THE OSTMEDAILLE: COMMEMORATION AND MEMORY OF GERMANY'S EASTERN FRONT

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The tradition of state or national governments bestowing medals or awards upon their soldiers as symbols of sacrifice, honor, and courage has existed for centuries. Medals and awards demonstrate that a soldier has gone above and beyond, that he is what his country considers an honorable, distinguished serviceman. Awards and medals, however, point as much to the country and government awarding them as they do to the quality of that country’s soldiers. Much like coins, medals contain images of national identity and propaganda.\(^1\) The awards a government presents to its soldiers speaks to how the government wants a war or its soldiers’ service to be remembered. The National Socialist government of Nazi Germany was no different; their medals and awards were a form of propaganda, memorializing different battles and fronts in whichever way the Nazi high command desired. The Ostmedaille exemplifies this point. The Ostmedaille, or German Eastern Front medal, serves as a symbol of how the German government wanted people to remember the Second World War on the Russian Front. The design and creation of the medal, as well as German sentiments surrounding the medal, demonstrate both the Nazi and the contemporary German memory of the Eastern Front.

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\(^1\) There is a long scholarly tradition of coins as a form of propaganda. This is particularly true for ancient coinage, such as Roman coins. Coins were an effective way to spread information to the masses, especially before the advent of radio or newsprint. Michael Grant, a member of the Royal Numismatic Society writes extensively on Roman coins as forms of propaganda, reflecting imperial policy and rulers. Coins were forms of identifying periods of war, peace, and worship, and reflect what was important for a culture in a specific time. See the review of *Roman History from Coins* in *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, by R.A.G Carson, 1959, 235-237. Similarly, John Louis DiGaetani discusses how monarchs in European and early British history used coinage as propaganda tools. See Wendy Reiboldt’s review of *Money: Lure, Lore and Literature* in the *Journal of Consumer Affairs*, Vol 30, 1996, 255-257. Alla Kushnir-Stein asserts that Seleucid rulers minted their own coinage as a means of asserting and proclaiming their status. See “Was Late Hellenistic Silver Coinage Minted for Propaganda Purposes?” in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol 161, 2001, 41-52. There is also research on Renaissance medals as propaganda, as much as there is not research on more contemporary medals and awards. Mark Jones, for example, writes on Renaissance medals and their use in early propaganda, especially to glorify the person who commissioned the medal. He also discusses how medals were used as a way to express anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish sentiments, and declares that it was not until the seventeenth century that medals were exploited fully as a method of propaganda. See “The medal as an instrument of propaganda in late 17th and early 18th century Europe: PART 1 ” in *The Numismatic Chronicle* Vol 142, 1982, 117-126.
There has not been much scholarly research done on the creation of the *Ostmedaille*. There is, however, plentiful research into Nazi aesthetic and Nazi art, which is a large part of the conversation surrounding how the *Ostmedaille* factors into German memory of the Eastern Front. Justin Hayes writes about the most common Nazi symbols: the swastika, eagle, and the oak wreath surrounding the eagle, discussing the ideas behind the symbols and how they play into the Nazi aesthetic. He specifically touches on the comparison of the swastika as crossed lightning bolts, symbolizing power, victory, and death.3 Frederick Lauritzen, a collector of Third Reich stamps, makes a strong connection between Nazi aesthetic and memory. The stamps issued under the National Socialist government usually depicted German soldiers or important battle scenes, with “innumerable commemorations of the Nazi war machine and its conquests.”4 These stamps were also used as propaganda tools much in the way that medals such as the *Ostmedaille* came to be, “depicting only the triumphs of national socialism and the Hitler regime.”5 Michael Geyer and Michael Latham focus on the identity of Germany in the emergence of the 20th century and how that identity changed as a result of the war. One of their major focal points is the cult of death that existed in National Socialism, a philosophy centered around commemorating death and making heroes out of the soldiers who perished fighting for their country.6 Additionally, they delve into a brief discussion of how attitudes towards Nazi

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2 One cannot reference Nazi aesthetic without discussing George Mosse, the notable German-Jewish historian who devoted much scholarship to understanding Nazi art and aesthetic. Mosse realized that fascism built on ordinary peoples’ preferences and attempted to direct those preferences towards the aims of the fascist state. He studied the ways in which fascist and nationalistic movements would manipulate culture, and understood that myths legitimizing war, death, and the shaping of historical memory were created out of popular culture and public history, often expressed visually. See Matthew Quests editorial “George L. Mosse: Unconventional Historian” from May 1st 2015 on newhistorian.com.


