

BLOOD AND STEEL 3

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BLOOD AND STEEL 3

The Wehrmacht Archive: The Ardennes Offensive, December 1944 to January 1945

Donald E. Graves





Blood and Steel 3: The Wehrmacht Archive: The Ardennes Offensive, December 1944 to January 1945

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Introduction

Although some American intelligence officers suspected that the enemy was preparing a major operation, the German Ardennes offensive came as a complete surprise to the Allies. Shortly before dawn on 16 December 1944, some 1,600 artillery pieces, ranging in calibre from 75mm to 210mm, opened a heavy 90-minute bombardment on the forward positions of the First U.S. Army in the Ardennes and then the infantry moved forward. For the next six weeks, desperate fighting took place in some of the most inhospitable terrain in western Europe in sub-zero temperatures amid snow squalls and blizzards. When the battle ended in the last week of January 1945 with a total defeat for the Wehrmacht, about 160,000 men in both armies had been killed, wounded or captured. The third volume of the *Blood and Steel, The Wehrmacht Archive* series is concerned with this hard-fought military operation, popularly known as the 'Battle of the Bulge'.

Like the preceding volumes in this series, *Blood and Steel 3* is not a history of the campaign it documents – indeed the story of the Ardennes offensive has been ably told elsewhere. Rather, it is a collection or anthology of translated German wartime documents taken from the daily Intelligence Summaries of First Canadian Army. It should be noted, however, that as most of the fighting on the Allied side was done by American troops, the greater part of the documents below come from United States sources.

^{1.} The Ardennes offensive has attracted many authors. The official American history is Hugh M. Cole, *The Ardennes: Battle of the Bulge* (Washington, 1965). An excellent study, which has held up very well since it was first published in 1984, is Charles B. Macdonald, *A Time for Trumpets: The Untold Story of the Battle of the Bulge* (New York, 1985). Macdonald had the advantage of being an infantry company commander during the Ardennes fighting and also an historian with the U.S. Army. An extensive new examination of the Ardennes offensive can be found in Christer Bergstrom, *The Ardennes 1944–1945: Hitler's Winter Offensive* (Haverstown, 2014) while a useful pictorial record is Jean-Paul Pallud, *Battle of the Bulge. After the Battle* (London, 1984).

The origins of the Ardennes campaign go back to the summer of 1944. Adolf Hitler began planning a major counter-offensive in the west almost at the same time as his armies were experiencing disastrous defeats on all fronts. The German leader seems to have conceived the idea in late July 1944 and, by September, his concept had advanced far enough for him to order plans drawn up for an operation codenamed *Wacht am Rhein*,² which would be a massive assault directed against the American First Army in the Ardennes area. Toward that end, he brought back *Feldmarschall* Gerd von Rundstedt, a highly respected senior officer whom he had fired three months before, to serve as the nominal commander-in-chief on the Western Front. The operation was scheduled to take place about the middle of December and its purpose, as explained by Hitler to a group of selected officers, was to be:

- (1) the encirclement of 48 Allied divisions or a general Allied withdrawal;
- (2) to gain time, viz. at least four weeks, for the consolidation of German war industry, particularly the synthetic oil industry;
- (3) by accentuating political difficulties on the Continent and by propaganda, to detach one of the Allies from the war.³

Hitler, one historian has written, hoped with this operation to create conditions in which one Allied nation would 'blame the other for the debacle that engulfed its troops, to sow mutual mistrust, to deal such a blow' that the citizens of America, Britain and Canada 'would demand that their leaders bring the boys home'. A successful offensive that more or less destroyed First U.S. Army and captured the port of Antwerp would accomplish these objectives.

Hitler's senior commanders were not impressed with *Wacht am Rhein*. Von Rundstedt, the nominal commander-in-chief on the Western Front, was particularly disparaging. As he later remarked:

I strongly object to the fact that this stupid operation in the Ardennes is sometimes called the 'Rundstedt offensive,' . . . That is a complete misnomer. I had nothing to do with it. It came to me as an order complete to the last detail. . . .

