevastopol good progress despite strong enemy counter attacks. Otherwise all quiet. AGp. Center reports break-out of Cav. Corp Belov to the south.

Callers: Capt. Grashey and Capt. Bauer, on transfer to OKH after graduation from latest Training Course. Col. Christ, on promotion.

Lt. Col. Natzmer (Ia, Group Kholm) reports on situation at the front.

Heusinger with Toppe, Polox, Mueller-Hillebrand: Report on troop rehabilitation. First priority Divs. (Sixth and Second Armies) will be about ready in ample time. Second priority units probably also will get there. Third priority units (Eleventh Army) cannot yet be estimated.\*

Gen. Jacob: Report on Denmark and on organization of seaborne distribution and transportation services. Fortification construction projects in the East.

Gen. Mueller, Col. Radke: Special services for soldiers. Military courts.

Gen. Buhle: Report on Sevastopol. My suspicion that the Artillery Command is not of the best is confirmed.

10 June 1942 (354th Day).

Fuehrer away.

Situation: Notwithstanding heavy enemy counter attacks, good progress at Sevastopol. It appears that the enemy has moved Artillery and Infantry from the southern sector to the threatened northern sector; the attack tomorrow therefore is to be launched with maximum surprise. Attack on Volshansk has started off well. The attack of the two assault wedges took the enemy lines by surprise. In Center further progress of mopping-up operation behind the front. The escaped Cav. Corps Belov is being pursued. In Ninth Army sector, the enemy is evidently reducing his forces on the northern front. Reinforcements reported moving up in the Staritsa area. All quiet on Sixteenth Army front. Eighteenth Army repelled serious attacks against the "bridge" on the Volkhov. At Kirishi only local attacks.

Callers: Capt. von Warnstorff (Foreign Armies East);  
Col. von Wechmar; Col. Sixt (New C of S, Seventh  
Army), ....\*) Ia, Eighth Armd. Div., Major  
Wilsutzki (goes to Sevastopol with mission to  
study assault on fortress).

Capt. Weybold, (Navy), Gen. Heusinger Report on naval  
situation.

Gen. Gercke: Changes in the organization of the Reichs-  
bahn. -- Railroad situation in the ZI.

Gen. Matzky (with Count Stauffenberg): Basic directive  
for foreign Liaison Detachments.--"Foreign Legions":  
Current matters.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Reorganization of OQu V Section as  
a result of assignment of mission to Col. Scherff  
(History of the War for the Fuehrer.\*\*)

11 June 1942 (355th Day).      Fuehrer away.

Situation: Local gains at Sevastopol, in both northern  
and southern sectors. The enemy Artillery, which  
for the largest part is still firing, is  
quite troublesome.

The Volshansk attack is making very satisfactory  
progress. There is a danger that the enemy would  
slip the noose of our enveloping movement. --

Fourth Army is making further progress in the  
mopping-up of its rear area. Unluckily, the main  
body of Belov's Cav. Corps and of Fourth Airborne  
Brig. have escaped south. \*\*\*

Situation in enemy line facing northern front of Ninth  
Army is unclear. (Railroad movements, supposedly  
also concentration of Armor). Nor is there any  
clear picture of what the enemy facing the north-  
eastern front is up to (increase in enemy Artillery).  
South of the "corridor" to II Corps the enemy  
unaccountably has abandoned some ground. To the  
north he is attacking (a new Brigade).

Wandel's Group has repelled severe attacks from  
the east. Concentrations at Kirishi.

Col. Kuehl (Gen. Staff) (OQu Norway) reports on supply  
situation in Norway and Lapland.

Gen. Wagner and Gen. Blumentritt: Preparations for  
winter 1942-43. -- Report on areas of prospective  
offensives to reach the Volga and the Caucasus.

Col. Ehlfeldt: Artillery assault of Sevastopol and  
possibilities \* of Artillery assaults of Kronstadt  
and Ingermanland.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Demands on BdE for replacements in 1943. -- Current matters.

Gen. Heusinger, OQuI: Conduct of operation "Blau II". How is it planned, with eastern or northern axis? I am for striking from the south. Must be thought through in detail.

12 June 1942 (356th Day). Fuehrer at Obersalzberg).

Situation: Only minor gains at Sevastopol and Volchansk. On the other fronts, no important changes.

Callers: Col. Schulz (Eng. Chief): Instruction to study road and bridge conditions on the Lovat river (communications line to II Corps).  
Major Hess, Gen Qu, Lapland, presents report on supply situation in his territory.

Vice-Admiral Fricke (with Capt. Assman (Navy)): Conference on situation. The Naval Operations Staff's picture of the war situation strays far from our sober view of facts. Those people are dreaming in terms of continents. Having watched the Army's performance to date, they assume without another thought that it all just depends on what we like to do and when, to push through on the land routes to the Persian Gulf over the Caucasus, or from Cyrenaica to the Suez Canal via Egypt. They are glibly talking about land operations through Italian Africa to the East African Coast and South Africa. The problems of the Atlantic are treated with off-hand superiority and those of the Black Sea with criminal unconcern.

In the evening I have the two naval officers at dinner with Blumentritt, Heusinger and Grolmann. Much threshing of empty straw.

Gen. Ochsner: We discuss the danger of the possible use of gas by our enemies, and our resources for gas warfare.

13 June 1942 (357th Day)

Situation: Local advances at Sevastopol prepared by heavy Artillery concentration. According to reports from frontline commands, the enemy is beginning to soften.

Operation Volchansk has scored a fine success. Large enemy bodies encircled. 20,000 PWs so far.

No major fighting on the other fronts. South of the "corridor" in Sixteenth Army sector, the enemy of his own accord is withdrawing behind the Lovat.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Cu): Fuel problem. Computations indicate that the fuel reserve for "Blau" will last only until mid-September.

Gen. Ochsner: Report on the part played by Rocket Projector troops in the fighting for Kerch. -- Approach to chemical warfare on the part of the enemy powers (increasing interest). -- Conditions for gas warfare on the Volkhov river.

Gen. Blumentritt: Subjects discussed at conference with BdE. -- Preparations for next winter.

Lt. Col. Crome\* (Lately Ic Paris, now C of S, XX Corps) reports. Gives a picture of the situation in Paris and the new set-up of the SD.

14 June 1942 (358th Day)

Casualties in the Eastern Army 22 June 1941 - 10 June 1942.

Wounded:	27,282 Off.	915,575 NCO and EM
Killed:	9,915 Off.	256,302 NCO and EM
Missing:	887 Off.	58,473 NCO and EM
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Total:	38,084 Off.	230,350 NCO and EM.

Total Army losses (excl. medical casualties): 1,268,434, i.e. 39.58% of the Eastern Army, at an average strength of 3.2 million.

Col. von Below: Current training matters. Instruction regarding utilization of training facilities in France.

Major Giese reports on transfer to Org. Sec. to take the place of Col. Christ; Col. Haas, lately Chief of Org. Sec., now leaves as C of S, XX Corps.

Gen. Wagner: Stock of all kinds on hand as of 15 June (original date for start of offensive).

On the whole quite satisfactory. Situation difficult in fuel and tank and AT ammunition.

Gen. Heusinger: The Fuehrer has ordered that the Izyum offensive planned to precede operation "Blau" must be launched as scheduled. Since that offensive cannot be opened before 18 June, Blau would have to be postponed until at least 23 June. Orders to that effect are issued to AGp. South.

Situation: Local advances at Sevastopol, especially notable in the southern sector. The Volchansk operation has hit a soft spot and so would appear to have promising prospect for its development.

Remainder of the front quiet. Attack repelled on the Volkhov.

15 June 1942 (359th Day). Fuehrer away.

Situation: Advances in southern and northern sector at Sevastopol, and at Volchansk. Otherwise all quiet.

Gen. Herrlein gives a picture of what he saw in the Crimea and in AGp. South. Nothing new.

Africa: German Armd. Corps "Africa" has broken through to the coast west of Tobruk. Cheering success!

Enemy: A report states that for no apparent reason the enemy fronting on boundary of AGps. South \* and North intends to fall back on Ostashkov.

16 June 1942 (360th Day). Fuehrer away. Victories in Africa and in the Mediterranean.

Situation: Notwithstanding Eleventh Army's contention that the assault had little chance of success in the absence of Inf. reinforcements, the enemy's situation at Sevastopol seems to deteriorate progressively. Good gains in the southern sector. Sixth Army is regrouping preparatory to "Fridericus II". They are quite short on Infantry. Romanian participation is rather embarrassing. \*)

In AGp. Center, Cav. Corps Belov has again broken out, and is moving in the direction of Kirov. Nothing that we could brag about!

On the other fronts, as also in AGp. North, no important changes in the situation.

Phone talk with Gen. Hasse (C of S, AGp North). Possibilities at Ostashkov; no more transport planes; shift main weight of Second SS Brig. to right wing!

Phone talk with Gen. Grimmeis: Calls for night Air Ren. coverage of the Ostashkov - Toropets area.

Gen. Harpe (CG, XXXXI Corps) calls on his return to the front. Review of the situation.

Col. Steffler (new C of S, IV Corps) reports. (Formerly Army Sec. of Armistice Commission).

Gen. von Greiffenberg: Discussion on operational possibilities of AGp. A. Keep mentally set to change plans. \* Flowing operation with flying start.

Major Oetzen reports. Transferred from Second Panzer Army to Gen Qu Office.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Report on talk with Rabenau and QQu V (Scherff's mission).

17 June 1942 (361st Day). Fuehrer away.

Situation: At Sevastopol the attack of LIV Corps has scored remarkable success in the northern sector and captured several key works. The attack on the southern sector has gained some ground and will be pushed again tomorrow.

Center is regrouping for operation "Friedericus II", which probably cannot start before 20 June. Raining.

Cav. Corps Belov is now floating around the area west of Kirov. Quite a man, that we have to send no less than seven Divs. after him.

In North \*\* we have neither positive nor negative evidence on the enemy's intention of giving up the Velizh pocket. In any event, North has freed the larger part of Eight Armd.Div. for a southern ward drive through Demyansk.

On the Volkhov, attacks were again repelled and the sac further compressed. Otherwise nothing of importance.

Gen. Gercke: Review of transportation situation. Extension of railroad line to Kupyansk. -- Lateral communications. -- Construction of field railways. Shipping on the Baltic.

Col. Christ, lately in Ord. Sec., reports out. Now C of S, XVI Corps at Mga.

Gen. Keitel (Personnel Div.): Reassignments. -- Matters relating to officers training. -- Final disposition of last winter's court of honor cases \*

Gen. Brand (Arty.) reports back. Artillery Command and ammunition at Sevastopol.

Lt. Col. von Klemm (Attaché at Athens) reports on situation in Greece.

Col. Schulz (Eng. Chief) reports on road and field railway communications between X and II Corps.

Maj. Schneider-Kostolski reports on use of remote-controlled assault and demolition vehicles at Sevastopol.

18 June 1942 (362nd Day). Fuehrer back.

Situation: Substantial advances by LIV Corps at Sevastopol, lesser advances by XXX Corps. Regrouping in Sixth Army, delayed by bad weather.

In Center Cav. Corps Belov, both the group, which broke out and which remained behind and was encircled, has been split into several groups. We must reckon with the ability of some elements to fight their way through the forests toward Kirov, and that the enemy at Kirov will support these break-out attempts by launching an attack of his own.

In North, no major actions. The enemy troops in the Volkhov sac are running short of food.

Gen. Woehler (C of S, 1Gp. Center): Conference on pending questions; Measures against partisans. -- Ostashkov. -- Plans of Army Gp. for the forthcoming tasks. -- Deception measures. \*\*

Gen. Follgiobel (Signal Chief): Measures to prevent leakage of operational plans through unauthorized listening in on phone talks.

Capt. von Etzdorf reports the Foreign Office's estimate of the international situation.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Report on test firing at Peenemuende. \* -- Rehabilitation and other matters of Org. Sec.

Lt. Col. Gehlen: Information giving picture of enemy forces disposition in the Caucasus. -- Construction activities of the enemy.

19 June 1942 (363rd Day). Fuehrer away.

Situation: In the northern sector of Sevastopol, coast and great bay have been reached. Only the Severnaya Kosa tip with its Btrys. is still in enemy hands. No change in the situation in XXX Corps.  
The railroad line north of Volchansk has been captured.  
No changes on the rest of the front. Only on the Volkhov, very heavy enemy attacks with local successes against Mandel's Group, in the absence of air support, were precluded by adverse weather.

The discussion with the top command on the efficient conduct of the Kupyansk - Izyum offensive follows a familiar and unpleasant pattern. Whereas von Bock, because of the terrain, wants to launch his tank drive directly from the west, top command considers that a mistake but feels no change ought to be ordered at this advanced stage of preparations, and approves von Bock's plan against its better judgement.

20 June 1942 (364th Day). Tobruk. Fuehrer here.

Situation: At Sevastopol, local advances were made by LIV and XXX Corps.  
On the Lovat river, heavy attacks were repulsed. Otherwise no change.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu) reports on rehabilitation situation (satisfactory) and on conferences in Berlin.

Plane carrying Maj. Reichel (Ia, 23rd Armd. Div.) with orders of the highest importance for operation "Blau", has apparently fallen into enemy hands.

Tobruk captured. Thus, the heavy battle in Cyrenaica has culminated in a victory that is of equally great value from the military and the political aspect.

AGp. South shows great nervousness in its situation estimate. The enemy is moving new troops from Rostov to the north and assembling a large force of armor opposite Sixth Army, which would indicate that heavy attacks are forthcoming.

Reports on impending attack (22 June) with heavy tank support out of Staraya Russa.

21 June 1942 (365th Day).

Fuehrer  
away.

Situation: At Sevastopol, the Btry. peninsula is in our hands and consequently we are now controlling almost the entire north shore. (LIV Corps). Good progress by XXX. Corps. The enemy appears to be abandoning the front opposite the Romanian in order to concentrate his forces against XXX Corps. On the Volkhov, heavy attacks supported by tanks, which were repelled with difficulty. Otherwise no change.  
Tobruk taken.

Major Reichel's plane has been found. He probably is dead. \* The documents, filled with vital information, must by now be in enemy hands.

Lt. Col. Maeller-Hillebrand: Current organization matters.

Gen. Jacob: Progress report of work on the West Coast and in Norway. -- Technical planning for the winter position in South (assign Fortress Engineer Hqs).

Col. (Gen. Staff) Vogel, lately C of S, XX Corps, reports out. Talk on Gen. Staff work in winter.

Gen. Eberbach, C of Fourth Armd. Div., reports en route. Portrays situation of his Div. in favorable terms.

Col. von Zichlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters. We review the age composition of Gen. Staff. -- Gen. Staff replacements.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Fuel supply. Ammunition situation.

Phone talk with Gen. Jodl (OIW): Estimate of enemy situation in connection with the prospective enemy attack on 22 June. -- He urges early start of "Blau". Talk on Air Force allocations in "Blau".

22 June 1942

Fuhrer back

Start of second year of the war  
against the Soviets.

Situation: At Sevastopol, the northern part of the fortress area, north of the great harbor bay, is in our hands. Shifting of our main effort to the southern sector has been initiated.

Offensive "Friedrich II" (Izjum-Kupyansk), as a result of surprise, made substantial initial-ground gains, but later encountered stubborn resistance west of Kupyansk. Crossing of the Donets from the south has been executed without major difficulties.