5 Ibid, 63.

aesthetic changed after the war. Christina Morina, author of *Legacies of Stalingrad: Remembering the Eastern Front in Germany Since 1945* also discusses changing memory in Germany after the war. Her research explores how German memory of the front changed as a result of the partition of Germany after the war. Germans in East Germany are more likely to remember the Eastern Front in the way Russians do, a result of the re-education camps set up by the USSR. In West Germany, however, the Eastern Front is remembered as an honorable battle, and Stalin and the Russians are blamed for the travesties that occurred during the war. While the *Ostmedaille* itself has not been extensively researched, exploring the historiography of the other facets of German memory of the Eastern Front and Nazi aesthetic provides a more complete analysis of how the *Ostmedaille* represents German memory of the Eastern Front.

The Eastern Front medal was introduced on May 26th, 1942, and all considerations for presentation ceased on September 4th, 1944. The *Ostmedaille* was designed by Ernst Krause, a German SS officer. He served in the Polish, French, and Greek campaigns as a war correspondent and painter, and eventually produced paintings for SS installations. One of his paintings was gifted to Adolf Hitler by the 1st SS-Panzer Division *Leibstandarte*, the Führer’s personal bodyguard. The painting, titled “Knight’s Cross Holders of the Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler” (*Die Ritterkreuzträger der Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler*) depicts a group of German soldiers in uniform, each wearing the Knight’s Cross. The soldiers appear to be from different

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8 Ibid, 804.
11 See attached image #1
military branches and hold differing ranks, as some soldiers wear different rank badges than others. The soldiers in the painting embody the traditional Nazi aesthetic: strong, heroic looking young men with weapons at the ready, gazing toward the future of the Third Reich. In the right corner, tucked in the back, is the Nazi flag, waving as if to urge the soldiers forward. Hitler was so pleased with the painting that he bestowed upon Krause the honor of designing the *Ostmedaille*. In the *Ostmedaille*, as in the painting, Nazi symbolic ideology came to life, characterized by a rigid standard of symbols and icons of power.\(^\text{12}\)

The *Ostmedaille* is rounded zinc attached to a ribbon at the top.\(^\text{13}\) The ribbon is red with a white stripe down the center. The white stripe is divided in half by a black stripe. On the top of the medal, where the ribbon is attached, is a German helmet. Under the helmet is a German stick grenade, with the head of the grenade facing to the left. The stick grenade shaft makes up the top portion of the circle.\(^\text{14}\) The front side of the medal features the *Parteiadler*, or Nazi Eagle. In its talons, it clutches a large swastika. Behind the swastika, there is a branch or laurel. On the reverse of the medal are the words WINTERSCHLACHT IM OSTEN and the years 1941/42. Translated, this means “winter battle in the east.” Under the year, there is a sword crossed in an X with another laurel branch.

The first symbolic item on the *Ostmedaille* was the ribbon. The colors of the ribbon designate three things. The red of the ribbon stood for blood and bloodshed, a remembrance of the loss of life on the Eastern Front. The white in the middle signified snow and cold, the real


\(^\text{13}\) See attached images #2 & #3

\(^\text{14}\) It is interesting to note that all of Krause’s paintings feature the stick grenade in some way, whether in the hands of soldiers, in their belts, or elsewhere in the frame. For example, in the painting presented to Hitler, all of the soldiers on the left of the frame have grenades hanging from their belts, as do at least two of the officers or airmen in the middle of the frame.
enemy that the Germans faced on this front. Lastly, the small black stripe dividing the white was a symbol of mourning, focused on the death toll of the front and remembrance of fellow soldiers who perished.\textsuperscript{15} Red, black, and white were also the colors on the Nazi flag and previous German flags. In his memoir, Hitler detailed his reasons for choosing red, white, and black for the National Socialist flag. He wrote, “Not only that the unique colors, which all of us so passionately love and which once won so much honor for the German people, attest our veneration for the past; they were also the best embodiment of the movement’s will.”\textsuperscript{16} The Nazi flag’s colors were the same as previous German flags because the National Socialists wanted to remember their history. Hitler also wrote, “In \textit{red} we see the social idea of the movement, in \textit{white} the nationalistic idea, in the \textit{swastika} (black) the mission of the struggle for the victory of the Aryan man.”\textsuperscript{17} These colors play into the colors on the ribbon because the Nazis wanted the medal to depict what had become the traditional Nazi aesthetic, to reflect traditional German identity and history, and to commemorate how their countrymen fought and died.