When I was first told about the proposed offensive in the Ardennes, I protested against it as vigorously as I could. The forces

^{2. &#}x27;The Watch on the Rhine'. It was later renamed Herbstnebel, or 'Autumn Mist'.

^{3.} ISUM (First Canadian Army Intelligence Summary) 203, 19 January 1944, from SHAEF.

^{4.} MacDonald, A Time for Trumpets, 38.

at our disposal were much, much too weak for such far-reaching objectives. I suggested that my plan against the Aachen salient be used instead, but the suggestion was turned down, as were all my other objections. It was only up to me to obey. It was a nonsensical operation, and the most stupid part of it was the setting of Antwerp as the target. If we reached the Meuse we should have got down on our knees and thanked God – let alone try to reach Antwerp.⁵

Oberstgruppenführer Sepp Dietrich, commanding Sixth Panzer Army, which was to play a major role in the forthcoming attack, later complained that

All I had to do was to cross a river, capture Brussels and then go on and take the port of Antwerp. And all this in December, January and February, the worst three months of the year; through the Ardennes where snow was waist deep and there wasn't room to deploy four tanks abreast, let alone six armoured divisions; when it didn't get light until eight in the morning and was dark again at four in the afternoon and my tanks can't fight at night; with divisions that had just been reformed and were composed chiefly of raw, untrained recruits; and at Christmas time.⁶

Orders were orders, however, and senior German officers prepared to carry out Hitler's wishes.

There was much concern that the Allied opponent would learn of the preparations for the forthcoming offensive and security was drastically tightened (see Document 8/1). All radio code names, call signs and code keys were changed. Only picked signal personnel were permitted to use land line telephones and, wherever possible, messengers were preferred. All major troop movements were made at night and road signs with unit names were sparingly used. Officers were only informed of the operation at the last possible moment and, even then, the information they received was restricted to the sector with which they were directly concerned. *Generalleutnant* Fritz Bayerlein, commanding the Panzer Lehr Division, learned about the forthcoming attack when he and several other senior officers were called to von Rundstedt's headquarters on 11 December, four days before the offensive was to commence. He recalled that

^{5.} Milton Schulman, Defeat in the West (London, 1948), 228

^{6.} Schulman, Defeat in the West, 229.

After dinner we were told to attend a special briefing. We were all stripped of our weapons and brief-cases, loaded into buses and then driven about the countryside for half an hour. Finally we were led into a large room which was surrounded by SS guards who watched our every move. Then Hitler arrived accompanied by Field-Marshal Keitel and General Jodl.

Hitler looked sick and broken, and began to read from a long prepared manuscript. The speech lasted for two hours, during which I felt most uneasy. The suspicious looks of the SS guards made me afraid even to reach into my pocket for a handkerchief. Hitler started off this briefing as if he were delivering one of his birthday speeches. For about an hour he told us what he and the Nazi party had done for Germany during the past twelve years.

He then went into the details of the Ardennes offensive, telling us what formations were involved and what they were to do. The object of the attack was to capture Antwerp in fourteen days and at the same time trap Montgomery's Twenty-first Army Group in Holland. The loss of so large a force would cause Canada to withdraw from the war, and thoroughly discourage the United States about continuing the struggle. Hitler also impressed us with the fact that if this offensive did not succeed, things would then be extremely difficult for Germany. At this statement, Keitel and Jodl, who were sitting at the front table, nodded their heads approvingly. The Führer also promised us sufficient petrol, and a fighter support of 3000 planes which would keep the Allies out of the sky. When Hitler had finished, von Rundstedt expressed his loyalty to the Führer on behalf of the generals, and assured him that this time they would not fail him.⁷

The massive preparations and the tight security, however, alerted all ranks that something big was in the works and there was a feeling of exhilaration. The 116th Panzer Division only moved to its jumping-off point on 8 December but it was clear to all ranks that a major operation was going to take place. 'Everything is rolling!' enthused an officer of that formation,

We almost feel the way we did in France during the offensive in France in 1940, weeks that seem to have been an eternity ago! All preparations are completed, but everything is still very secretive.