At Olkhovatka, shifting of troops, but the concentration there apparently is still quite dense. Opposite Second Army the enemy seems to be regrouping in depth. At Yelets confused troop movements cutting across one another.

The assembly movements for "Blau" (scheduled for X-4 to X-3) will be carried out during the night 22/23 June. X-order still withheld.

On the remainder of the front no significant developments apart from local reconnaissance thrusts, especially in the Sukhinichi salient. On the Volkhov front heavy fighting has flared up again. Enemy tanks have penetrated into our "bridge", but on the other hand it is believed this will prevent the enemy from getting his forces out of the sac. I have my doubts about that and feel sure that some of the troops in there will get away. Starvation among the penned-up enemy is beginning to take its toll.

Tobruk proves to be a great victory. Rommel has become a Field Marshal.

Matzky - Liss: British tonnage available for transports, Situation in the Middle East.

Gen. Ochsner: Bacteriological warfare and current chemical warfare matters.

Gen. von Arnim (CG, XXXIV Corps) arriving from Kholm, reports out. Gives an account of the situation. Sharply criticizes Hq Sixteenth Army and specifically its handling of tanks.

Lt. Col. von Below: Training for company officers temporarily at Radom -- Training projects of Army Gps.

Col. Radko: Lessons of the Reichel case. More intensive indoctrination on security is indicated. (Reichel found dead.)

23 June 1942. (Fuehrer away).

Situation: At Sevastopol, cheering progress in the central and southern sectors. The northern sector is now completely in our hands. Operation "Fridericus II" is making good strides. It may be expected that the Oskol river will be reached today. X-Day for "Blau": 27 June. On the Volkhov, the barrier shutting off the sac is again firmly closed. The sac is progressively shrinking under our pressure from north, west and south. Nothing new on the other fronts.

Gen. Lohmann (Air Force Chief at OKH): We discuss tasks and organization of Gen. effort. Difficulties with aircraft types and material replacements, the effects of which will become increasingly felt toward fall.

Lt. Col. Moeller-Hillebrand: The Fuehrer wants one more Armd. Div. each for France and Denmark. -- Current organization matters.

Lt. Col. Schwatlo-Gasterding, lately OKW Press Liaison Officer at OKH, reports out as Ia of 68th Div.

24 June 1942. Fuehrer back, but no conference)

Situation: At Sevastopol, local improvements preparatory to the next phase of the assault. Operation "Fridericus II" has achieved its objective. No reports yet on figures. Northeast of Volchansk more improvements are gained for our jump-off position against feeble and disorganized enemy resistance. No important changes on the remainder of the front. More advances in the Volkhov sac. The situation of the encircled enemy appears to be critical.

In OKW, which returned today, the campaign against the Gen. Staff is in high gear again. The unfortunate Reichel affair (Ia, 23rd Armd. Div.) seems to have crystallized ill feelings of apparently long standing. We only have to brace ourselves now for the explosion.

Several phone talks with AGp. South about the Reichel affair. Field Marshal von Bock will report to the Fuehrer in person tomorrow.

Col. Kossmann (Chef S, Military Commander France) reports and gives an account of conditions in France.

Gen. Foertsch (C of S Twelfth Army) reports on Greece.

Lt. Col. Rausor (OQu, Sixteenth Army) reports on supply situation and road conditions in the Sixteenth Army sector.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Meat supply for AGp. Center is jeopardized. -- Fuel supply.

25 June 1942

Casualties: 22 June, 1942 - 20 June, 1942.

Wounded: 27,866 Off. 939,883 NCO and EM

Killed: 10,076 Off. 261,435 NCO and EM

Missing: 895 Off. 59,625 NCO and EM

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Total: 38,837 Off. 1,260,947 NCO and EM

Total losses in the East (excl. medical casualties): 1,299,784, i.e. 40.62% of the Eastern Army, at an average strength of 3.2 million.

Situation: More local gains at Sevastopol. Successes of the Romainans.

Operation "Fridericus" concluded with 18,000 prisoners.

Deserters at Staraya Russa state an attack is forthcoming (early in July).

Volkhov sac is nearing its final liquidation.

Remainder of the front without important events.

Report to Fuehrer: Decision on "Blau II": We shall strike from the south. Also current questions.

Afternoon: Field Marshal von Bock reports to the Fuehrer on the Reichel case. Evening with von Bock at Vorwerk.\*

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Effects of curtailment of the fuel supply on our plans in Center and North.

26 June 1942.

Situation: On the whole unchanged. AGp. South is regrouping (First Panzer Army) for "Blau II". Further progress in the liquidation of the Volkhov sac. Offensive "Blau I" has to be postponed to 28 June because of thundershowers.

von Kluge reports to the Fuehrer; Review of situation. Fuehrer will transfer approx. two Armd. Divs. to Center, as the development of "Blau I" permits. Operation "Seydlitz" \* ( ) approved. Will be followed by preparations for Sukhinichi, when Kluge has forces of his own and for "Kaluga", as soon as he gets the two Armd. Divs. from South. Will be launched in the last third of July. Then "Ostashkov" can be prepared, starting middle of August. \*)

OQu IV: Report on French Legion; matters relating to the Hungarians, and other current matters.

Evening Spent with Field Marshal von Kluge. We discuss operational and general questions.

- 27 June 1942 -

Situation: At Sevastopol, also the central sector (Romanian Corps) is now approaching the inner fortifications ring, against which the assault is now being initiated. In South, no signs of any enemy reactions to the lost orders. The tank concentration east of Sixth Army is no longer in evidence. Where it got to, is a mystery. Tank movements have been observed only in the direction of Korocha. Railroad movements through Penza to Ryazhsk continue (reinforcements for Tambov - Yelets - Tula Group). In the Volkhov sac now only local resistance. Attacks against the Lirishi bridgehead repelled.

Field Marshal von Mannerheim visits the Fuehrer. 1215 to 1330, report on military situation, Luncheon. In the afternoon at OIH.

As an outcome of the Reichel affair, CG and C of S of XXXX Corps and the Commander of 23rd Armd. Div. have been ordered relieved of their posts.

Gen. Heim, CG, Fourteenth Armd. Div. (newly appointed) reports.

28 June 1942. "Blau" Weichs opens the offensive.

Situation: At Sevastopol, the inner fortifications ring is reached and concurrently the initial moves are made to breach the central portion.

Offensive "Blau" has started. The attack by von Weichs' Group has achieved tactical surprise, but after the initial easy penetrations, our troops had to overwhelm partly stubborn enemy opposition. The offensive is making very satisfactory progress. The results of the attack have fully corroborated our picture of the enemy disposition. The front is weakly held and there is some organization in depth. It remains to be seen whether and when substantial forces would be moved up from the enemy's hinterland. No indications to that effect can be made out on this first day of the attack.

Col. Cramer reports on his inspection tour of the Armd. Divs. in the West (Tenth, Seventh, Sixth).

CCu I: Talk about coordination and editorial policy for the military periodicals.\*

29 June 1942.

Situation: Very good progress at Sevastopol. The assault from north and east by way of Severnaya Bay and the Chernaya has broken into the inner defense ring on both sides of the mouth of the Chernaya river, and has from the east gained a foothold on the commanding heights of the Sapun hill fort. This means that the assault has entered on its final phase, which we hope will be concluded within a week. Army Gp. will then have to decide how to employ the forces that become available for the next phase, that is, whether to advance through Kerch or through Taganrog.

The attack of the northern wing of "Blau" during the night failed to improve on the very satisfactory results of the preceding day because all trucks were immobilized by a rain storm. Still unfulfilled is one hope, i.e., that also the Hungarians should make some advances in the southern wing.

In Center evidence is accumulating that the enemy is reducing his forces in the rear of Ninth Army.\*\* Unfortunately, heavy rains in this area, too, made it necessary to postpone operation "Seydlitz".

In North, the enemy's Volkhov operation can now be regarded as finally liquidated. New strong attacks at Kirishi. It is uncertain if new attacks will come from the Ladoga front.

In Africa, Marsa Matruh has fallen. 5,000 prisoners (mostly Indians).

Gen. Kirchner (CG, LIX Corps) reports. Corps Hq will go to Taganrog (Third phase of "Blau").

Lt. Col. von Mertz (Org. Sec.):

- a) Replacement matters, reductions (two instead of three Regts. in Divs., which now have only 6 Btrys.), cuts in Artillery, in Hqs, etc.
- b) Replacement requisitions by Eleventh Army cannot be completely filled. They call for 60,000, we can give them at most 30,000; as a result each Division will be 2 - 3,000 understrength. Situation especially bad in GHq Artillery.
- c) Rehabilitation of five Divs. in Center.
- d) Conversion of 23rd Div. to an Armd. Div.
- e) Activation of 217th Div. (a half-Div.) in Lapland.

Gen. Jacob: Report on Conference of Jacob, Zeitzler, and Speer with Fuehrer.

Evening situation shows more gains at Sevastopol, by both LIV and XXX Corps.

Weichs could not resume the drive with his Armor before noon (rain). Good progress.

XXXX Corps will start off tomorrow.

30 June 1942. von Kuechler promoted Field Marshal  
XXXX Corps starts off.

Situation: At Sevastopol our advances in the afternoon were so big that we may now expect the immediate fall of city and harbor.

Attack of XXXX mot. Corps has started off well.

Weichs' drive continues to gain ground. Resistance of enemy front groups is stiffening; also enemy pressure on the northern flank from Livni.

All quiet on the other fronts.

Conference with von Kuechler at Fuehrer Hq: Submits his plans.

He envisages four offensives in his sector which, as they supposedly could be carried out only one after the other, would take all of twenty weeks, i.e., six months. The individual projects are put up for discussion. The Fuehrer specifies:

- 1.) The corridor to II Corps must be extended northward, as planned and now also southward.

- 2.) Pogostye must be disposed off at the earliest; no further waiting! Fuehrer will give him the first Co. of "Tiger" Tanks for this job.
- 3.) Preparedness for defensive action along the bottleneck.\*

The liquidation of the Volkhov bridgehead\*\* is also discussed. The Fuehrer reiterates his plan to restore the situation on the eastern bank. von Kuechler estimates that four Divs. would be needed for the job.

Count Brockdorff (CG , II Corps) reports on his unit.

Gen. Keitel (Personnel Div.): The broad outlines of personnel movement. — Various reassignments. — Miscellaneous matters.

Evening: Social gathering to provide a suitable close for the round of birthday congratulations today. von Brockdorff, von der Chevallerie and Hasse, here temporarily, and the Section Chiefs of the Gen. Staff.

1 July 1942. von Manstein promoted Field Marshal!

Situation: Fall of Sevastopol. The drive of the northern wing of Sixth Army (XXXX Corps) is getting on well; its right wing reaches and crosses the Oskol river. The left wing of the drive makes a striking advance on Stary Oskol; central part reports stiff fighting.

von Weichs is making good strides on his right shoulder, whereas the Hungarians on the right wing of the breakthrough wedge are gaining ground only slowly. The central part is also making good progress against frontal resistance. Pressure from Livni against the northern flank is increasing and has compelled Weichs' left wing to pass to the defensive.

Nothing to report from other fronts .

Today's Fuehrer situation conference was not attended by me.

Lt. Col. Gehlen reports his findings on the enemy situation. The composite reconnaissance report fails to give any clear picture.

Gen. Thoma, formerly Twentieth Div., now at the disposal of OKH, reports on the work of his Div.

Gen. Hoecker, CG 258th Division, gives an account of the latest local attacks of his Div.

Lt. Col. Mueller Hillebrand reports on his observations at the start of the offensive and on the Rocket Projector troops in action. — Current matters.

Lt. Col. von Below reports on his observations in von Weichs' Army Gp. Rates Russian field units as mediocre.

2 July 1942.

From the Armed Forces Communiqué: 22 June, 1941 - 21 June, 1942.

Killed: 271,612 Off., NCO and EM. Missing 65,730.  
Of these totals, the losses for the five summer months of 1941 are: 162,314, missing 33,334;  
for defensive during the winter (five months): 88,977, missing 26,319;  
and for the two months of the 1942 offensive: 20,321, missing 6,077.

Situation: At Sevastopol now only minor local fighting.

"Blau": In the drive of Sixth Army, XXXX Corps has come up against stubborn resistance. At and west of Volokonovka, the enemy is resisting with all his strength in order to prevent a breakthrough to Valuiki before he has been able to withdraw to the east bank of the Oskol river. VIII Corps has gained much ground. In Weichs' Group, enemy opposition on his right wing and in center is apparently broken. The operation of free maneuver is beginning now. Strong pressure against northern wing is apparently shifting a little to the east.\* Easily repelled.

AGP Center has launched operation against Byeloi ("Seydlitz"). Small advances against tough enemy resistance in the forests. — All quiet in North.

Callers: von Schwedler (VI Corps), von Erdmannsdorf (Eighteenth mot. Div.).

OQu IV: Minor current Attaché matters.

3 July 1942.

Situation: At Sevastopol only local mopping up.

South of the Donets nothing new, apart from air attacks. Also in First Panzer Army no new developments. The enemy is apparently shifting forces northward.

Sixth Army has beaten the enemy and broken through to Valuiki. Its Armor has crossed the Oskol river and is advancing toward Korotoyak. VIII Corps together with Weichs' inner wing has closed the ring at Stari Oskol and is advancing with its main body southeastward across the Oskol river.

Weichs is approaching the Don with the spearhead of his assault wedge (24th Armd. Div. and Grossdeutschland). In this sector the enemy is apparently streaming back, beaten. The northern flank is apparently being extended eastward toward Voronezh under continuous enemy pressure, which is likewise constantly extending farther eastward. On the whole developments are very satisfactory.

Center: Enemy appears to be withdrawing troops from Second Army front to strengthen the Voronezh sector. Operation "Seydlitz" is advancing only very slowly.

North: More deserter statements about an impending attack at Staraya Russa. The front is quiet.

0400 Left Angerburg with Fuehrer for conference at HQ AGp. South. Three points:

- 1.) Operation no longer contingent on capture of Voronezh.
- 2.) Enemy must be steadily weakened by secondary operations as the progress of the offensive permits.
- 3.) It has been decided to continue operation of Eleventh Army through Kerch.

(Arrive Poltava 0700. Conference 0700 - 0900. Take-off 0900. Back at Angerburg 1240.)

Assignment of missions for the officers dispatched to the front\*:  
To collect tactical experience, they will be assigned to Hqs forward of Divs.

4 July 1942.

Situation: All of Sevastopol mopped up and finished.

The beaten enemy on the attacking front of AGp. South is retreating behind the Valuiki - Tikhaya-Sosna river line and the Don. Some of the enemy are cut off. Other elements are still offering stubborn resistance west of the Don. Enemy pressure on Weichs' northern front is increasing and probably will become heavier yet, but a crisis is not to be feared. Operation "Seydlitz" made better progress today. The relative weakness of the group and the difficult terrain are hampering the advance. Determined enemy counter action from west and east, chiefly in the Byeloi area.

Report to Fuehrer in the presence of the Reich Marshal. No subjects of broader significance.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Replacements and other current matters.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Organization of Rear Areas. -- Withdrawal of the Police. -- Supply arrangements for arms and equipment.

5 July 1942.

Casualties: 22 June, 1941 - 30 June, 1942.

Wounded;	28,627 Off.	964,924 NCO and EM.
Killed ;	10,292 Off.	267,634 NCO and EM.
Missing:	902 Off.	60,728 NCO and EM.

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Total: 39,821 Off.      1,292,656 NCO and EM.