Symbols at the top of the \textit{Ostmedaille}, a \textit{Stahlhelm} and stick grenade, commemorated how German soldiers on the Eastern Front battled and perished. These icons are distinctly German, and date back to the First World War. The stick grenade, also called the \textit{Stielhandgranate} or M24 grenade was first used in 1915.\textsuperscript{18} Its use continued through the Second World War, with a specific model, the \textit{Stielhandgranate 24K}, or \textit{Kalt} (cold) being used specifically in the Eastern theatre of war.\textsuperscript{19} This new model was created after it was discovered

\textsuperscript{15} Bianchi, “Winter Battle in the East Medal: Winterschlact Im Osten 1941/42.”
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid, 497.
\textsuperscript{18} Bishop, Chris. \textit{The Encyclopedia of Weapons of World War II}. New York: MetroBooks, 2002. It was also known as a Potato Masher to many British and US forces because of its distinct shape.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid
that the regular Model 24s had a penchant for failing in the cold, afflicting the German’s attempts to reach farther into Russia. This grenade was a staple of German warfare, a constant on all battlefields, and thus, a specifically German symbol of warfare. The same was true about the German helmet, with its distinctive side shape and color. The Stahlhelm, as it was called, was notable for its coal scuttle shape, making it instantly recognizable as a German helmet. It was also commonly used in both German and Allied propaganda to distinguish German soldiers from enemy soldiers. Its use in propaganda, especially in the Ostmedaille, was calculated; an important German medal would have symbols of German soldiers easily identifiable. The helmet and stick grenade on the Ostmedaille are symbolic of both the Eastern Front and German soldiers in general, and both contribute to German memory of the war and of the Eastern Front.

In addition to the helmet and stick grenade, Ernst Krause also used another common Nazi symbol on the medal, that of the Nazi Eagle. This was a variation of the (Reichsadler) Eagle of the Realm. The eagle was a symbol that was used to represent Germany since medieval times, an addition that was appropriated from the Romans. The eagle above the swastika, the symbol shown on this medal, was the official symbol of the Nazi Party. The eagle as an animal is a symbol of many things, including victory and power. The eagle looks over its shoulder to the left, often a sign of things sinister.20 This could suggest a desire for war over peace considering the goals of the Nazi Party. In antiquity, the eagle symbolized authority and identity, as well as military might.21 In the case of the Ostmedaille, the medal was a symbol of national identity, a German medal to remember the war against the great enemy, the Russians. The swastika, aside from being arguably the most distinct symbol of the Nazi party, is also symbolic of many things

20 Hayes, 27.
21 Ibid, 27.
beyond its Nazi tradition. It has often been associated with luck and fertility, as well as the
sun. This aligns with Hitler’s desire for a rebirth of national life, a revival of the German state.
However, in a different context, it is a symbol of lightning, of power, and ultimately of death.
The swastika has often been associated with crossed lightning bolts, the sky god’s weapon, and
as such two crossed lightning bolts can be interpreted as forming the swastika. On the
Ostmedaille, the swastika clutched in the eagle’s talons is superimposed over a laurel branch or
wreath. The branch is also on the reverse of the medal under the date. In many of its depictions
in Nazi Germany, the Nazi eagle was surrounded by an oak wreath. It seems as if the laurel
under the eagle is of oak, and Krause took an artistic liberty with the medal; instead of having the
wreath around the entirety of the eagle, it is just behind the swastika. The oak wreath or branch
is representative of strength and glory, as well as honor. Oak itself is also symbolic of durability
and immortality.