^{7.} Schulman, Defeat in the West, 230.

Many good and familiar divisions are starting their march. A certain anticipation has gripped even the most grizzled fighters.⁸

But many of those about to take part in the offensive were aware that *Wacht am Rhein* was – as one veteran NCO put it – 'the last push we can make,' otherwise, 'we will soon have had it'. That push began at 0530 on 16 December when the German artillery opened fire and then the assault troops moved forward. In a letter to his sister, one of the attackers exhalted: 'Ruth! Ruth! We MARCH!'10

One of the interesting aspects of the German offensive – and certainly one that has attracted much attention from authors and filmmakers – was the use of what today would be termed 'special forces'. This was Operation Greiff, undertaken by Standartenführer Otto Skorzeny's 150th Panzer Brigade, which included English-speaking recon teams wearing American uniforms and riding in American vehicles. Although they did little actual harm, these saboteurs caused disruption in the Allied rear areas as keen military police and sentries arrested anyone who could not answer knowledge questions or spoke with a funny accent.¹¹ Allied intelligence sources were forewarned of the existence of this special unit when the German order asking for volunteers and giving details of the new entity was captured – something that Skorzeny feared. 12 Although Allied intelligence officers noted that the 'potential threat' of such 'infiltration units needs no stressing', their belief was that it was doubtful that enough personnel with the 'necessary qualifications to form two battalions of the type envisaged' in the order 'would be available to the Wehrmacht at this time'. Less than two weeks after these words were written, jeeps full of Germans dressed as GIs were travelling through the American rear areas.

A second 'special force' was *Kampfgruppe* Peiper, the advance guard of the 1st SS Panzer Division, named after its leader, *Standartenführer*

^{8.} Diary of *Major* Fritz Vogelsang, 116th Panzer Division, 14 December 1944, quoted in Heinz Günther Guderian, *From Normandy to the Ruhr. With the 116th Panzer Division in World War II* (Bedford, 2001), 296.

^{9.} Document 7/2, Diary of *Obergefreiter* Singer, 2nd Panzer Division, 16 December 1944.

^{10.} Letter contained in 1st U.S. Division G-2 After Action Report, December 1944, quoted in MacDonald, *A Time for Trumpets*, 90.

^{11.} In fact, Canadian provosts arrested and jailed a U.S. Army Air Force officer because they thought he spoke English with a funny accent. The man turned out to be from Alabama.

^{12.} Otto Skorzeny, Skorzeny's Secret Missions: War Memoirs of the Most Dangerous Man in Europe (New York, 1950), 145.

^{13.} ISUM 152, 29 November 1944.

Joachim Peiper. This force, the spearhead of the Sixth Panzer Army's attack, has also been a popular subject of study although Peiper failed in his mission because of a fuel shortage and his men irreparably damaged their record as soldiers by murdering prisoners and civilians. Chapter 3 contains two interesting eyewitness accounts from men who moved with Kampfgruppe Peiper - although not willingly. The first, Major Hal McCown of the 119th U.S. Infantry Division, went with the Kampfgruppe as a prisoner. McCown, however, was a perceptive man and his observations (Document 3/1) about Peiper and his subordinates, and their tactics, make for interesting reading. The second eyewitness account of Kampfgruppe Peiper is the diary (Document 3/2) of Feldwebel Karl Laun of the Luftwaffe, whose mobile light flak battalion had been attached to Peiper to provide anti-aircraft protection. Laun was a married 27-year-old Austrian with a child, who had some university education and was a devout Catholic. Having fought for nearly five years he was heartily sick of the war. He despised the Waffen SS and was very unhappy about having to serve with these 'bastards' who did not have 'the slightest inkling of international law, or for that matter, of humanity'.14 Laun's diary from December 1944 to March 1945, which has been included in full below, is a fascinating panorama of the sunset of the Third Reich. During his unauthorized travels in the rear areas he catalogues the difficulties of everyday life: the shortages of food, fuel and transport and the constant interference and bullying of civilians by minor officials of the Nazi Party.