Total losses in the Eastern campaign: 1,332,477, i.e. 41.62% of the Eastern Army, at an average strength of 3.2 million.

Situation: The offensive of AGP. Center is making good progress. The Don has been reached on a wide front west and south of Voronezh, but any attempt now to rush fortified Voronezh might result in total dissipation of the striking power of the 24th Armd. Div. and Grossdeutschland Div. Weichs' front facing northward has repelled enemy attacks partly supported by tanks but lacking coordination. The enemy is bringing up reinforcements to the northern front and to Voronezh.

Turning southward, Sixth Army has crossed the Tikhaya Sosna and established a bridgehead.

At the Fuehrer situation conference a warm debate developed over the conduct of the operation. The Fuehrer questions that von Bock is applying sufficient vigor in pushing toward the lower reaches of the Tikhaya Sosna and specifically takes exception to directing 23rd Armd. Div. (XXXX Corps) northeastward, and 16th mot. Div. eastward instead of south eastward.

As a result of my phone talk with von Sodenstern, von Bock calls me up to explain that these movements were conditioned by the threat to von Hoth's southern flank (Fourth Panzer Army). Neither von Sodenstern nor I can see any such threat. There are just some isolated Armd. units of the enemy, which, in their desperation, attack in every direction but do not constitute any operational threat to the southern flank of Fourth Panzer Army.

To me the situation looks this way: Hoth had the mission to strike for Voronezh, but did not relish the idea and so approached the operation with reluctance. Being directed to keep together all his forces in that direction, he asked Bock to look to the protection of his southern flank. Von Bock has become completely dependent on Hoth's initiative and so has oriented the offensive toward Voronezh, to a greater degree than he could answer for. Following my telephone call he shifted the advance of Sixth Army more toward the Tikhaya Sosna, but in the main did so only as regards the Inf., which

in fact has reached the river. Meanwhile the bulk of his Armor, which was to be concentrated on Svoboda, subsequently to thrust southeastward along the Don, is still roaming about in isolated groups.

Although the Fuehrer himself at the conference on 3 July made it emphatically clear that he did not attach any particular importance to Voronezh and left it to the judgment of Army Gp. to let that objective go if it could be had only at great cost, von Bock tolerated Hoth's senseless rush for Voronezh and even encouraged it.

Upon receipt of the evening report stating his intention to strike across the Tikhaya Sosna between Valuiki and the Don river mainly with Infantry, while continuing the assault of Voronezh with Grossdeutschland and 24th Armd. Divs., he is given explicit orders a) to stop the assault and prepare to hold the bridgeheads, and b) to take out the two Divs. immediately relief can be provided, and push with concentrated strong Armd. forces down the far bank of the lower Tikhaya Sosna, below Nikolayevka\*, to the confluence of Sosna and Don, while keeping the Inf. close to the inner wing of the Panzer Army. First step toward carrying out this plan is the expansion of the bridgeheads. This is to prevent the enemy being pushed back frontally. The plan is to envelop him from the north by forcing in his wing leaning on the Don and swinging forward our pivoting wing on the Don, and then ~~to liquidate him in-~~ cooperation with First Panzer Army. This would clear the way to the Don bend. The order is issued instituting the new command over First Panzer Army, Seventeenth Army and Group Wletersheim as of 7 July 0000 hrs.\*\*

Col. Schipp von Branitz reports (lately Ia, 122nd Div. now Ia, Army Hq 12). Pictures conditions in 122nd Div.

Gen. Ochsner (Chem. Warfare) reports on his tour to the Crimea and von Weichs' Group.

Major Uebelhack (Ia, XXXVI Corps) reports. Outlines situation of the Corps at Salla (Finland).

6 July 1942.

Situation: The offensive of AGps South has taken an unexpected turn. Whereas yesterday von Bock still was concerned over von Hoth's southern wing and reported heavy opposition at Voronezh (fortifications, Workers' Bns., etc.), in addition to several attacks and reinforcements against the northern flank (Weichs), we are informed this afternoon that a) Voronezh has been evacuated, b) the enemy on the northern flank is running away in headlong flight, and c) Sixth Army, after crossing the Tikhaya Sosna on a broad front, is advancing southward.

The reason for this surprising development seems to lie in the fact that Hoth, who approached his mission against Voronezh with serious mental reservations, was prone to take a pessimistic view of the situation. Von Sodenstern refers to "slanted reports". Von Bock, as usual, allowed his decisions to be swayed by his Army Commanders. The net result was that Weichs was ordered to keep his forces together toward his own north wing and Hoth, in his anxiety, drew forces away from XXXX Corps, while Paulus, irrepresible as ever, went right ahead and overran the enemy. Army Gp. Command, assigned a task plainly pointing southward, fell sadly short of wielding any effective influence in bringing these divergent spirits into line with the basic intention of the offensive.

At the Fuehrer situation conference, there is again a big scene over the conduct of the offensive by Army Gps; loud insistence on holding all forces together in conformity with the southward objectives; prohibition to strike on Voronezh and, finally, orders to stop Ninth and Eleventh Armd. Divs., speed freeing of all Armd. Divs. and move them behind XXXX Corps across the Tikhaya Sosna.

The actual picture of the enemy situation is not yet clear to me. There are two possibilities: Either we have overestimated the enemy's strength and the offensive has completely smashed him, or the enemy is conducting a planned disengagement or at least is trying to do so in order to forestall being irretrievably beaten in 1942. The Fuehrer, on the strength of foreign reports, inclines to the view that Timoshenko has adopted a strategy of "elastic" defense. As the situation stands now I would doubt that. He cannot, without decisively harming his cause, abandon the country about the Don bend and the industrial district, nor can such a strongly held front as he has built up opposite AGp. A be taken back "elastically" without serious disruptions. So, we'll have to wait and see. In any event, Sixth Army must keep pushing on and First Panzer Army must get ready at maximum speed. The necessary orders have been issued.

The Fuehrer does not want to release SS Adolf Hitler, which could have an essential part in the offensive of First Panzer Army, out of concern for the West.\* Let us hope we won't have to pay heavily for that.

In the course of the day, phone talks with von Bock (this one highly disagreeable), with the Fuehrer, with Keitel (OKW) and with von Sodenstern, always about the same questions. This telephoning back and forth about matters which should be thought out quietly and then be incorporated in clear orders is very distressing. The hardest to endure is Keitel with his undigested spoutings.

General Zuckertort, Artillery Commander, Eleventh Army, describes artillery assault on Sevastopol.

Evening Talk with von Manstein on his future missions in the Caucasus, also on Gen. Staff personnel matters. \*\*

7 July 1942. Great success against  
convoy in the Polar Sea!

Situation: Azov\* will be ready for the offensive as of 9 July. Has also orders to prepare the speedy occupation of the industrial district.

In South, very satisfactory progress. The Kalitva river has been reached by our Armor and Infantry. The enemy apparently is in a complete rout. 23rd Armd. Div. is following up; 24th Armd. Div. and Grossdeutschland are relieved and moved southward. No advances at Svoboda and Korotoyak. The follow-up of units behind the big wheel is running satisfactorily. Weichs is building up his defensive front facing north and keeps pushing east. The enemy has resumed his attacks against this defensive front, mainly in its easternmost sector.

Center: On the northern front of Second Panzer Army violent attacks, south of Byelev with 180 tanks and in the sector of Eighteenth Armd. Div. with 120 tanks. Assistance needed in form of AT defenses. Nineteenth Armd. Div. and 52nd Div. are moving to this sector. The attacks, though very violent in some places, have no operational significance.

Operation Seydlitz is developing very satisfactorily. The enemy seems to have been caught just as he was falling back. Complete success is imminent.

North: No important events.

Gen. Wandel (121st Inf. Div.) comes in to report on the battles on the Volkhov and on the condition of the Div., which is entirely satisfactory despite the heavy fighting.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Current replacement and organization matters.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Transfer of GHE (16 July). Fortieth service anniversary\*\*. -- Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

8 July 1942.

Situation: Opposite Armd. Gp. and southern wing of Sixth Army the enemy now is soft. He is still holding against right wing of First Panzer Army (von Wietersheim) and left wing of Sixth Army (XXXX Corps), where he is committing three Armd. Brigs. and an AT Brig. It is not yet clear to what extent he is disengaging. At Svoboda and Korotoyak the enemy is again more active. Voronezh is evacuated.

Weichs has completed the build-up of his northern front and is repelling the enemy who is again probing with tanks. Moving up of Divs. from the rear is in full progress.

Center: The enemy attack against the northern front of Second Panzer Army has died down. It was after all an attack in which between 25 and 30 units were committed against 6 1/2 German Divs. Out of 600 enemy tanks, 289 were knocked out.

Operation "Seydlitz" continues to develop desirably. The encircled enemy apparently had not thought of falling back. Attacks against the corridor from within and without were repelled.

North: Attacks against our corridor\* from the south and from the north; attacks against Kirishi beaten off.

Gen. Obst. Fromm: Activation of three Replacement Divs.\*\* for the West; we discuss the personnel and material replacement situation.

Gen. Matzky: Appointment of a German Admiral as liaison at the Imperial Japanese GHq, and other current matters.

9 July 1942.

Situation: The attack south of the Don continues. Over-all impression: The enemy is resisting at Lisichansk and south of Rossosh, and is pulling back in the east. West of the Aidar river there remain apparently only rear guards offering stubborn resistance. It is doubtful whether the enemy wants or is able to make a stand on the Aidar river, since we have already crossed the Boguchar river at Tali. Order to XXXX Corps to thrust along the railroad line Rossosh-Rostov. Elements of the Armd. units arriving now will drive southeast, down the Don. No new units reported on the enemy side.

Weichs' northern front is again under serious enemy attacks. Several new units from the Tula area.

In Center, very heavy attacks against the northern front of Second Panzer Army. Again a number of new units with tanks. British tanks out of 1942 production.

We have heavy losses at Byeloi. Gratifying progress in compressing the pocket. No major break-out attempts.

In North only minor fighting.

Col. Degen calls (lately C of S, VI Corps, now goes to Mt. Corps in Lapland). Describes conditions in the Divs. of VI Corps. On the whole satisfactory.

Gen. Wehler (C of S, AGp. Center) reports on heavy fighting of Second Panzer Army. Presents draft for operations against Ostashkov and Kaluga. (In the evening, with several comrades at my place.)

10 July 1942)

Situation: On the front of AGps A, the enemy has now softened also at Lisichansk. AGp. A's northern wing is advancing.

In Bock's Group, the forward turning of the northern wing of Sixth Army along the Don toward Millerovo is now in full swing.

Several reports would indicate that the enemy intends to hold the line Rostov-Millerovo, but this line has already been unhinged in the north. It is not clear whether the enemy reserve Armies appearing in our radio picture are intended for the build-up of a Don defense line and the attempted bolstering of the northern wing against XXXX Corps. At and south of Voronezh, the Hungarians have reached the Don. Enemy situation on the east bank is obscure. Weichs' northern front is partially under heavy attack. These attacks preclude freeing of Ninth and Eleventh Armd. Divs., but they are welcome at this time.

In Center, the enemy attacks against the northern front of Second Panzer Army today were without tank support. Our counter attacks scored local successes. In Ninth Army sector the enemy in the Byeloi pocket is gradually melting away.\*

In North, the attacks on the Volkhov bridgehead and at Kirishi (also from the north) were repelled.

Lt. Col. von Altenstedt (Gen Qu) reports on the planned evacuation of the Crimea.\*\* An utterly incomprehensible order from top level.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Current organization matters. -- Gen. Staff policy on new weapons.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

11 July 1942.

Situation: The northern wing of Seventeenth Army and First Panzer Army is now advancing eastward. Sixth Army and Fourth Panzer Army are advancing south with the object of compelling the enemy to give battle north of the lower Don and attack him in the rear. An order to this effect has been issued.

Weichs' northern front is still under sharp attack by large enemy tank forces. The attack was checked after local penetrations.

In Center, the enemy attacks against LIII Corps were weaker today. We regained the main battle line in a counter attack.

In XXXXVII Corps very heavy attacks again: 175 tanks (four groups on an 18 km front); apparently repelled. The enemy is sacrificing these British tanks, probably sent from Moscow, in senseless thrusts against our front, but withal these attacks also tax our troops severely.

Byeloi: Within the pocket tough resistance in some places, elsewhere disintegration. Attacks with new Armd. Brigs. from the outside.

In North, attacks at Dimno, Gruzino and Kirishi, in the latter two sectors with tanks; at Kirishi also concentrated Artillery fire.

Gen. Brand (Arty.): Report on his tour to Center and North. Effects of appointment of Army Artillery Commanders. Condition of GHq Artillery. -- Observation. -- Condition of Artillery materiel. -- Tabulation of enemy Artillery.

Gen. Wessel (CG, Twelfth Armd. Div.) calls en route.

Gen. Wagner: Report on his tour to AGps. A and B. -- Effects of the air attacks against Kursk upon fuel supply. -- Some unpleasant items about Hq AGp. B.

12 July 1942

Situation: The southern offensive develops consistently. The southernmost enemy wing is still holding. West of Voroshilograd the enemy is falling back to prepared positions south of the Donets. North of the Donets, Sixteenth, 22nd and Fourteenth Armd. Divs. have pushed eastward across the Aidar, while further north the Inf. Divs. of the southern wing of Sixth Army are continuing their smashing advance.

In Fourth Panzer Army, Third and 23rd Armd. Divs. have gained further ground to the south; fuel shortage unfortunately has so far held up the arrival of Grossdeutschland Div. and 24th Armd. Div. However, it looks as if Fourth Panzer Army will be sufficiently strong when the time comes to interpose itself on the south-eastward line of withdrawal of the enemy's northern wing. Closing to the Don to establish a line for defending the territory gained against the attacks from the north, has been mainly completed.

von Weichs' northern front, in partly very bitter fighting, has beaten off the enemy attacking with large masses of armor.

In Center, the attacks against the northern front of Second Panzer Army were much weaker today. On the remainder of its front, Army Gp. repelled a large number of local attacks. Operation "Seydlitz" is drawing to its close with impressive figures of prisoners.

In North, attacks were repelled at Grúzino and Kirishi.

The Fuehrer situation conference dealt largely with the advance of the assault wing (Fourth Panzer Army).

Subsequently luncheon at Fuehrer Hq. with Gen. Muñoz-Grande, Commander of the Spanish Division.

General Rozin (Romania) calls while here for conferences with Gen Qu. Letter from Jacobici.

Maj. Nagel (GenStaff) reports. He took part in the offensive of Sixth Army and Fourth Panzer Army. His attention was mostly struck by the poor training apparent in our rehabilitated Armd. Divs., the inadequacies of materiel and the deficiencies of signal communications. The complaints are in part justified, in part they derive from the fact that our troops are spoiled from earlier campaigns.

Lt. Col. von Below reports out (lately of Tng. Sec., now Ia, 71st Inf. Div.). Evening at Org. Sec., celebration of Wanka's\*fortieth service anniversary.

13 July 1942.

Situation: The southern operation has now really got going. While the enemy is still holding the Taganrog front, he is being compressed by the converging attacks from west and north of von Kleist's Panzer Army and Sixth Army. Fourth Panzer Army is striking in his rear. Its leading column (Third Armd. Div.) has already reached Kamensk, while Armd. and mot. Divs., which now at last can move freely, are closing up.

In Weichs' sector, intense tank battles northwest of Voronezh in which the enemy was beaten.