Ernst Krause intended that his design would be focus on the glory of fighting on the
Eastern Front, and the honor that was associated with battling the enemies of the Third Reich.
Even though the Germans were ultimately unsuccessful on the Eastern Front, they saw
themselves as remaining durable and living to fight another day. Nazi press coverage during the
Battle of Stalingrad referred to the heroism of German soldiers, as a passage from Volks-Zeitung
in Vienna dated January 1943 demonstrates: “The heroism of our soldiers in Stalingrad is to be
honored. Depending solely on their own resources and under the harshest conditions of need and
privation, they do their duty with iron determination and sacrificial military readiness. Their

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22 Ibid, 25.
23 Ibid, 26. It is of note, also, that two lightning bolts or sig runes, when placed adjacent to each other, form the
insignia of the SS, the NSDAP’s elite guard.
24 Ibid, 27.
heroism is the highest and noblest expression of the German military tradition.”

Germans believed their soldiers involved in the conflict on the Eastern Front fought an honorable fight, struggling for glory against the greatest enemy of the Germans.

The last major symbol on the medal is a sword, on the reverse of the medal. It is crossed under an oak laurel, forming an X at the bottom. The sword, while appearing fairly generic, may in fact be a Luftwaffe officer’s sword. If this is the case, it would symbolize honor, as well as a reference to a battle on the Eastern Front when the Luftwaffe bombed a fort that was besieged by the Germans, so that the Germans could make their way deeper into Soviet territory. This battle, the Battle of Sevastopol, was a crucial part of the war on the Eastern Front. The sword could also be a reference to the German soldiers being the weapon of the Third Reich, a sharp blade to cleave the enemy apart. The symbols that Ernst Krause chose for the Ostmedaille speak to the nature of what had become the Nazi aesthetic and how they wanted the Eastern Front to be remembered: a battle of honor and glory, with the sacrifices of Germany’s sons at the forefront of peoples’ minds.

While it may not be readily apparent, the production of the Ostmedaille also factors into the memory of the Eastern Front in Germany. The medal was commonly created from one of two materials, zinc or bunt metal. This was due to the lack of availability of more precious metals, such as bronze, as they were being used in the war effort. The medals comprised of bunt metal are often better preserved because they are more sturdy, and the zinc medals have a tendency for the finish to come off more easily. The Ostmedaille is one of the most common

25 “The Greatest Epic of Heroism of This War: The Battles around Stalingrad are an Obligation for the Homeland” (Vienna, Volks-Zeitung), 24 January 1943 http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/stalingrad1.htm
27 Bianchi, “Winter Battle in the East Medal: Winterschlact Im Osten 1941/42”
28 Ibid.
medals awarded by the German government during the Second World War. More than three million were awarded, with even more manufactured; their number reflects the total war effort, while their substance the need to sacrifice material for the war effort. The Ostmedaille was awarded to Germans, as well as to any foreigners fighting or working under German command on the Eastern Front. In order to produce this massive number of medals, over 127 production companies were responsible for making them. The large number of medals made speaks to how important this medal was. The German high command wanted this front, as well as the soldiers who fought and died on it, to be remembered and memorialized. They used the Ostmedaille as a form of propaganda, honoring the Germans and their allies who perished on the Eastern Front, as well as building up the imaginary German image of the heroic fight against the evil Soviets. Nazi propaganda posters published weekly in 1941 specifically referenced the struggle against the Soviets, with slogans such as “Our old foe may seek to attack us, to rise once more. He may bear the Soviet star—but we will once again triumph behind our symbol,” and “if our old enemy and foe should once again attempt to attack us, our banners will fly high and they will learn what we are made of.”

The creation of the Ostmedaille was only one way of showing the memory of the Eastern Front from the German perspective. German thoughts and sentiments surrounding the medal factor heavily into the memory of the Eastern Front through German eyes. The presentation of