The third German 'special force' deployed during the Ardennes offensive is less well known than those commanded by Peiper and Skorzeny. This was a parachute *kampfgruppe* of about battalion size led by *Oberstleutnant* Friedrich, *Freiherr* von der Heydte, a distinguished veteran of the airborne forces. Chapter 4 contains interrogation reports of members of this force, including von der Heydte himself, which reveal a seemingly unending succession of problems: inadequate training, poor planning and preparations, last minute changes, incompetent leadership – and plain bad luck. These problems were not offset by the arrogance of von der Heydte who informed his captors (Document 4/4) that his nation would win the war because Germans were smarter than Americans!

Chapter 5 provides brief glimpses into the organization and experience of some of the German formations that participated in the Ardennes fighting. It reveals that, while they had received their share of weapons and equipment, the overall problems concerned lack of personnel and lack

^{14.} Document 3/2, Laun Diary, 20 December 1944.

of time to adequately train them. We learn (Document 5/3) that nearly two-thirds of the men of the 9th SS Panzer Division came from outside Germany, including a sizeable number of Ukrainians, and many new recruits had never fired a rifle. A young officer of the paratroops confesses (Document 5/9) that he does not know which division his regiment belongs to. The popularity of captured American clothing and rations (Document 5/4) is an indication of the German army's supply problems in the last year of the war.

The letters and diaries of German soldiers who participated in the offensive will be found in Chapters 6 and 7. As the operation continues and it becomes clear that it will not succeed, the mood of the writers change. *Leutnant* Martin Opitz of the 18th *Volksgrenadier* Division, who confides (Document 7/1) to his diary, his 'feeling of elation' on 15 December, believes a month later that 'Everything looks hopeless'.

Chapter 8 contains documents relating to German tactics and methods and includes information on forest fighting, winter clothing, evaluating the Allies as enemies and comparing German and Allied armoured vehicles. During the Ardennes offensive, the Wehrmacht captured more than 20,000 American prisoners, some of whom revealed valuable information when questioned by skilled German interrogators. The dissemination of information about German interrogation techniques therefore became vitally important for all Allied armies and were included in the Intelligence Summaries.

At the outset, Josef Goebbels, the Reichsminister for Propaganda, made much of the Ardennes offensive, asserting that

the present attack was the answer to those who asked 'Where is the Führer? What exactly has become of the Luftwaffe? What is happening to our industries in the Saar and Ruhr areas?' The Führer, it was claimed, was safe and well, and had spent days and nights during the past few weeks in working out plans for the present offensive in the minutest detail.¹⁵

When the operation began to bog down as a result of weather, terrain and determined American resistance, Goebbels changed his tune. By the end of December, the propaganda ministry was referring to it as 'the winter battle' and by the middle of that month, orders were issued that

Soldiers are to be informed during the indoctrination period,

^{15.} Document 10/1, ISUM 173, 20 December 1944.

that our offensive in the west was not launched for the purpose of gaining territory. The main purpose was to eliminate the direct threat by the great masses of American armoured units to the Ruhr District, the Saar District, and the Palatinate, and thus force the enemy to regroup his units along the entire front.¹⁶

As German morale – so high in December 1944 – began to plummet in January 1945, the incidence of desertion – despite the harshest penalties – began to rise. The documents in Chapter 11 reveal the Wehrmacht's methods of trying to eradicate desertion, which by this time had become a serious problem. The diary of *Feldwebel* Karl Laun (Document 3/2) reveals that many German soldiers absented themselves from their units and were roaming the rear areas, waiting for either a chance to surrender or for the end of the war, and Laun was one of them. After a nearly month-long unauthorized absence from his unit, he returned to it for a few weeks but then departed on spurious medical grounds to disappear into the straggler's underworld until he could surrender to American forces in the first week of March.

No man is a hero to his wife and it would appear that the same holds true for field marshals. Chapter 12 contains two mildly humorous documents (mildly humorous because there really was not much to laugh about) including a telephone conversation (Document 12/1) during which Mrs. Model tells her husband, *Feldmarschall* Walter Model, to 'Stop playing soldier and come home', much the amusement of the German signals personnel listening in to the exchange.