In Center, the attacks at Byeloy were not resumed today. The enemy is believed to be disengaging in this sector (?). On the other hand the attacks against XXXXVII Corps went on, and were repelled. Third and Fourth Panzer Armies beat off local enemy thrusts. In Ninth Army sector, operation "Seydlitz" is drawing to an early close.

In North only minor fighting.

Situation conference started with the Fuehrer expressing his utmost displeasure over the delay in the move to the front of 23rd Armd. Div. (pinned down by an attack from the west), 24th Armd. Div. and Grossdeutschland, as well as of the two other mot. Divs. of Fourth Panzer Army. He blames this failure on the fact that 24th Armd. Div. and Grossdeutschland, against the Fuehrer's order, were sent into Voronezh, causing a delay that could have been avoided.

The Fuehrer accordingly ruled to relieve C in C AGP B, and he also wanted to relieve the C of S. Only the reminder to the Fuehrer that C in C South exclusively was responsible for the ill-conceived proposal for the frontal attack instead of the prepared rear attack on Izyum, and that the former plan had been opposed by his C of S, averted a simultaneous change of C in C and C of S, with all its consequences.\*

Fourth Panzer Army is placed under the command of AGP. A, with the mission to prevent the enemy's escape to the east, by attacking him in the rear. AGP. B will cover the rear and flank of AGP. A. Orders to this effect have been issued. (Personal evening report to the Fuehrer).

Lt. Col. Gehrholz reports out, transferred as Commander of a Regt.

Major Staubwasser reports about his tour Africa and transmits Rommel's list of demands considered essential for the conquest of Egypt.

Lt. Col. von Mertz reports on his tour to Eleventh Army. Rehabilitation matters.

14 July 1942.

Casualties: 22 June, 1941 -- 10 July, 1942.

Wounded:	29, 275 Off.	988,410 NCO and EM.
Killed:	10, 496 Off.	272,278 NCO and EM.
Missing:	918 Off.	61,459 NCO and EM.
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Total:	40, 689 Off.	1,322,147 NCO and EM.

Total of losses (excl. medical casualties) 1,362,836, i.e., 42.59% of the Eastern Army, at an average strength of 3.2 million.

Situation: In South, encirclement of the enemy forces north of the Don is progressing. Fourth Panzer Army is closing up from the rear. Fuel difficulties are eased by capture of enemy fuel dumps.

The build-up of the Don front is continuing. On the opposite side, the enemy is consolidating his defense line between Voronezh and Svoboda.

Heavy enemy tank attacks against Voronezh are repelled with some effort. Between Voronezh and our original line minor enemy attacks; similar enemy activities were effectively forestalled between the Don and Olim by the attacks of Eleventh and Ninth Armd. Divs.

In AGp. Center, the enemy attacks against XXXXVII Corps continue, but on a lesser scale. On the remainder of the front, local enemy thrusts.

In North, thinning of the enemy front near Kholm and on the northeastern front of I Corps, to strengthen the forces facing the southern front of II Corps. Local enemy attacks against the Volkhov bridgeheads continue.

Official functions in celebration of my fortieth service anniversary.

0915 Congratulation by the office staff.

1000 Congratulation by the Section Chiefs. Subsequently Lt. Col. Seeliger hands me a small portrait of Frederick the Great, a present of Field Marshal von Brauchitsch.

1630 The Fuehrer calls at tea.

Later Gen. Talvela presents Field Marshal von Mannerheim's congratulations, Gen. Brand (Arty.) presents me with a miniature cannon, as a token of my original Branch of Service.

In the evening, reception at Vorwerk, with cold buffet.

General Jacob makes a speech. The Fuehrer hands me his signed portrait in a silver frame, Engin. Corps present me with an oil painting representing the assault of Oesel, and ~~XXXI~~ Operational Staff honors me with a silver tray.

Congratulatory addresses by my old Seventh Div., which sends its IIa; by Section Foreign Armies West and by the Eng. Corps. Gen. Paulus sends an album with photographs of the battle of Kharkov.

Congratulatory telegrams from King Boris, from the Army Gps. and C in Cs of the Armies, from numerous Chiefs of Gen. Staffs and Commanding Generals, also from Reich Ministers and Government Offices of all kinds.

15 July 1942.

Situation: The battle in the South\* continues, though hampered by thunderstorms. From the west (Ruoff), where the enemy is still holding, progress is slight but this is of no matter since we want to avoid any unnecessary bloody losses in this sector. The enveloping movement by First and Fourth Panzer Armies from the North has reached the Donets at Kamensk. The enemy to the north has been broken into several groups which are being ground up between our Armd. Divs. and Inf. Divs. sweeping down from the north, in individual and in some instances very furious battles.

The build-up of the Don front is completed. New attacks at Voronezh, of less intensity than those preceding, were repelled!

Against the front northwest of Voronezh, only attacks in Regt. or Bn. strength, which were repelled.

In Center and North no important events.

Capt. Eisenschenk, who brought the wishes of my old Division, reports out.

Lt. Col. Gahlen (Foreign Armies East): Tabulation of the new enemy units identified since 28 July. Presumable disposition of enemy forces. — Agent reports on intensive enemy preparations for the protection of Stalingrad.

Lt. Col. Toppe: Fuel position. Supply and ammunitions position. (Both ample.) Organization of supply services.

Capt. Weygold (Navy): Report on naval situation. No important new developments. Plans are affected by the Japanese to look out also for our interests.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Transfer to the West of all lt. Fd. Hows. on SPM. — Uses for the 3.7 cm AT Gun\*\*. — How. 42 or 43.\*\*\*

16 July 1942. Removal of GHC to Vinnitsa.

Departure from Camp Frits at 0700. Arrive at Vinnitsa at 1115. (3½ hours by air from Angerburg.) Quarters very well prepared. Good office space for all Sections. (Good billets. Dispersed lay-out impairs supervision.

Situation: The enemy is beginning to soften also in the Voroshilov-Lovgrad area. In this sector Ruoff is pushing on behind him, while north of the Donets Kleist, close on his heels is driving on Kamensk with Armor and Inf., while moving Thirteenth Armd. Div. and 60th mot. Div. to Millerovo, as scheduled. North of Kamensk all the way to the Millerovo area a zone of confused battles, in which the enemy elements, squeezed between First Panzer Army from the west and Fourth Panzer Army from the north, are trying to break out in several groups and in all directions. Meanwhile, east of this seething mass, Grossdeutschland and 24th Armd. Div. are racing to the Don without serious check by the enemy.

According to reliable intelligence we must expect that the enemy will use every available means to hold Stalingrad.

At Korotoyak and Voronezh enemy attacks supported by tanks were repelled. The fighting at Voronezh is very costly for us. In the sector adjoining to the northeast, only weak attacks. But this front, which is formed by unseasoned Divs., will need bolstering by reserves.

In Center, the prisoner haul of operation "Seydlitz" is mounting.

All quiet in North. At Grusino, the enemy is even disengaging.

Conference with Gehlen and Heusinger: Preliminary planning for the forthcoming battle of Stalingrad. We shall have to prepare for, perhaps even embark upon, the battle of Stalingrad while we are still fighting the battle of Rostov north and south of the Don. Compute time and strength requirements.

With Wagner (Gen Qu): Same subject. Fuel by air to the lower Don! AT ammunition to the Voronezh front!

17 July 1942.

Situation: South: Enemy has evacuated Voroshilovgrad. Ruoff's Army is pushing on behind the enemy retreating southeast and south. First Panzer Army is encountering enemy resistance at Kamensk, but has formed a bridgehead to the southeast and expanded it to such an extent that the attack in the direction of Shakhty will be launched tomorrow. Infantry is following up closely. Fourth Panzer Army has reached the Don east of the mouth of the Donets, with Grossdeutschland and 29th mot. Div. No bridges. Far bank held by enemy.

Movement of Sixth Army down the Don is proceeding smoothly without enemy opposition.

At Korotoy enemy attack supported by tanks, air force and artillery. At Voronezh, attacks from the east and north were repelled. Minor attacks against northern front of Second Army. Tank concentrations.

Center: Confused reports from the Mtsensk area and from left wing of XXXV Corps. Only feeble attacks against the northern front of the Army, but apparently major tank concentrations. Elsewhere little fighting.

North: against the corridor to II Corps, full-staged attack from north and south, prepared by heavy artillery bombardment and supported by tanks and air force. Notwithstanding some local enemy gains, the attack was repulsed. On the remainder of the front no major fighting.

Lt. Col. Ehrenhaus reports. CO of Guard Bn.\*

Col. von Ziehlberg: A new graduate class to join the Gen. Staff. Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

18 July 1942.

Situation: In South, the encircling operation north of Rostov is proceeding according to plan. The Don east of Rostov is held by the enemy. As a result of heavy thundershowers during the night, troop movements and fuel supply were severely hampered today. On the Don and on the northern front of AGp. B, no major fighting apart from isolated attacks northwest of Voronezh.

The enemy continues to move reinforcements from the north and northeast in the direction of Voronezh. According to agent reports, Stalin is doing everything in his power to hold Stalingrad, and to get his troops safely across the Don, which he wants to hold.

In Center, no new developments. Something seems to be brewing on the supply road in Fourth Army Sector.\*\*

In North, the attacks against the corridor were resumed with stronger forces. We regained the main-line of resistance in a counter attack.

At the situation conference The Fuehrer surprises me by approving my very recommendation which yesterday he rejected in a less than gracious manner, in favor of a plan which would produce a meaningless concentration on the north bank of the Don at Rostov. And immediately his most lordly order\*\*\* is issued, directing a crossing of the Don on a wide front and the initiation of the battle of Stalingrad.

The Fuehrer has also suddenly changed his mind about having Eleventh Army strike across the Kerch Strait. Now it is only the Mt. Divs. which will be put across there, and that moreover only after our pressure on the Rostov front has opened the way to the Taman peninsula.

Gen. Matzky - Col. von Mellenthin: Attaché tour to the Crimea. Accommodations for the Allied Attachés at the new GHq.

Lt. Col. Elchlepp (Ia, Sixth Army) reports. Briefing on the operational mission of his Army.

Talk (in Fuehrer Hq) with Gen. Obst. von Welchs, who has assumed command of AGp. B, on the operational missions of the Army Gp.

Capt. von Zastrow reports on his tour to the front Divs. on the northern wing of AGp. B ("dry front"\*).

19 July 1942.

Situation: The heavy downpours effectively strangle all movement in the South, and special credit must be given to the Inf., which, leaving its vehicles behind, continued the pursuit of the enemy in many places (Voroshilovgrad, north of Kamensk). On the Taganrog front, the enemy is still holding. On the northern wing of this front, at Voroshilovgrad, he is retreating after thoroughly wrecking all road and rail communications. He has failed in his attempt to form a front on the Donets bend southeast of Kamensk calculated to protect the retreat from attacks from the northeast. It is here that 22nd Armd. Div. has formed a bridgehead and broken through the enemy, followed by 97th Jaeger Div.\*\* and Fourteenth Armd. Div.

On the Don east of the mouth of the Donets, with Div. Grossdeutschland turned off, only a smaller bridgehead has been established, at Tsimlyanskaya, opposite a Div. brought up from the Caucasus. Our 24th Armd. Div. is still lagging behind; Third and 23rd Armd. Divs. have linked up and are refuelling.

In AGp. B, the southeastern movement south of the Don is making rapid strides in forced Inf. marches. Sixteenth Armd. Div., 60th mot. Div. and Third mot. Div. are following up and eventually will form the spearhead.

At Voronezh and to the north, attacks on a reduced scale, but heavy railroad traffic indicates forthcoming serious assaults.

Over-all enemy situation: Planned disengagement behind the Don in the Rostov area; feeble attempts to defend the Don east of Rostov; efforts to form a grouping of forces for the protection of Stalingrad. North of the Don, a big gap in which only isolated broken remnants are still hanging on to bridge sites until we come and drive them away.

With Svoboda as its anchor, the enemy is attempting to build up a front east of the Don. At Voronezh and on the "dry front" concentration of large forces which will be used to breach our line so as to compel us to change the disposition of our forces.

In Center, only weak attack against XXXXVII Corps. Concentrations opposite the Yukhnov salient, which foreshadow attacks. Increased railroad traffic east of the Sukhinichi salient, the purpose of which is not clearly understood. Operation "Seydlitz" is continuing satisfactorily with the new mission to mop up forest area north of the Smolensk - Vyazma road. The enemy is now using minefields. Minefields observed at Velizh and Velikie Luki on the enemy retreat line would suggest that the enemy is already in the process of regrouping.

North: More attacks from north and south against our "corridor". On the Volkhov, only minor attacks at Kirishi.

Fuehrer situation conference: Great upset about the supposedly slow progress in forming the stipulated Assault Group Taganrog. The actual reason is the rainy weather. The realization of the necessity for pushing Fourth Panzer Army across the Don on a wide front is at last becoming a concrete factor. In view of the dwindling chances for striking an annihilating blow yet at Rostov, such a plan offers the only opportunity indeed for smashing south of the Don all of the enemy forces now in disorderly retreat across the Don. Transfer of Eleventh Armd. Div. from AGp. B to Center is authorized.

Lengthy discussion on the objective of operation "Bluecher" (Taman) produces no conclusive results. There is the desire on the one hand to free all but two of the German Divs. in the area for Leningrad, while on the other hand "Bluecher" should be kept open as an alternative until a clearer picture is had of the development of the situation south of Rostov.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Replacements for rifle units in Armd. Divs. are ready. — Re-equipment of 22nd Paratroop Div. for air landing and tropical service. Can be shipped from Saloniki (Crete) by end of August. Self-propelled mounts for Armd. Arty.: 300 lt. Fd. Hows. and 150 med. Fd. Hows. promised for spring, instead of the 200 lt. Fd. Hows. specified by us. Probably substantial increase in AT Guns on SPM.

20 July 1942.

Situation: The southern operation is making good progress south of the Donets in the area northeast of Rostov (22nd Armd. Div., Sixteenth mot., Div., Grossdeutschland). The report of a bridgehead at Tsimlyanskaya, on the southern bank of the Don, fails to be confirmed. Order to establish bridgeheads is upheld.

Sixth Army is rapidly gaining ground to the southeast. At Voronezh and to the northwest, attacks supported by much Artillery and some tanks are repelled. Our Bridgehead at Karotoyak evacuated.

Center: No important events. Forces are being taken out of the eastern front. At Dyemidov ground gains against retreating enemy.

North: In Sixteenth Army sector hard fighting continues at the II Corps corridor, which is still under heavy attack from the north; lighter enemy thrusts against the southern and southeastern front of II Corps.

On the Volkhov, artillery fire and patrol activity. Surprise thrust of 52 tanks erupting from Leningrad against Jaeckeln's Group at Uritsk.\* Fighting in progress.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Supply matters. — Extraction of coal in the Stalino area. — Organization of supply for winter.

Col. Radke: Security of classified matter.\*\* — Propaganda. — Political questions.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Officers Messes at GHq. (There are two.)\*\*\*

21 July 1942.

Situation: Attack against the lower Don is proceeding well.

Our attack from Taganrog and the area to the north is making good progress against enemy rearguards. Our pressure from the north and northeast (Shakhty) is cutting into a totally demoralized enemy ("butchery"). Grossdeutschland has been ordered to form a bridgehead. Fourth Panzer Army has established bridgeheads at Tsimlyanskaya and to the west.