29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Reichspropagandaleitung, “We want to plant our feet firmly in our soil and never be defeated by any attack. You will stand by me, should that hour ever come. You will stand by my side, and behind me, and hold our flags high! Our old foe may seek to attack us, to rise once more. He may bear the Soviet star — but we will once again triumph behind our symbol.” (6-12 July 1941.) Calvin College German Propaganda Archive. 
32 Reichspropagandaleitung, “If our old enemy and foe should once again attempt to attack us, our banners will fly high and they will learn what we are made of.” (13-19 July 1941). Calvin College German Propaganda Archive. 
http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/wochenspruch-4.htm
the medal to the German soldiers spoke volumes to how the National Socialist leadership wanted the Eastern Front remembered. The Foundation Regulation (Stiftungsverordnung) of the medal stated that the Ostmedaille was created, “In appreciation of the heroic insert against the Bolshevik enemy during the winter of 1941-42.” The Eastern Front medal, then, was created to show appreciation for the soldiers who heroically fought against the Soviets in the Second World War. The award was specific in its wording, referencing the fight against the Russians rather than any of the other enemies of the Reich on the Eastern Front, such as the Poles and the Yugoslavs. This fit with Nazi propaganda from the beginning of the campaign against Russia, specifically a poster captioned, “You bear the banners and standards, and are the guarantee that Europe will be liberated from Bolshevism.” Article Two of the document for the foundation of the medal also referenced the “fight against the Bolshevik enemy and the Russian winter.” Specifically naming the Russian winter as an enemy the German forces were fighting against played heavily into the remembrance of the Eastern Front in German memory. Thousands of soldiers suffered frostbite on the front, the severe cold wreaking havoc among the severely under-prepared German troops. The cold factored in to the awarding of the medal, with one of the criteria being frostbitten severely enough to receive a Wound Badge. These criteria lead to soldiers referring to the Ostmedaille as the “frozen meat medal” or the “Order of the Frozen Flesh.” Soldiers on the Eastern Front were not prepared for winter, as they were all still in fall or summer gear. Hitler had not properly provided for his troops, partly because he

34 Reichspropagandaleitung, “You bear the banners and standards, and are the guarantee that Europe will be liberated from Bolshevism.” (27 July-2 August 1941. Calvin College German Propaganda Archive. http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/images/ws/ws31-41.jpg
36 Ibid
underestimated the length of the war on the Eastern Front and partly due to a lack of resources, and his troops greatly suffered through the Russian winter. His soldiers became human popsicles, some freezing to death in their sleep and many others losing eyelids, fingers, toes, and genitalia.

The German people saw the Eastern Front as a battle against Bolshevism and the Soviet enemy, and a way to save the Russian people from an evil oppressor. In the early days of Operation Barbarossa, Hitler dehumanized the Russian enemy, reportedly saying, “They are brutes, and neither Bolshevism nor Czarism makes any difference- they are brutes in a state of nature.” German soldiers on the front wrote home about the horrors that the farmers and common people in Russian territory faced, from being paid less than a third of a Reichsmark each day to facing almost certain starvation. One German soldier, a Lieutenant Otto Deissenroth, wrote to a local group leader in August 1941 that “Hell can be no worse than this ‘Soviet Paradise.’” According to the soldier’s report, the people living under Soviet rule were dirty, depressed, and suffering. The people were reduced to no more than animals, barely alive and finding solace only in death.

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40 There was one account of a German sentry who was found dead one morning after a particularly cold night. Because of the steel helmet on his head, coupled with the extreme temperatures, his cranial fluid had frozen in his head. As there were no other mentions of this in any other sources on the Eastern Front, it is hard to ascertain if this was just a soldier’s tale or something that actually occurred.
41 Toland, 683.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
order. It is a battle against slavery, against Bolshevist insanity. I am proud, deeply proud, that I may fight against this Bolshevist monster, fighting once again the enemy I fought to destroy during the hard years of struggle in Germany.”\(^{45}\) In this soldier’s mind, the most important reason to fight the Russians on the Eastern Front was to best the Bolshevik enemy and free the enslaved farmers from the beast that was the Soviet government. Letters and statements from soldiers on the front that talked about the Bolshevik enemy reflected the Fuhrer’s sentiments of the war on the Eastern Front. Hitler, in a speech to the German people on October 2\(^{nd}\), 1941, proclaimed that the war in the East was “one of ideologies…all the best elements in Germany must now be welded into one indissoluble community.”\(^{46}\) Many other letters from soldiers on this front echoed the same sentiment. The German soldiers were fighting to bring prosperity and freedom back to Russian-occupied territory.