Chapter 13 contains miscellaneous documents that do not fit easily into any other category but which are of themselves very interesting. We see a German officer (Document 13/2) trying to use the 'old boy' network to get promotion for a friend and another officer asking (13/3) the civilian police to vet the social and political reliability of a young women engaged to one of his subordinates. Document 13/1 (and 5/20) contain chilling descriptions of the murder of civilians carried out by men of the 1st SS Panzer Division in the Stavelot area. In this last chapter we also meet (13/5) another arrogant paratroop general, *Generalmajor* Richard Schimpf, who boasts to his captors that 'Everybody in the American Army knows me'.

When the Ardennes offensive had ended and four German armies had been pushed back almost to their start lines, *Feldmarschall* von Rundstedt issued an Order of the Day. He praised his men for having 'beaten the enemy

^{16.} Document 10/4, ISUM 217, 2 February 1945.

in the great battles of the fall and the winter,' but warned them that Allies were now 'on the march for a general attack on the Rhine and the Ruhr' to 'try with all the means in his power to break into the Reich in the west'. The next volume of *Blood and Steel: The Wehrmacht Archive* will document the German army's desperate attempts to prevent that happening.

Donald E. Graves 'Maple Cottage', Valley of the Mississippi, Upper Canada

^{17.} Document 1/4, ISUM 237, 22 February 1945.

A Note to the Reader

The First Canadian Army Daily Intelligence Summaries, from which most of the documents below were taken, were the product of many different hands working under extreme pressure (and perhaps the occasional artillery round or aerial bomb). The result is that there was little consistency in format and terminology from one summary to the next. Some translators and typists retained the original German document format; others simply transcribed everything as they thought best. Even the translations of words or titles can vary from document and, thus, the 12th Waffen SS Panzer Division can be referred to as the *Hitlerjugend*, *Hitler Jugend* or Hitler Youth Division.

This lack of consistency made the task of editing the following manuscript not only laborious but also very difficult. There was also the consideration that the imposition of a strict but artificial consistency on the documents would have, in some cases, adversely affected their period 'flavour'. Therefore, editorial work was kept as minimal as possible. Obvious mistakes in times, names and dates were silently corrected. The titles and identifications of formations and units were anglicized in the document titles and preliminary comments but left as they appeared in the text of the original document. German words and phrases that appear in the text were italicized except for such words as Luftwaffe, Panzer and Wehrmacht that have become so common in English that they are near part of the language. I should mention that Wehrmacht is used below – as, indeed, it often was during the war – to indicate German land forces although it actually encompassed all three German services.

Editorial or prefatory comments by wartime intelligence officers have been put in italics as have comments by the present editor – the latter being titled 'Editor's Comments'. Wartime editorial intrusions are enclosed within round brackets () while those of the present editor have been placed within square brackets [].

One final point is that the Wehrmacht identified corps by Roman numerals, divisions and regiments by Arabic numerals, battalions by Roman numerals and companies by Arabic numerals. Thus, the 5th Company of the II Battalion of the 979th Infantry Regiment of the 271st Infantry Division was part of the LVIII Panzer Corps.

D. E. G.

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D. E. G.

German Ranks and their Equivalents

German Army	Waffen SS	British/American
Generalfeldmarschall		Field Marshal/
•		General of the Army
Generaloberst	Oberstgruppenführer	General
General der Infanterie*	Obergruppenführer	Lieutenant-General
Generalleutnant	Gruppenführer	Major-General
Generalmajor	Brigadeführer	Brigadier/
		Brigadier-General
Oberst	Oberführer	Colonel
	Standartenführer	Colonel
Oberstleutnant	Obersturmbannführer	Lieutenant-Colonel
Major	Sturmbannführer	Major
Hauptmann	Hauptsturmführer	Captain
Oberleutnant	Obersturmführer	First Lieutenant
Leutnant	Untersturmführer	Second Lieutenant
Stabsfeldwebel	Sturmscharführer	Sergeant-Major
		Master Sergeant
Oberfeldwebel	Hauptscharführer	Technical Sergeant
Feldwebel	Oberscharführer	Staff Sergeant/
Unterfeldwebel	Unterscharführer	Sergeant
Unteroffizier	Rottenführer	Corporal
Stabsgefreiter	Sturmmann	Lance-Corporal/PFC
Obergefreiter	Sturmmann	Lance-Corporal/PFC
Gefreiter	Sturmmann	Lance-Corporal/PFC
Obersoldat/Obergrenadier	SS-Oberschütze	Private
Soldat/Grenadier	SS-Schütze	Private