Paulus (Sixth Army) is advancing at a promising rate in the direction of Stalingrad, where the enemy is trying to form a concentration with troops now being moved in from the northwest by rail and on trucks. Exchange of troops on the Don front and follow-up of Divs. is proceeding well. At Voronezh, attack repelled at great cost to the enemy. Northwest of Voronezh, sizeable enemy attacks breach our line on a 10 km front (3 km deep).

Center: No important developments, only local attacks. At Velizh, the enemy is falling back and evacuating the "southeast tip".\*

North: In Sixteenth Army sector, the enemy attack has let up generally, but is still going on in some places. Eighteenth Army reports very heavy attacks, with 60 to 80 tanks, at Kirishi. In Jaeckeln's Group the enemy thrust has been checked. Counter attack is being prepared.

1800 Reception of the Military Attachés who were invited to GHQ. Brief orientation on the situation.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters, Gen. Staff policy matters.

22 July 1942.

Situation: Gratifying progress of the battle for Rostov, with our troops already within the inner defense ring. The Don east of the city has been crossed at four points. The advance of Sixth Army and the build-up of the Don defense front are progressing satisfactorily. At Voronezh attacks on a minor scale. Northwest of Voronezh new heavy attacks in the gap opened yesterday, which are still going at this hour.

In AGp. Center no important events. At Dyemidov, the enemy opposite LIX Corps is apparently retreating to the north.

In AGp. North, the attacks against Sixteenth Army are getting weaker. Minor attacks against Kirishi and Jaeckeln's Group were beaten off.

Col. Ehlfeldt reports on Artillery defense of the Voronezh front. Weak spots chiefly northwest of Voronezh.

23 July 1942.

Situation: In South, satisfactory progress of the assault of Rostov. East of Rostov, only Third Armd. Div. could report substantial gains on the southern bank. The enemy facing 29th mot. Div. has been reinforced. The situation as a result became so tight for a time that Fourth Panzer Army was considering abandoning the bridgehead. Railroad demolition attempted by the enemy was prevented.

Sixth Army made very satisfactory progress on the Don bend against reinforced enemy attacks (with tanks), lacking coordination. At Voronezh, no major attack, but apparently preparations for a full-scale attack from south and north. Northwest of Voronezh, heavy battles with attacking massed enemy. Our line was breached on a wide front. Counter attacks by Ninth Armd. Div.

Center: Nothing noteworthy. Enemy regrouping makes attacks appear imminent in several sectors, including northern front of Ninth Army. At Dyemidov, the enemy continues his retreat.

North: Heavy attack at Kirishi resulting in local penetration. Local attacks by enemy debouching from western part of Leningrad against Jaeckeln's Group and Kolpino. Also thrusts against 58th Div. on the Ingermanland front.

Fuehrer situation conference: In consequence of the concentration of Army ordered by the Fuehrer on 17 July over my opposition, and the diversion of 24th Armd. Div. to Sixth Army, directed by him on 21 July, it is becoming obvious even to the layman that the Rostov area is crammed with Armor which has nothing to do, while the critical outer wing at Tsimlyanskaya is starving for it. I warned emphatically against both these developments.

Now that the result is so palpable, he explodes in a fit of insane rage and hurls the gravest reproaches against the Gen. Staff.\*

This chronic tendency to underrate enemy capabilities is gradually assuming grotesque proportions and develops into a positive danger. The situation is getting more and more intolerable. There is no room for any serious work. This "leadership" so-called, is characterized by a pathological reacting to the impressions of the moment and a total lack of any understanding of the command machinery and its possibilities.\*\*

Callers: Maj. von Bibrach (of the Attaché Section); Lt. Col. Voelter (lately Ia, Sixth Army).

Gen. Herrlein reports on his tour to the units in Second Army sector. No significant new facts.

24 July 1942.

Situation: Rostov for the most part in our hands; there is only some fighting going on in the eastern quarter. Crossing to the southern bank, where there seems to be no organized opposition, is now in progress. East of Rostov, new successes of Grossdeutschland and Third Armd. Div., with only minor gains by 29th mt. Div.

Sixth Army is in continuous advance toward the Don bend west of Stalingrad. The enemy, still putting up stiff opposition in some places, is being enveloped.

At Voronezh and on the "dry front": Heavy fighting with substantial defensive successes; \* striking number of tanks knocked out.

Center and North: No major fighting.

Gen. Lohmann (Air Force): Discussion on Ren., chain of commands organization, reporting.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Current organization matters.

Gen. von Wolff (Commander of 22nd Paratroop Div.) reports. His Div. is now being shipped to Africa, via Crete.

25 July 1942.

Casualties: 20 June, 1941 - 20 July, 1942:

Wounded:	29,816 Off.	1,010,237 NCO and EM.
Killed :	10,665 Off.	277,217 NCO and EM.
Missing:	930 Off.	62,319 NCO and EM.
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Total:	41,411 Off.	1,349,773 NCO and EM.

Total losses: 1,391,184, i.e. 43.47%, of the Eastern Army, at an average actual strength of 3.2 million.

Situation: On the lower Don gratifying advances by AGp. A. In this sector we may discount now any coordinated defense of the Don. What conclusions, however, the enemy will draw from this situation, is not yet apparent.

The first phase of the battle of Stalingrad consisted in the scattering of enemy elements thrown against our forces; in this process our troops, with tremendous punch, but badly disrupted into groups, battered their way through a bitterly resisting enemy as far as the Don. It remains to be seen whether we shall yet succeed in capturing the Kalach bridge. In any event, it will be necessary after a while for the widely extended components of Sixth Army to close up again. Lack of fuel caused sizeable elements of the Armd. and mot. Divs. to lag behind.

At Serafimovich, the outlines of a northern defense group are becoming discernible; it will play its part in the third phase of this big battle, after the fight for Stalingrad is over.

The attacks at Voronezh are not as violent as on the preceding days. At Zemlyansk very violent attacks against the enemy who now is apparently putting up a much stiffer fight.

In Center and North, nothing of importance. The attack in North is postponed once more (to 27 July).

Lt. Col. Pistorius reports on his tour to Second Army. Major Thilo reports on inspection of Sixth Army.

26 July 1942.

Situation: On the Don front the enemy apparently intends to make a stand south of Rostov, but our drive is gaining despite heavy counter attacks. Between the Manich and Sal rivers the enemy seems to be softening. North of the Sal he has put two new Divs. into line, but is not moving up any more troops from the southwest; as a result, this defensive front will collapse soon. Not enough fuel!\*

Hard battles west of Stalingrad. The enemy, split into four groups, is fighting doggedly and throwing new forces, including much armor, across the Don. There must still be a strong force in Stalingrad itself. Lack of fuel and ammunition!\*\*

Attacks at Voronezh repulsed; evidently new concentrations, including many tanks south, east and north of the city.

At Zemlyansk Ninth Army restored the situation by counter attacks at considerable cost! New enemy attacks must be expected.

In Center and North, no important actions, only minor local attacks. Since the beginning of July, replacements for Leningrad have been arriving in the city at a rate of 1,000 a day.

Gen. Ochsner: Report on his visit to the southern front. No indications that the enemy is preparing gas warfare.

Maj. Count Kielmannsegg: Report on his tour to AGp.A. Graphic portrayal of the demoralization of the enemy forces as well as of our own difficulties due to vehicle and fuel shortages.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.

27 July 1942.

Situation: At Rostov, the enemy is softening under our frontal pressure, but it seems that he is bringing up new forces. Manich crossing captured; dam and bridge blown up. On the eastern wing of AGp. A, the enemy has not been bringing up any new forces, but resistance is still stubborn.

At Stalingrad, the battle of Sixth Army west of the Don is still raging with unabated fury. Apparently the central part of the enemy line, heavily supported by Armor, is holding while our wings continue to gain.

All quiet on the Don front. Also at Voronezh and Zemlyansk all is quiet following our defensive battles, but the enemy is massing again.

Nothing of importance on the other fronts, apart from local movements opposite Third Panzer Army and Ninth Army, and small-scale attacks against Sixteenth and Eighteenth Armies. Major attacks appear to be in preparation at Pogostye.

Gen. Herrlein: Instructional Pamphlets and Training Instructions on Inf. tactics (night fighting, Winter Manual, AT Rifle 41). -- Glamorizing of Infantry.\*

Gen. Wagner (with Lt. Col. Poppe): Basic logistical data on the next moves in the operations.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Replacement requirements and resources. -- Unauthorized activations in the West.

28 July 1942  
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Situation: Battle of Rostov: South of Rostov the enemy is soft. It is not yet clear whether he is falling back south or in a more southeastern directions with the object of organizing a line of resistance on the Manich river. But this intention has already been foiled by the push of First Panzer Army across the Manich. Unfortunately, Fourth Panzer Army is still lagging behind with its left wing at Tsimlyanskaya, which has enabled the enemy to the south to build up a front facing west, where he is now attacking even with tanks.

Battle of Stalingrad: Due to lack of fuel and ammunition, Sixth Army was unable to attack. After suffering a defeat in his violent attacks (nine new Armd. Brigs), the enemy appears to be retreating behind the Don.

Relative quiet at Voronezh and Zemlyansk.

On the front of Second Panzer Army certain indications suggest the formation of a substantial Armd. Group in the Chern area.

No important developments on the other fronts.

Gen. von Guendell (GHq): Conference on fuel economy and administration of GHq.

Maj. Schindler reports out, (Lately Transport Section, now Ia, VI Corps).

QQu IV (with Lt. Col. Hansen): Matters relating to the southeastern theater of operation.

Admiral Canaris: Report on projects for the Caucasus area.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Gen. Staff personnel matters.

29 July 1942

Situation: The enemy before AGp. A is falling back in a more southeasterly than southern direction. In AGp. B violent defensive fighting continues in the Kalach area. Otherwise all quiet. No important developments in Center and North.

Fuehrer situation conference: Great excitement because 29th mot. Div. has not started off, and fuel supply to Sixth Army is not functioning. Insufferable tirades about other people's mistakes, which are nothing but duly executed orders of his own (congestion of Armd. forces in Rostov area).

Col. Roos, (Finnish Transp. Chief) calls.

Maj. Cranz (Liaison Off. First Panzer Army) reports: He thinks that the Rostov attack amounts to "threshing the air". Evening reports show it to be otherwise.

30 July 1942

Situation: The situation continues to develop well for AGp. A. Before Seventeenth Army, the enemy is falling back along the entire line; on the eastern wing he is in wild rout (First Panzer Army). Fourth Panzer Army has reached Proletarskaya and pushed ahead to the Manich bridge further south. The attack on Tsimiyanskaya will get under way tomorrow.

In AGp. B, a wild battle is raging in Sixth Army sector inside the Don bend west of Stalingrad; we do not have yet an accurate picture of its development. Sixth Army's striking power is paralyzed by ammunition and fuel supply difficulties. Apparently the northern front (hill has bastion\*) is gaining in importance (enemy is constructing eight bridges in area). At Voronezh and Zemlyansk only minor local attacks.

In AGp. Center, heavy attacks with partly fresh forces at Rzhev; enemy penetration is carried 6 km. We lost several med. and lt. Btrys. On the northeastern corner of Sixth Army\*, a diversionary attack with some tanks seems to have been repelled. All quiet on the rest of the front. In Second Army sector, the situation at Chern is still obscure. The enemy Panzer Army observed in that sector may be intended as a new Assault Group, but may as likely be a feint.

In AGp. North, only minor attacks from the north at Kirishi, and local attacks at Leningrad-West.

At the situation conference, Jodl is given the word:

He announces pompously that the fate of the Caucasus will be decided at Stalingrad, and that in view of the importance of the battle it would be necessary to divert forces from AGp. A to AGp. B, if possible south of the Don. This is a dressed-up version of my own proposal which I submitted to the Fuehrer six days ago, when Fourth Panzer Army struck across the Don. At that time, though, no one in the illustrious company of the OKW seemed to be able to grasp its significance. He goes on to explain, that First Panzer Army must at once wheel south and southwest to cut off the enemy, now being pushed back step by step from the Don by Seventeenth Army, before he reaches the Caucasus.

That is rankest nonsense. This enemy is running for dear life and will be in the northern foothills of the Caucasus a good piece ahead of our armor, and then we are going to have another unhealthy congestion of forces before the enemy front.

First Panzer Army must strike southeast for the Kuban knee north of Arnavir. The development of the situation in the course of the day strikingly corroborates my view.

Phone talks with C in C AGp. A (List) and C in C AGp. B (von Weichs). The former wants Grossdeutschland to remain on his left flank, which requires no order since it follows automatically from the transportation situation\*; the latter is sharply complaining about failure of Supply.

General Brand(Arty) reports on his tour to the Hungarian Second Army. Artillery weak, but all right as regards tactics and organization.

Gen. Scheller, Commander of Ninth Armd. Div., calls on taking over the Div.

Maj. von Pezold (Foreign Armies East) reports out (Ia, Fourteenth Armd. Div.).

31 July 1942

Situation: South of the Don the situation is developing consistently. The enemy front is smashed. Resistance continues only in some sections.

In Sixth Army, the situation has been consolidated. The enemy keeps bringing up reinforcements and attacking, but is repelled.

All quiet on the Don front and around Voronezh.

In Center, overflowing rivers are giving trouble. At Rzhev, more enemy attacks were beaten off.

In North, no major fighting, except at Kirishi, where the enemy launched concentric attacks.

Orders are issued for the next moves in the South, after unanimity of views was established at the Fuehrer conference.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu) reports on his tour to AGp. South. On the whole satisfactory. Great achievements of the Supply organization.

QQ I: Briefing on my general ideas on the assault of Leningrad. Instructed to confer with Commanders in the area and obtain their views.

Gen. Jacob: Progress report on fortifications in the West and in Norway. -- Steel supply. -- Wire.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Reports on First and Fourth Panzer Armies. Seventeenth Army is even leaving behind its packs.\*

Gen. von Schell: Personal matters. Wants to give up his post for a frontline assignment.

1 August 1942.

Situation: South of the Don, resistance to Ruoffs advance\* by enemy rearguards is slightly stiffening whereas it is weak on the front of Kleist, who so is making good headway. Hoth, transferred to AGp. B, is making satisfactory gains against enemy resistance. No important change in the great picture of the battle west of Stalingrad. Counter attacks weaker. Our troops cannot attack for lack of fuel and ammunition. All quiet at Voronezh and Zemlyansk.

In AGp. Center attacks against Ninth Army (eastern front and Rzhev), which cause local difficulties; the enemy is also launching a local containing attack against the western front.

In North, no important developments.

Callers: Lt. Col. Petri (Ia, 46th Inf. Div.), goes to Chief of Field Transportation\*. Lt. Col. Koerner (of Office of Chief of Field Transportation) leaves as Ia, 25th Lt. Inf. Div.

OKH officers newly transferred to the Gen. Staff, report.\*

Col. Kramer reports on Armd. Divs. of AGp. Center.

2 August 1942

Situation: South of the Don resistance is stiffening in some places before Ruoff's center and right wing. Before his left wing and before Kleist, all opposition has ceased and the enemy is streaming to the south and southeast.

Hoth has made good strides. His spearhead has driven into a Inf. Div. just detrained from the Far East. Fuel situation in AGp. A. continues tight.

In AGp. B, Sixth Army is on the defensive due to failure of Supply. The enemy is reinforcing here as also on the northern front. At Voronezh and Zemlyansk, concentrations and movements.

In Center the enemy continued attacking the eastern and northern front of Ninth Army, and was repelled.