Additionally, many German accounts from the Eastern Front talked about the atrocities committed by the Bolsheviks on defenseless opponents. A letter from a soldier to his parents in August 1941 detailed some of the atrocities. He wrote, “They had nailed children alive by their hands and feet to the wall, butchering them…They doused the piles of bodies with gasoline and set them on fire.”\(^{47}\) The soldier ends his letter by telling his parents that he didn’t think even years of preparation would have made Germans able to commit such awful crimes. Another soldier, a non-commissioned officer, wrote to his colleagues back in Germany about the “300 orphans between the ages of 2 and 17” who had been nailed to a wall, butchered, and, after they were dead, thrown in a pit and set alight.\(^ {48}\) The NCO ends this letter similarly to how the other

\(^{45}\) Ibid.
\(^{46}\) Toland, 685.
\(^{47}\) Diewerge.
\(^{48}\) Ibid.
soldiers ended their letters, swearing to, “extirpate this plague root and branch.” The atrocities committed by soldiers in the name of the Soviet government incensed the German soldiers. According to German memory, the war on the Eastern Front was an honorable fight because the Germans were freeing the Russian citizens from a terrible existence: a life full of despair, torture, immense suffering, and needless slaughter.

The sheer number of soldiers on the Eastern Front, coupled with the instances of frostbite and time served on the front, caused the Ostmedaille to become one of the most awarded medals of the Second World War. It was given to both German soldiers and foreign soldiers fighting under German command, as well as to civilians aiding the German forces. Even though it was a very common medal, the Ostmedaille held a certain prestige in the eyes of soldiers. One soldier talking about his service on the front wrote in a letter to a local party leader, “I am proud of my new wounds, and of the medal that I now wear.” When worn by active duty personnel, the ribbon of the Ostmedaille was worn from the second buttonhole in the tunic, a place normally reserved for the Iron Cross or the War Merit Cross 2nd Class, two medals more prestigious than the Ostmedaille. In some cases, the Ostmedaille would even outrank the War Merit Cross 2nd Class. The fact that the Ostmedaille was held in such a high regard exemplified how the Germans remembered the front. The medal spoke to the horrors of the front, particularly the frostbite and bloodshed, and served to honor and distinguish the troops that served and survived on the front from those who had faced lesser hardships. The Ostmedaille was also awarded

49 Ibid.
52 Bianchi, “Winter Battle in the East Medal: Winterschlact Im Osten 1941/42.”
posthumously and given to the families whose loved ones perished on the front, if those soldiers had met the criteria for receiving the award.\(^{53}\)

In German memory, the Eastern Front was a bloody front against the real enemy. It was a place where soldiers were no more than frozen meat, where frostbite would kill a soldier as easily as a bullet. The German high command, when designing the Ostmedaille, wanted a memorial to the heroic Germans who fought and died on the front. They wanted to memorialize the cold and the bloodshed, but they also wanted show that Germans were still invincible and stronger than the harsh Russian winter. The ribbon of the Ostmedaille is symbolic of the history of Germany, a reminder of the harsh conditions on the Eastern Front, and a memorialization of the soldiers who gave their lives on the front. The helmet and stick grenade were very German images, a representation of the average German soldier that was easily recognized by all. The eagle holding the swastika and the swastika itself are representations of German strength and power, a way to show the soldiers that Germany is invincible and will not be defeated. The Ostmedaille was a distinctly German medal, a form of propaganda created by the Nazi high command embodying the Nazi aesthetic and memorializing the extreme conditions faced by the soldiers who struggled against the Russian enemy and perished on the Eastern Front.

\(^{53}\) Ibid.
“Knight’s Cross Holders of the Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler”
Image Courtesy of Galleria d’Arte Thule
Front of Ostmedaille
Image courtesy of Ryan Smolko Personal Collection
Image #3

Reverse of Ostmedaille
Image courtesy of Ryan Smolko Personal Collection
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Reichspropagandaleitung, “We want to plant our feet firmly in our soil and never be defeated by any attack. You will stand by me, should that hour ever come. You will stand by my side, and behind me, and hold our flags high! Our old foe may seek to attack us, to rise once more. He may bear the Soviet star — but we will once again triumph behind our symbol.” (6-12 July 1941.) Calvin College German Propaganda Archive. Translated version at http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/wochenspruch-4.htm


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