^{*} Or der Artillerie, der Panzertruppen etc.

Source: War Department, Handbook on German Military Forces (Washington, 1945).

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms Used in Text and Notes

AA anti-aircraft

ADMS Assistant Director, Medical Services

AP armour-piercing

APCBC armour-piercing, capped ballistic cap (shell) AV (Tech) Armoured Fighting Vehicles (Technical)

BDM Bund Deutscher Mädel (League of German Maidens)

C of S Chief of Staff

CG Commanding General
CGS Chief of the General Staff
CO Commanding Officer

COS See C of S
Coy Company
CP Command Post

CRA Commander Royal Artillery

DAAG Deputy Assistant Adjutant General

DAF Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Workers' Front)

DAQMG Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General

DF (SOS) Defensive Fire (SOS)
DSD Director, Staff Duties

DTD Directorate of Technical Development

FAO Forward Artillery Observer (US)

FEB Feld Ersatz Bataillon (Field Replacement Battalion)

FDL Forward Defence Line

flak anti-aircraft

FOO Forward Observation Officer (UK)

FPN Feldpostnummer (Field Post Number)

GAF German Air Force, *Luftwaffe*GHQ General Head Quarters

GS 1 (A) General Staff Officer 1 (Armour)

G.v.H. *Garnisonsverwendungsfähig Heimat* (a soldier only physically

capable of garrison duty)

HE high explosive HF harassing fire

HJ Hitlerjugend (Hitler Youth) HKL Hauptkampflinie (see MLR, q.v.)

i/c in charge or in command, depending on context

Int Intelligence

ISUM First Canadian Army Intelligence Summary

KIA Killed in action

MDS Main Dressing Station

MG Machine-gun

MLR Main Line of Resistance

MT Motor Transport

NAAFI Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes

NSF Nationalsozialistischer Führungsstab des Heeres (National

Socialist Leadership Staff of the Army)

NSFO Nationalsozialistischer Führungsoffizier (Nazi Indoctrination

Officer)

NSKK Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrkorps (Nazi Motoring

Organization)

OB West Oberbefehlshaber West (Commander-in-Chief West)

OC Officer Commanding

OKH Oberkommando des Heeres (army high command)
OKL Oberkommando der Luftwaffe (air force high command)

OKW Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (armed forces high command)

OP observation post

ORs Other Ranks (i.e. NCOs and enlisted men)

pdr. pounder

pdv Probability Directional Value

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS USED IN TEXT AND NOTES

PIAT Projector, Infantry, Anti-Tank POL Petrol, Oil and Lubricants

PW Prisoner of War, both singular and plural

Q. Quartermaster

RAD Reichsarbeitsdienst (State Labour Service)

RdF Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft (German Radio Broadcasting

Service)

REME Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers

RM Reichsmark RP rocket projectile

RSO Raupenschlepper Ost (a tracked truck)

R/T Radio/Telephone

SA Sturmabteilung

SD Sicherheitsdienst (Nazi Party Security and Intelligence Agency)

SFH Selbsfahrlett-Feld-Haubitze (self-propelled gun)
SHAEF Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force

SMG submachine-gun SP self-propelled SS Schutzstaffel

VD Venereal Disease

WIA Wounded in action

WO Warrant Officer or War Office, in context

WT Wireless Telegraphy

z.b.V. zur besonderen Verwendung (for special purpose or special

employment)