In North, nothing of importance.

Gen. Keitel (Personnel Div.) reports on personnel situation and complains that the Army Officers Corps has no representative on the Fuehrer's personal staff.\*

Lt. Col. Gehlen: Computation of enemy strength and newly activated Armd. units (in July, 54 new Inf. Divs. and 56 new Armd. Divs.).

3 August 1942

Situation: The day is marked by the thrusts of First Panzer Army to and across the Kuban north of Armavir, and to Voroshylovsk, as well as by the attacks of Fourth Panzer Army on and beyond Kotelnikovski. On the other fronts, only unimportant local engagements.

At the Fuehrer situations conference, sharp issue is taken over the volunteers problem. He vetoes any increase in the numbers of Army volunteers from the age groups 1924 and 1925. He gives as grounds for his refusal that these young men, coming from the genuinely national-socialist elements of the population, failed to find in the Army what they were looking for and so preferred the Air Force (conservatism of large portions of the Army Officers Corps, e.g., Church matters, "standards of honor"\* etc.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand on current questions of organization.

4 August 1942

Situation: In AGp. A, it looks as if the enemy was going to fall back now also on Ruoff's front. To what extent this move is deliberate, in order to reach the Caucasus line, is still a question. Movements to Novorossisk and Tuapse. Kleist has secured a bridgehead across the Kuban, but his troops must close up before he can push ahead on Maikop.

In AGp. B, Hoth has made the most of his opportunities and is advancing at great speed overrunning local opposition in his path. Only minor fighting on the front west of the Don. On the northern front of XIV and VIII Corps, the enemy is reinforcing. Heavy column movements and railroad traffic northwest of Stalingrad. All quiet at Voronezh.

Center: All quiet on the southern wing; opposite Schmidt's Group\*, the enemy is obviously reducing his forces. Very heavy penetration on the eastern front of Ninth Army in direction of Zubtsov (the enemy apparently is attacking with seven Inf. Divs. and one Armd. Brig., supported by ample Artillery). Fifth, Second and First Armd. Divs. and 102nd Inf. Div. under XXXIX Corps Hq are being committed against this thrust. The northern front of Ninth Army at Rzhev has beaten off new heavy attacks. Behind the front facing Ninth Army in the east, unusual activity; heavy railroad movements on Toropets.

North: Only local attacks, but there is great unrest in several enemy sectors, which indicates that the corridor between X and II Corps will be attacked again.

On the southeastern side of Kirishi, attacks and negligible local penetration. The enemy is stirring in the Pogostye bulge, perhaps preparations for an attack to the west.

Deserters talk about an attack south of Lake Ladoga planned for 17 August. At Leningrad, only local attacks of minor consequence.

His Excellency, Oshima (Japanese Ambassador), calls on return from his tour to Rostov and Stalingrad.

In the evening, celebration of Jacob's fortieth service anniversary.

Phone talks with von Kluge (situation in Ninth Army) and von Kuechler (excitement over withdrawal of transport planes).

5 August 1942

Casualties: 22 June, 1941, - 31 July, 1942, in the East:

Wounded: 30,538 Off. 1,438,252 NCO and EM.

Killed: 10,880 Off. 284,198 NCO and EM.

Missing: 942 Off. 63,978 NCO and EM.

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Total: 42,360 Off. 1,386,428 NCO and EM.

Total losses in the Eastern campaign (excl. medical casualties): 1,428,788, i.e., 44.65% of the Eastern Army at an average actual strength of 3.2 million.

Situation: AGp. A: Ruoff finds weakening resistance and keeps pushing on. Kleist, in rapid advance, has pushed far to the southeast. Bridgehead across the Kuban river. AGp. B: Ruoff\* has made good headway against newly arrived enemy forces. Situation is somewhat confused on his eastern flank. Paulus: Heavy attacks against XIV Corps from the south. On the northern front of XIV and VIII Corps, the enemy is apparently concentrating forces for major attacks. On the rest of the front only minor local fighting.

Center: The attack against the eastern front of Ninth Army seems to have resulted in a very wide and deep penetration. Counter measures have been undertaken. The attacks against the northern front of Ninth Army\* were on the whole beaten off.

North: No important developments.

Gen. Matzky: Questions of his Section. -- Relieving of Hungarian units. -- Turk Bns.\*\*\*

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Administrative districting of the Rear Area of AGp. B. -- Appointments to command positions. -- Anti-partisan operations are taken over by Op. Section. #

Phone talks with Weichs: I order him to have Sixth Army attack on 7 Aug.

Greiffenberg: Commitment of LII Corps and of Grossdeutschland.

Blumentritt: Memorandum of AGp. Center on further intentions. Anti-partisan operations.

6 August 1942.

Situation: AGp. A: The enemy continues to fall back to the Caucasus before Ruoff's advance. Many bridges captured are intact. Resistance continues on the Kuban knee, but south of the knee, Kleist is already on the west bank\* of the Kuban and advancing on Maikop.

AGp. B: Hoth is in heavy fighting on the railroad line south of Stalingrad. Paulus is fighting stern defensive battles on the northern front. The Hungarians let the Russians recross the Don. In Second Army sector mainly quiet.

Center: The enemy seems to be falling back on the northern front of Second Panzer Army. Very difficult situation on the eastern front of Ninth Army, where the enemy has penetrated to Zubtsov, and his drive for Sichevsk is checked only with great effort. All his attacks at Rzhev have been repulsed. On the western front of Ninth Army and at Dyemidov, local but costly battles.

North: Local fighting flares up at Kirishi and Leningrad, but for the time being there are no signs of another major Russian attack.

Gen. Blumentritt reports on Leningrad reconnaissance. He recommends attack only west of the Neva from the direction of Pulkova. (But the available six Inf. Divs. will be insufficient for such an offensive.)

7 August 1942

Situation: AGp. A, reports good gains. Deep penetration into the Caucasus on the right flank.

In AGp. B, heavy fighting in Hoth's Group. The attack on the pocket in Paulus' sector achieved full success in the afternoon: eight Inf. Divs. and ten Armd. Brigs. are said to be wiped out. Elsewhere, enemy activity has fallen off. All quiet at Voronezh.

Center: In the deep penetration in Ninth Army sector, the crisis seems to be over. Attack against 342nd Div. repelled.

North: No important events.

Conference at Fuehrer Hq with Field Marshal von Kluge:  
Order to execute operation "Wirbelwind" only from  
the south, regardless of developments in Ninth  
Army.

Lt. Col. Boehm, C of S, of von Schenkendorff's Div.\*  
reports on partisan situation and anti-partisan  
effort.

Gen. Matzky and Col. Liss: Enemy strength in the near  
East.

8 August 1942

Situation continues to develop favorably in the South.  
Very hot weather, much dust. Stupendous marching  
performance of our Infantry. South of Voronezh,  
the Hungarians are running away. Otherwise all  
quiet in Second Army.

In Center, difficulties resulting from the  
penetration east of Zubtsov are worsening. The  
crisis probably will come, soon. The enemy has  
gained also against 342nd Div. Sixteenth mot Div.  
must be taken back.

In North, nothing of importance.

At the Fuehrer situation conference, talk with  
von Kuechler on necessity for operation "Schling-  
pflanze"\* and on execution of the Leningrad  
operation.

Gen. Koestring with Gen. Matzky: Observations on tour  
to camps of Turk Bns., personal experiences in  
the Caucasus.\*\*

Col. von Ziehlberg: Gen. Staff personnel matters.

9 August 1942.

Situation: South: Krasnodar and Maikop taken. The  
impression is increasingly gaining that the  
Russian forces south of the Don are rapidly  
disintegrating, and that only the units  
compressed in the northwest Caucasus are making  
an organized effort to escape yet to the coast.  
Fourth Panzer Army has passed to the defensive  
in the face of intense enemy pressure. The  
defense line has been taken back in some places.

The attack of Sixth Army is progressively squeezing the enemy pocket. On the northeastern front small-scale enemy attack. In the Hungarian sector, the situation is not yet restored, especially south of Voronezh. Second Army has improved the defensive position on the northern edge of Voronezh; apart from that no major engagements.

Center: Operation "Wirbelwind" postponed one day because of bad weather.

On the front of Third Panzer Army, increasing signs of an early enemy attack. The heavy penetration into the front of Ninth Army was not widened to any considerable extent today, despite the enemy's efforts. At Rzhev no important combat actions.

No major fighting in North. At Kirishi, the costly local battles are continuing.

Gen. Heusinger, Lt. Col. Pistorius: Possibilities of operations against Iraq, through Iran.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Organization matters. -- Replacements.

Lt. Col. Gehlen: Computation of enemy forces still available.

10 August 1942.

Situation: South: On the Kuban, resistance is stiffening, to cover the retreat to the Black Sea coast.

Sixth Army: Both temporarily on the defensive. Paulus is whittling down the pocket.

The Hungarians are not getting anywhere in clearing the western bank. For the moment they have given up the attempt and are going over to the defensive. Local fighting at Voronezh-North. Northern front of Second Army fairly quiet.

Center: Increasing signs of an impending attack against XX Corps. In Ninth Army sector, the situation is slightly eased notwithstanding some tight spots and very heavy attacks against the northern front, north of Rzhev.

North: Nothing of importance, apart from the attacks at Kirishi.

Col. Hampe Chief Technical Troops Officer at Gen Qu, comes in. Presents a report on the activities of the Technical Troops.\*

Gen. Brand (Arty): Preparations for the assault of Leningrad.

Major Krantz: ( Liaison Off. First Panzer Army) reports on situation and on condition of the Panzer Army.

11 August 1942.

Situation: - AGp. A: Enemy resistance is stiffening.

Our troops are closing up.

AGp. B: Sixth Army has liquidated the pocket and started regrouping for continuance of the offensive. Hoth is closing up. Local battles. Second Army relatively quiet. Only on the northern front attack supported by many tanks. The situation on the Hungarian front, which gives ground in every enemy attack, is getting increasingly unhealthy.

Center: "Wirbelwind" launched with good initial success.

Opposite the southern wing of Third Panzer Army enemy attack appears to be in preparation.

Fierce fighting in the salient in Ninth Army and at Rzhev. Severe strain on our troops.

North: No important events. The usual fighting at Kirishi. Possibly the enemy is preparing for a major attack.

Gen. Wanger (Gen Qu): Report on food situation. -- Organization and personnel.

12 August 1942.

Situation: In AGp. A, enemy resistance is increasing further on the northern edge of the Caucasus (Krasnodar, etc.).

AGp. B. Regrouping for the next moves in the offensive proceeds without major enemy interference. Enemy reinforcements on Hoth's front. Intelligence reports suggest that the enemy is concentrating on holding the eastern part of the Caucasus, Astrakhan and Stalingrad.

Neavy attacks at Voronezh and on the northern front were beaten off.

In Center, the first difficulties have arisen in operation "Wirbelwind" and must be mastered, before the way will be open for Eleventh and Ninth Armd.Div. Apparently, the enemy in this sector, while still at his former strength, was in the process of regrouping. Agents' reports speak of a strong Armd. Gp. around Tula, which is scheduled to attack on the front Mtsensk - Orel. In Third Panzer Army, the enemy seems to be ready to ~~attack on the front of~~ XX Corps. In the big salient the situation continues very tight! It is quite obvious that the enemy is making every effort to crack the two piers of the eastward offensive. It is only a good thing the attacks have let up in the direction of the Rzhev railroad.

North: The attacks against the "corridor" continue. Preparations for an attack in the Pogostye bulge. Direction of the attacks not clear.

Gen. Banzai, Japanese Attaché, reports out: He wants to return to Japan through Russia.

Major Menzel reports on situation and intentions of Sixth Army (attack on Stalingrad).

Gen. Olbricht calls to discuss questions of replacements and organization.

Major Berger (lately Ia, 102nd Div.) reports for duty in Org. Sec. Pictures the situation at Rzhev.

13 August 1942.

Situation: No important change in South, only local gains. It is becoming increasingly evident that the enemy intends to hold the northern Caucasus, and is forming a group at and to the south of the Terek river, to defend the southern Caucasus. At Voronezh and to the northwest, a stern, but successful defensive battle. Operation "Wirbelwind" is slowly gaining ground, but enemy opposition is not yet broken. The possibility is still strong that the enemy might attack either at Mtsensk or around Yukhnov. In the sector of Third Armd.Div.\* the attack started today, as expected. Local penetration.

In the big salient the situation has become a little easier, but there is still a possibility of new and more severe crises. It seems that the enemy is not bringing up any sizeable reinforcements. He is diverting to this front merely some units from the adjoining sectors. Our own losses, notably in tanks, are highly unpleasant.

In the Northern sector current attacks against the "corridor" were beaten off. Cheering defensive success at Kirishi.

Gen. Talvela reports in the evening, before returning to Finland for conferences. Agrees to work in AGp. North when the attack on Leningrad is launched.

Maj. Zimmermann (going on leave) and von Gustedt (Transfer to Gen. Staff Central Branch) report.

14 August 1942.

Situation: AGp. A makes good strides despite violent resistance by enemy rearguards. In AGp. B, preparations for the next moves of the offensive. At Voronezh and to the northwest, successful defensive battle against several hundred tanks.

In Center, very serious situation. Operation "Wirbelwind" has made gains, but is approaching its objective only slowly, in very difficult, fortified terrain and against very strong opposition.

In Third Panzer Army, deep penetration on a wide front.

On Ninth Army front, the enemy is shifting his main weight to the western sector of the salient and to Rzhev. Here, Fourteenth mot. Div. and 256th Inf. had to be taken back.

In North, fighting as in the preceding days.

2015 von Kluge gives a very grave picture of the situation. Talk with OKW. Result: Two Fighter Gruppen (one from South, one from the West), and two Bomber Gruppen (from the West) are transferred to Center. Also 72nd Div., operating against Leningrad is diverted to Center, in addition to Grossdeutschland. Fifth Mt. Div. remains in North.

von Ziehlberg: Current Gen. Staff personnel matters.



New forces apparently moving from the direction of Baku on Makhach Kala.

At Stalingrad Paulus' attack is continuing successfully:

At and north of Voronezh, the front is fairly quiet. Local attacks beaten back. Own counter attack on the northern front.

Center: In Second Panzer Army, only very slight advances, with high casualties. Third Panzer Army in difficult situation due to enemy penetration. Operational danger unlikely. Ninth Army: Very tight situation at Rzhev. Hard to say what the outcome will be.

North: Attacks against Sixteenth Army as in the past days. In Eighteenth Army sector rather quiet.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: questions of armament. -- Reorganization to facilitate cuts in Officers and men.

Professor Handloser: Hygiene of troops: -- Reorganization of the Armed Forces Medical Service.

von Kluge calls up twice and describes the situation in very grave terms.

17 August 1942

Situation; Caucasus: Slow advances in the west, highest part of the mountains has been reached in center; enemy opposition apparently is stiffening in the east.

Stalingrad: Hoth's and Paulus' attacks are making good strides. Front against Paulus has been reinforced with good troops.

Salmuth: Only local attacks. Apparently preparations for repetition of attacks west\*and south of Voronezh.

Schmidt: Attack brought to a stand still, but is apparently pinning down large enemy forces of good quality.

Reinhardt: Chief threat over for the moment, but more attacks must be expected. Bad weather.

Model: Quieter day. Enemy apparently exhausted. Is attacking in uncoordinated local groups. New forces moving up from the adjoining sectors.

North: Only local fighting on the usual scale.

Fuehrer report: Discussion of the projected formation of a Romanian Army Gp. on both sides of Stalingrad. No decision yet about Ostashkov.

Cord\* comes in. : Recalled to his Div. (Grossdeutschland)

18 August 1942.

Situation: In South, slow advances both in the Caucasus and at Stalingrad against growing enemy resistance. All quiet on the Don and at Voronezh. In Center, operation "Wirbelwind" has not yet been able to get really going. Very stiff opposition, difficult terrain. In Third Panzer Army and Ninth Army, enemy attacks have temporarily let up a little. In North, decision to call off "Schlingpflanze". Local attack against Sixteenth and Eighteenth Army, as in the past days.

Gen. Hauffe (Bucharest): We discuss the planned formation of a Romanian Army Gp. on Don and Volga.

Gen. Obst. Fromm: Replacements matters, transfer of replacement units to the East; truck spare parts position.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Garrisoning of Rear Areas with replacement units, school units, etc. Deactivation of the third Regtl. Hqs. in Inf. Divs. having only six Bns.\*

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu). Organization of Supply Services in the continuance of the southeastern operation.

19 August 1942

Situation: In the Caucasus only local advances. At Stalingrad, Hoth has successfully opened his attack; Paulus is regrouping and expanding his bridgehead. \* Difficult situation on the left wing. On the rest of the Don front all quiet. In Center, no important advances by Second Panzer Army. Situation in Third Panzer Army slightly easier. -- In Ninth Army sector, the enemy appears to be very exhausted. North: Local attacks as usual, this time also on the Neva, where fast, small boats were used.

Capt. Weygold (Navy): Report on naval situation.

Lt. Col. von Merz: Report on his tour to AGp. A. Replacements are apparently moving up all right. Casualties. Anxieties about the winter.

Gen. Fellgiebel: Result of the Berlin conferences on the allocation of raw material. -- Planning of signal net for the continuance of the operation.

20 August 1942

Situation: On the whole no change along the entire front. AGp. Center reports that Second Panzer Army cannot attack unless reinforced by two or three Divs.

Col. Radke: Current matters regarding education and organized cultural activities. Top level is still not satisfied with activities for the ideological indoctrination of the Army.

Gen. Matzky: Organization of liaison with foreign Gen. Staffs following retransfer of GHq to ZI.

Gen. Herrlein: Training Instruction drafts; training projects for summer. \*

Lt. Col. Toppe - Faehndrich: Supply situation in AGps. A and B.

21 August 1942.

Situation: On the whole no change in the over-all situation. The Fuehrer is greatly exercised over the slow crossing of the Caucasus. \*

Lt. Col. Maecher (incoming C of S, XXXXIV Corps) reports.  
Maj. Krueger (Op. Sec.) reports on his trip to Africa.  
Col. von Ziehlberg Current Gen. Staff personnel matters,  
-- Decorations.

22 August 1942

Situation: The great picture is unchanged. Details:  
AGP. A reports small local ground gains. Our flag has been hoisted on Mount Elbrus. \* Closing up of Kleist's forces is a slow process in these vast spaces. Hoth's Panzer Army scores good tactical successes, but also begins to show signs of fatigue. On the attacking wing of Paulus' Army, preparations for the tank assault (bridges etc.) are progressing despite violent enemy counter attacks; on the northern wing, the enemy attacking in great force was beaten off.

In the Italian sector, a penetration on the right wing was contained; otherwise no major fighting in this and in the Hungarian sector. The same applies to Second Army.

In Second Panzer Army, very heavy enemy counter attacks with a large number of tanks against the right wing. Deep penetrations. Still all quiet in Third Panzer Army, but we must expect heavy attacks with newly arrived reinforcements. In Ninth Army, the enemy attacking our weakened lines at Zubtsov and Rzhev with very strong forces, scored substantial ground gains.

In North, the usual situation.

Gen. Brand (Arty.): Reports on Artillery preparations for the assault of Leningrad.

At the Fuehrer Hq: First a personal talk with Field Marshal von Kluge (C in C Center) on the plan of attack for Second Panzer Army.

At the situation conference following, operation "Wirbelwind" is being diluted from a full-staged offensive to a containing action.

The realization has been drive home that nothing could be gained in that sector any more, yet the notion persists that we cannot afford to let our grip go from the strong enemy forces assembled here.

23 August 1942.

Situation: No significant change in the Caucasus. At Stalingrad, Paulus has made a surprise thrust across the Don with XIV Corps and reached the Volga north of the city. The battles on the left wing of the Army are going back and forth. All is relatively quiet on the Don front all the way to Voronezh. In Second Army, violent attacks against the eastern flank have resulted in local penetrations. In Reinhardt's sector (Third Panzer Army) the Air Force has very effectively smashed enemy troop concentrations. The situation at Rzhev, where the enemy has been attacking heavily, is still most grave. In North, the situation at the front is unchanged, and there are more signs of an impending enemy attack.

Fuehrer situation conference: Order to direct Sixteenth mot. Div. of First Panzer Army against Elista.

Gen. Blumentritt and Maj. Lau: Organization of training activities during winter (officers training). -- Responsibility for care of horses. \*

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Logistical organization for the next phase of the operation in the South.

Repeated phone calls by von Kluge about difficult situations in Second Panzer Army and Ninth Army.

At Fuehrer Hq: Conference with von Kuechler on the situation in North and plans for the assault of Leningrad (von Manstein will be committed).

24 August 1942.

Situation: No important change in Seventeenth Army, local advances at Novorosisk. No major change in First Panzer Army. Fourth Panzer Army has beaten the enemy on its front and is regrouping for further attacks to the north. Fuel difficulties. Sixth Army: XIV Corps which had broken through to the Volga was for a time driven into a bad corner by enemy attacks from the north. The situation eased after the arrival of reinforcements. Left wing of Army is kept under pressure by enemy attacks.

Don front no change apart from local attacks.

In Center, heavy attacks against Second Panzer Army (eastern flank), Third Panzer Army (penetrations) and Ninth Army, where enemy made local gains. The situation remains difficult despite arrival of 72nd Inf. Div. On the eastern front, an attack on Byeloi was beaten off.

In North, the picture is the same as in the past few days, also as regards railroad traffic.

Fuehrer situation conference: Sharp clash over interpretation of the situation at Rzhev, where I perceive a distinct danger of attrition for our forces. The newly arrived elements of Div. Grossdeutschland are released as reserves for the Byeloi sector.

Gen. Hauffe, accompanied by Romanian officers, reports for conferences on the preparations for commitment of the Romanian Army Gp.

Lt. Col. von Merz: Balancing of casualties against replacements. -- NCO replacements. -- Transfer of ZI troops to the theater of operations. Technical questions: "Stalin organs". Mot. transport for the Jaeger Bns. earmarked as assault reserves.

In the evening, Gen. Heinrichs and Gen. Talvela are my guests.

25 August 1942.

Casualties: 22 June, 1941 -- 20 August, 1942.

Killed: 314,998 incl. 11,615 Off.

Wounded: 1,143,482 incl. 32,409 Off.

Missing: 69,510 incl. 995 Off.

Total: 1,527,990 incl. 45,019 Off.

Situation: No change in the Caucasus. At Stalingrad, Hoth has come up against well-fortified positions. Enemy harassing his deep eastern flank. Paulus is slowly exploiting his offensive success. Attacks against his western wing are repelled. Deep penetration in the Italian sector. Rest of AGp. B front on the whole quiet.

In Center, very heavy attacks against Second and Third Panzer Armies and Ninth Army continue without distinct gains by the enemy.

In North, situation unchanged. Very heavy railroad movement toward our front. The enemy is moving his Hqs forward, toward the Volkhov front.

Capt. Thon reports out (Sig. Off. on command train "Europa").

Col. von Ziehlberg: Gen. Staff personnel matters. --  
Liaison Detachments for Hungarian and Italian Armies. --

26 August 1942.

Situation: Caucasus unchanged. At Stalingrad, the situation is grave due to counter attacks by numerically superior enemy. Our Divs. are all below strength. Severe nervous strain on the responsible Commanders. von Wietersheim wanted to withdraw his advanced outpost on the Volga, but was prevented by Paulus.

Everything went wrong in the Italian sector on the right wing. Counter measures have been instituted.

Center surprises us in the morning report with the announcement that Schmidt has taken back his front. It is quite upsetting that we should have another case of voluntary abandonment of a position without advance notice clearly stating such an intention. Army Gp. states in its defense that mention had been made of the matter. That's true enough, but the intention as such was not reported. Moreover, such a step is tactically wrong, because it removes the pressure maintained on the enemy.

In Reinhardt's sector, successful counter attacks have improved the situation. A somewhat quieter day in Model's sector until evening, when another major enemy attack is launched south of Zubtsov.

In North, signs are increasing that the Russians will soon strike south of Lake Ladoga.

Grand Admiral Raeder calls. Review of the situation.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Assignments to the Liaison Detachments for the Italian and Hungarian contingents.

27 August 1942.

Situation: No important change in South. Situation at Stalingrad consolidated. The penetration in the Italian sector turns out to be not so serious.

Nevertheless 298th Div. has been diverted to it and Alpini troops are being rapidly moved there. The Voronezh front seems to be quiet. Elements of the enemy assault forces on this front have appeared at Stalingrad.

Center: In Second Panzer Army enemy attacks were weaker than yesterday. All quiet in Third Panzer Army. In Ninth Army sector, enemy is regrouping in the area south of Rzhev, where more attacks are expected.

North: The anticipated attack south of Lake Ladoga has started. The attacks on the whole were repelled; only minor local penetrations. On the rest of the front, no change in the normal picture.

Gen. von Rintelen: Report on situation in Africa and Yugoslavia. Orientation on the situation in the East.

Col. Wenk (C of S, LVII Armd. Corps) reports.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Transfer of the Advance Supply Bases to control of AGp. Supply Chiefs. \*

28 August 1942.

Situation: In AGp. A, local advances into the northern Caucasus.

AGp. B: Situation easier in Sixth Army; regrouping in Fourth Panzer Army. Something is brewing on the left wing of Sixth Army. All quiet on the rest of the front of B. Second Army is withdrawing an increasing number of frontline Divs into Reserve.

Center: Heavy attacks against Second Panzer Army and the northern flank of the penetration in Ninth Army were beaten off.

In North, a very distressing penetration south of Lake Ladoga. Also preparations for an attack on the Volkhov front.

Gen. Weckmann, Commandant of the Gen. Staff Training Course, reports. Discussion of Gen. Staff education.

Gen. Matzky (OQu IV): Review of current military-political reports.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Current Org. Sec. matters.--  
. Manufacture of 3.7 cm AT Guns has been discontinued.\*

Lt. Col. Brand \* (Op. Sec.): Command setup and anti-partisan operations in Center.

Several phone talks with OKW and AGp. North on the situation on Lake Ladoga.

Phone talk with von Weichs: Orientation on Richthofen's statements on the situation and the Command of the Ground Forces.\* -- Frontward moves of Hqs.

29 August 1942.

Situation: Local improvements in the Caucasus, especially north of Novorosisk.

Fourth Panzer Army has opened the attack with very good success. An attack by Sixth Army strengthened the link with XIV Corps. Trouble is beginning to develop on its left wing.

In the Italian sector, the situation has not been aggravated, but it has not been set right either. All quiet on the Hungarian and the Second Army front.

Center: Second Panzer Army has again succeeded in repelling strong attacks. The enemy suffers heavy tank losses again.

No important enemy attacks against Third Panzer Army. Also Ninth Army has had an easier day. Apparently enemy is regrouping for an attack to the west. Enemy air activity has fallen off.

North: The counter attack to liquidate the enemy penetration has started off well. No report yet of the result. "Tiger" tanks could not be committed; are held up at bridges which cannot support such loads.

Gen. Ochsner: Reports on his tour to AGp. A.

Fuehrer situation conference: Very peevisish about the conduct of operations by AGp. A. -- Talk with Field Marshal List by phone to find out what could be done to get the offensive going again.

Phone talk with Field Marshal von Kluge on anti-partisan measures and moves to close the gap. Deny request for commitment of Grossdeutschland for time being, but authorize alerting of Div.

30 August 1942.

Situation: On the northern wing of AGp. A, advances toward Novorosisk. In B good progress by Fourth

Panzer Army.-- A quieter day today for Sixth Army, but a strong attack against its northern wing seems to be preparing. Rest of the front of B rather quiet.

In Center Second and Third Panzer Army repulsed attacks. In Ninth Army, trouble again at Zubtsov and north of Rzhev. Grossdeutschland released for commitment.

In North, the enemy continued his attacks south of Lake Ladoga without making significant gains, but neither did our attack achieve any important advances. The forces set aside for the Leningrad offensive are increasingly diverted to this sector to repel the enemy drive.

Today's conferences with Fuehrer were again the occasion of abusive reproaches against the military leadership abilities of the highest Commands. He charges them with intellectual conceit, mental inadaptability, and utter failure to grasp essentials.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Organization and armament matters.

31 August 1942.

Situation: In A, substantial progress at Anapa and Novorosisk. On remainder of the mountain front no change. In First Panzer Army hard fighting for the Terek crossing.

In B very gratifying progress by Fourth Panzer Army. Sixth Army has a relatively quiet day in spite of local enemy counter attacks. No important events in the other sectors of the Don front.

In Center reports actions only in Ninth Army, where violent attacks continued west of Zubtsov and at Rzhev.

In North, the enemy penetration in the bottleneck\* seems for the most part to have been checked. Counter attack is under preparation.

Conference with Field Marshal List at Fuehrer Hq:

Decision: Transfer and earliest commitment of the Romanian Third Mt. Div. with the mission to advance on the coastal road from Novorosisk. All possible means must be used to reach the coast around Tuapse with maximum speed. Concentration in

that sector of all Mt. Bns. still available. All forces of Mt. Corps apart from small detachments guarding passes will be concentrated in Fourth Mt. Div. sector, in the High Caucasus.

Chief mission of First Panzer Army will be to destroy the enemy in the Terek bend. Use Turk Bns. and Second Romanian Mt. Div. to liquidate the enemy remnants on the mountain slopes. All available forces, especially Armor, will strike for Grozni, to seize the oil fields.

Afterwards in GHq: Talk with List on his missions and about personnel matters.

Lt. Col. Streve reports out; new Commandant of Fuehrer Hq.

Gen. Felmy calls. Talk about operation south of the Caucasus. (Is brimming with ideas utterly impracticable this fall yet!)

Col. von Ziehlberg: Gen. Staff personnel matters.

1 September 1942.

Situation: In A progress at Novorosisk. Otherwise no change.

In B good advances at Stalingrad; the situation on the Italian right wing is improved by a German attack. Otherwise all quiet.

In Center, curious quiet along the entire front. The enemy has regrouped his forces in great depth. In North, the enemy is pressing northward against the Ladoga penetration. No change in the situation on the rest of the front.

At Fuehrer Hq: Field Marshal von Kluge. Discussion of the situation in his Army Gp. He is promised transfer of 95th Div. Straightening of the front for winter is rejected. Presentation of decorations.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Organizational measures to strengthen Ninth Army front and improve the situation of 27th Armd. Div.

Col. von Ziehlberg: New Cs of S for AGp. South and Seventeenth Army.

Callers: Gen. Lindemann (132nd Div.) and Col. von Niedermayer (162nd Div.).

2 September 1942.

Situation: Crossing to the Taman peninsula successfully accomplished. Good developments at Stalingrad. Second Panzer Army, Ninth and Eighteenth Armies repelled new attacks, which lacked coordination.

Change of Adjutants: Golling - Kuehnlein.

Col. von Pamberg (lately C of S, XXXXIV Corps) reports as Chief of the new Gen Qu Hq South (AGps, A and B).

Col. von Cramer reports on "Tiger" tanks at Nga. The only sensible course is to take them out of the line.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Directives for Pamberg, and other current matters.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Complaints and personnel matters.

3 September 1942.

Situation: Progress reported at Novorosisk, on the Terek river and before Stalingrad. In the other sectors, no change. Enemy attacks against Ninth and Eighteenth Armies repulsed.

Maj. Lau: Dissemination of experiences on Russian offensive tactics to troop level. Work schedule of Tng. Sec.

Gen. Herrlein: Report on the Italian front -- NCO schools.

Col. von Le Suir reports. New Co 99th Mt. Inf. Regt.

4 September 1942

Casualties: 22 June, 1941 -- 31 Sep ., 1942 .

Killed: 326,791 incl. 12,072 Off.

Wounded: 1,189,928 incl. 33,596 Off.

Missing: 72,363 incl. 1,033 Off.

Total: 1,589,082 incl. 46,701 Off.

Situation: Advances on the Taman peninsula, at Novorosisk and on the Terek river, also gratifying progress at Stalingrad. Stern defensive battles in Second and Third Panzer Armies and Ninth Army. Less reassuring picture in the XVI Corps salient. Now 24th Div. also is being thrown away into that defensive effort.

Maj. Nagel reports out. Maj. Count Bernsdorff reports in as Adjutant OQu IV.

Lt. Col. Zerbel reports. New Chief of Eng. Sec.

Gen. Matzky, with Schildknecht and Hansen: Analysis of Russian combat strength. -- Penla. -- Current matters.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Current Org. Sec. matters.

#### 5 September 1942.

Situation: New progress on the Taman peninsula and at Novorosisk. Otherwise no important changes.

Slovak Mil. Attaché, Lt. Col. Androvic, reports out. The new Attaché, Gen. Malar, reports in.

Maj. Count Castell reports out. (Lately Foreign Armies East, now Ib of a Division.)

Gen. Keitel (Personnel Div.): Officer replacement situation.

Lt. Col. Toppe: Goes to Sixteenth Army to straighten out internal matters in Army Supply organization.

#### 6 September 1942.

Situation: Novorosisk taken. Otherwise no change. At Stalingrad very heavy attacks were beaten off. General situation on the entire front relatively quiet and without major changes.

Gen. Woehler (C of S AGp. Center): Comes to GHq to discuss anti-partisan operations. Afterwards at dinner with comrades.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Personnel changes occasioned by loss of a Div. Ia in combat.

7 September 1942

Situation: The attacking wing reports slight advances on the Terek river, and good progress at Stalingrad, where enemy attacks against the northern flank have become weaker. Nothing special on the remainder of the front. Enemy rather quiet.

Gen. Brand (Arty.) reports on his tour to the Italian front. They have sufficient Artillery. Observation Bns. not committed. Only direct fire. Regarding the rolling barrage for assault of Leningrad: With the stocks of ammunition on hand, we can cover a frontage of 6.8 km, i.e., one gun for every 20 m. (Was one for every 25 m in World War I.)

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand:

- 1.) Report on negotiations with Minister Speer regarding the request of the Gen. Staff.
- 2.) Current organization matters.

Fuehrer situation conference: Woehler presents report on anti-partisan operations. Discussion on possible attacks to restore the situation in Ninth Army and Third Panzer Army.

Gen. Fellgiebel: Report on rocket firing trials. Safeguarding railroad lines by telecommunication set.

8 September 1942.

Situation: Opposition near Novorossiisk, and advances at Stalingrad; there are no changes. Lack of progress in AGp. A is a bitter disappointment for the Fuehrer. Cuttingly reproaches the Army Gp. Command and the generals as whole. Jodl, on the return from his visit to List, proposes not only not to advance Mt. Corps any further, but on the contrary, to take it back. \* The effect is annoyance of the highest degree.

Gen. Jacob: Results of his tour to the Channel Coast. -- Stockpiling of wire.

Capt. von Etzdorff: Review of international situation. Tour of the State Secretary.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Gen. Staff personnel matters.

9 September 1942.

Situation: At Stalingrad slow advances again. Rest of the front quiet, except in Ninth Army sector, where the enemy has achieved penetration west of Zubtsov, and on the Neva front, where heavy attacks were beaten off.

Div. Grossdeutschland has been released for a counter attack at Zubtsov.

Talk with Minister Speer on collaboration, before we go into Fuehrer situation conference.

1630 Field Marshal Keitel comes to see me. List must resign. Hints of more changes in high posts, including mine.

Maj. Kranz: Report on the situation in First Panzer Army.

Capt. Wagner (Ia, Naval Operations Staff), reports on the naval situation, in particular on submarine warfare.

von Ziehlberg: List of Gen. Staff Officers qualified as higher commanders.

Mueller-Hillebrand: Organizational projects of the Fuehrer for replacements and for rehabilitation of the Army.

Field ~~Marshal~~ List resigns from the post of C in C AGp. A.

10 September 1942

Situation: In the Caucasus, no change on the whole. Good progress at Stalingrad, Defensive success on the northern front. In Center (Ninth Army) the counter attack of Grossdeutschland Div. has not yet produced any conclusive results. In North, von Manstein's counter attack has come up against stubborn resistance. Great defensive success on the Neva.

Fuehrer order on war of defense.\*

Officers joining OKH staff report: Majority are graduates from latest Gen. Staff Course.

Gen. Staff: Economic Inspector East. Report on his mission and functions.

Gen. Wagner (Gen Qu): Supply organization in the South. -- Preparations for the Romanian Army Gp. -- Current matters.

Lt. Col. Zerbel: Organization of training of new Co., Bn., Regt. and Div., Commanders. Instructional Pamphlets and Training Instructions.

11 September 1942 and 12 September 1942.

No important changes in the situation. Advances at Stalingrad. Manstein's attack has bogged down.

Fuehrer situation conference takes place in icy atmosphere.

12 Sep. : von Weichs and Paulus come in. Decision to adopt the "central" solution.\*

Afternoon. von Greiffenberg: We discuss the conduct of business pending appointment of a new ObdH.\*\*\*

Paulus: Discuss personalities and lessons of the campaign.

Evening. Paulus and Greiffenberg in a circle of comrades.

13 September 1942

Situation: In the Caucasus, the attack on the Terek river is progressing while a threat is developing to the eastern wing of First Panzer Army. Advances at Stalingrad. Otherwise relative quiet, apart from Ninth Army front, where limited attacks were beaten off.

At the Fuehrer situation conference, Gen. Model (C in C Ninth Army), presents a report of the situation.

Geheimrat Sauerbruch\* calls.

Lt. Col. Collasius reports as Streve's successor.

Gen. Fellgiebel: Questions of radio intelligence and of radio cooperation with our Allies.

Col. Crämer: Report on trip to First Panzer Army.

14 September 1942.

Situation: Advances at Stalingrad. On the remainder of the front no change. Attacks at Zubtsov and Rzhev weaker, are repelled.

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Current questions of organization.

Col. von Ziehlberg: "Changing of the Guard."\*\*Current personnel matters.

Gen. Konrad (CG, Mt. Corps) sees the Fuehrer. Discussion on employment of Mt. Corps.

Gen. Kress: Formerly CO, 99th Jaeger\*\*Regt. now Inspector of Mountain Troop Schools, calls.

15 September 1942

Casualties: 22 June, 1941 -- 10 Sep., 1942 in the East:

Killed: 336,349 incl. 12,385 Off.

Wounded: 1,226,941 incl. 34,525 Off.

Missing: 75,990 incl. 1,056 Off.

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Total: 1,637,280 incl. 47,966 Off.

Situation: No progress in AGp. A. Kleist must take back his assault wing, but relieves his eastern flank.

In AGp. B. gratifying advances inside Stalingrad. Heavy attack against Voronezh from north and west. Penetration from the west.

Center: Enemy attacks getting weaker at Zubtsov and Rzhev. Otherwise all quiet.

North: The usual local attacks in Sixteenth Army sector. On Manstein's front counter battery fire and repulsion of local attacks.

QQu I: We discuss questions submitted by the Hungarians.

Fuehrer order (drafted by us) on threats on the Don front. Fuehrer order (drafted by OKW) on danger in the Mediterranean theater.

16. September 1942.

Situation: No important changes in the South. Advances inside Stalingrad. In Center, no important events. Ninth Army repelled attacks.

North: Manstein's preliminary attack successful.

Chief of the Hungarian Gen. Staff, von Szombathely calls. A few words in my office, more at social gathering in the evening.

Fuehrer is still greatly worried about the Don front.

17 September 1942.

The situation has not changed in any important respects.

In A, enemy counterattack, in Seventeenth Army sector, First Armd. Div. beats off enemy attacks. In B, house-to-house fighting inside Stalingrad achieves gains which have to be paid for heavily.

Enemy attacks at Voronezh are on the whole beaten off. Penetration in the southeastern sector.

No important developments on the remainder of the front. Also at Rzhev only local attacks west of Zubtsov.

The break in the weather compels postponement of the counter attack by Div. Grossdeutschland west of Zubtsov, and von Manstein's attack south of Lake Ladoga.

Lt. Col. Zerbel. Training of Co. Commanders in the East, and other training matters.

Major Count Stauffenberg: Organization matters, legal position of civilian employees of Army, etc.

Gen. Blumentritt has been ordered to the Fuehrer and is sent to France to relieve Zeitzier. Will get there on 19 Sep., so that I may expect arrival of my successor here about 22 Sep.

18 September 1942.

Situation: In the Caucasus on the whole no change. On the Terék river we score defensive successes also on the eastern wing. New gains inside Stalingrad. Big defensive success north of the city against major enemy attack (150 tanks). All quiet on the rest of the Don front. Voronezh continues to be under heavy attack from north and east. Rest of the front quiet because of bad weather.

Gen. Obst. Loehr reports on the Southeastern Theater.

19 September 1942.

Situation: Local advances in Kleist's sector and inside Stalingrad. Otherwise no fighting along the entire front, which is immobilized by bad weather in its northern two-thirds.

Gen. Ochsner reports on Training Courses and Gas Training Schools.

Col. von Ziehlberg: Preparations for my leaving. -- Internal complaints. -- Personnel matters.

20 September 1942.

Situation: Good progress in Kleist's sector on the Terek river. In Stalingrad we are beginning to feel the approaching exhaustion of our assault troops.

At Voronezh dive bomber sweeps have greatly relieved the situation. Attacks against the northern front were beaten off.

The remainder of the front is quiet in consequence of bad weather and water-logged roads. Something is brewing at Nelidovo.

Gen. Stb. Vet. Professor Dr. Fontaine reports on horses situation and plans for replacement movements next winter.

Gen. Herrlein reports on the fighting at Rzhev and the general situation in AGp. Center. Activities to glamorize Infantry.\*

Lt. Col. Mueller-Hillebrand: Personnel cuts. -- Disbanding of Divs. Organization matters.

21 September 1942.

Situation: Advances in Kleist's sector and inside Stalingrad. von Manstein has launched the main attack with some initial successes. All quiet on the rest of the front.

Lt. Col. Zerbel: Order on the organization of training in Army Gps. and Armies.

22 September 1942.

Situation: Only minor changes at Stalingrad. Some progress in Manstein's attack. Otherwise no change.

No presentation of reports.

Animated phone conversation with Field Marshal von Kluge, who all of a sudden does not believe in the Nelidovo project and wants to use 96th Div. and Ninth Armd. Div. for the attack on Osuga.

23 September 1942.

Situation: Local improvements at Novorossisk and on the right wing of the Tuapse Group, where the attack started off today.

At Stalingrad slow progress. The same in the Voronezh salient.

In Ninth Army sector, strictly localized fighting west of Zubtsov and at Rzhev. Manstein's attack is slowly gaining ground.

No presentation of reports.

24 September 1942.

After situation conference, farewell by the Fuehrer: My nerves are worn out, also his nerves are no longer fresh. We must part. Necessity for educating the General Staff in fanatical faith in the Idea.\* He is determined to enforce his will also in the Army.

After 1700. My farewell to the several groups: Gen. Staff. -- Gen. Qu. -- Arms Chiefs. -- Individual callers.

∟ Undated entries on the last page of vol. VII/

General observations:

The phrasing of orders is increasingly marked by disregard for the fittingness of vocabulary. Over-emphatic words, such as "destroy", "smash", "prevent streaming off" (even where nothing of the sort is possible), have taken the place of well-considered, more appropriate words.

To what extent, if at all, can the integrity of the Corps be maintained within the Armd. Gp.??

Is it advisable, in the age of motorization, to tie operations to rigid "orders", as the word was understood by Moltke?\*\*\*

Attention must be given in schooling to effective standards for discriminating between tactical and operational effects of actions.\*\*\*

Use psychology in leadership (in the superior-subordinate relationship!).

Training Section: Instructor personnel for Service Schools. Officers (Knight's Cross) as lecturers for Hitler Youth.

Harpe knows the Caucasus

Grossdeutschland:

Koehler (Inf. Regt. I) can't hold up his end  
Garski (Inf. Regt. II) ex-Police, sick man  
Janer (Artillery) sick man

Fremerey (29th mot. ?)

/1941 Calendar inserted at the end of vol. VII, with the following entries:/

- January: 19. Benito at Obersalzberg.
- February: 5. Map maneuver Sodenstern.  
18. Hauffe.  
26. War Academy.  
28. Bridge construction demonstration.
- March: 1. Fifth Armd. Regt. (less 1st Bn.) for Fifth Lt. Inf. Div.  
Lt. Fd. How. Bn. Fifth Lt. Inf. Div.  
4. & 7. Gen Qu map exercise.  
7. Evening Gen Qu.  
11.)  
12.) ObdH away.  
13.)  
14. Film.  
18. Oshima.  
19. Chief Armd. Troops Officer.  
20. Kammersdorf.  
21. Otto?  
24. AGp. A with ObdH, Berlin  
25. AGp. C with ObdH, Berlin  
28. Map maneuver Guderian.
- April: 1. Todt trucks back!  
7 and 8. Chemical smoke demonstration Warthelager.  
9. Map Exercise Posen.  
15. Loaned trucks back to Armed Forces.\*  
24. 50th anniversary of death of Moltke.
- May: 5. Fiftieth Armd. Div. North Africa.  
15./16. Conference of Supply Chiefs.  
24.-31. Gen Qu's tour in the East.
- June: 4. C of S Conference.  
5. Finland transports start.  
6. Wagner in Rome.  
8. First transports land in Finland.  
10. Reinforcement of Finnish Border Guard.  
13. Mobilization order for forces against Aaland, Hangoe. Finnish Border Guard mobilized.  
14. Fuehrer Conference.  
15. Mobilization of Finnish V Corps.  
16. Mobilization of the bulk of Finnish Army.  
20. Forces for Aaland, Hangoe mobilized.  
28. Assault Group Ladoga ready to strike.

October:

10. 111  
11. 112  
12. 113  
13. 114  
14. 115  
15. 116  
16. 117  
17. 118  
18. 119  
19. 120  
21. 122  
23. 124  
25. 126  
27. 128  
29. 130  
31. 132

November:

1. 133  
2. 134  
3. 135\*\*

December:

6. Finland.

