

<https://doi.org/10.31861/mediaforum.2024.14.309-326>

УДК: 94(430):316.658.4]»1914/1918»

© Tobias Arand<sup>1</sup>

## THE POWER OF PROPAGANDA. GERMAN SELF- AND ENEMY PORTRAYAL DURING THE WORLD WAR I

*Wars are always events in which lies, manipulation and propaganda play a major role. The propagation of clear images of the self and the enemy is always important in war propaganda.*

*Russia's war of extermination against Ukraine shows the perfidious methods that can be used to spread lies, hatred and contempt in the digital age. This type of public manipulation began in Europe in the 19th century, when two phenomena came together with the mass distribution of the daily press and the successful literacy of large sections of the population, creating the basis for successful propaganda. In the war of 1870/71, the 3rd French Republic anticipated developments of the 20th century with its anti-German hate propaganda. This essay examines German self-images and images of the enemy during the First World War. Differences, similarities and developments are shown with regard to the depiction of the enemies 'Great Britain', 'France' and 'Russia'. Particularly with regard to the depiction of the enemy 'Russia', it can be shown that German propaganda anticipates racist motifs of the Second World War.*

**Key words:** First World War, propaganda, Wilhelm II, enemy image, Kremlin propaganda.

## Сила пропаганди. Німецьке зображення себе та ворога під час Першої світової війни

*Війни – це завжди події, в яких головну роль відіграють брехня, маніпуляції та пропаганда. Пропаганда чітких образів себе і ворога завжди важлива у військовій пропаганді.*

*Винищувальна війна Росії проти України демонструє віроломні методи, які можна використовувати для поширення брехні,*

---

<sup>1</sup>Професор, доктор історичного факультету Університету освіти м. Людвігсбург (ФРН). E-mail: arand@ph-ludwigsburg.de

ненависті та презирства в епоху цифрових технологій. Цей тип маніпулювання громадськістю почався в Європі в 19 столітті, коли два явища об'єдналися з масовим розповсюдженням щоденної преси та успішним навчанням грамотності широких верств населення, створивши основу для успішної пропаганди. У війні 1870/71 рр. Третя Французька Республіка передбачила події 20-го століття своєю антинімецькою пропагандою ненависті. У цьому есе розглядаються німецькі образи себе та образи ворога під час Першої світової війни. Показано відмінності, схожість і розвиток у зображенні ворогів «Велика Британія», «Франція» та «Росія». Зокрема, стосовно зображення ворога «Росії», можна показати, що німецька пропаганда передбачає расистські мотиви Другої світової війни.

**Ключові слова:** Перша світова війна, пропаганда, Вільгельм II, образ ворога, кремлівська пропаганда.

310 *The purpose of the article* is to illustrate and to analyze the images used by German propaganda during the First World War period.

— **Material's presentation.** In 1895 the German emperor Wilhelm II visited his 'colleague' and cousin Nikolaus II, the Russian tsar. He brought with him an unusual present for Nikolaus. According to a design of the emperor, the painter Hermann Knackfuß had created a lithograph called 'Völker Europas, wahrt eure heiligsten Güter' (nations of Europe, preserve your holiest goods) (**Illustration 1**) The picture shows a shadowy Buddha surrounded by a bright corona which can be seen on dark thunderheads over a burning landscape. In the middle of the picture, on a high ledge, there is Archangel Michael, the German patron who is always shown with a sword. He turns his back to the approaching danger and points with his hand to the scenes at the image border. In his right hand he holds a sword consisting of flames. In the valley between the ledge and the oncoming threat from the right, which means from the East, there is a lovely river landscape with fields and Gothic or Romance cathedrals. Michael turns towards a group of women who can be identified with the help of the used attributes. They are personifications of the most important European nations. A Christian cross within an aureole floats over the group. This reminds us of the experience of Emperor Konstantin in 312 before the battle at the Milvian Bridge against Maxentius. According to the beauty ideal of the time, the personifications are shown as attractive-fitted and well-fortified women. Due to a positive meant racism, the painter emphasised putative

ethnic or cultural identifying features extremely. Marianne, Germania, a Scythian looking, long-haired Slav (Russia), Austria, Italia and Britannia stand united to fight all real or only imagined dangers from Asia under the sign of the cross. The women touch each other in an amicable and protective way. The emphasis of cultural and ethnic differences in this picture is meant as affirmative as the stress on the religion as the uniting tie between them.

*Illustration 1*

**Hermann Knackfuß, 'Völker Europas, wahrt eure heiligsten Güter'.  
1895, Wikipedia, public domain**



311

---

*Illustration 2*

**Postcard, 'Jeder Stoß ein Franzos',  
1914, unused, undated, private property**



19 years later putative ethnic and cultural social differences are stressed again in personifications in the German Reich. But the difference is now that it's not done in an affirmative but in a denunciatory way. On a picture-postcard, which used to be the main medium to effectively distribute literal enemy 'pictures', you can see three tall figures running

away from the right to the left (that means from East to West) looking back with panic-fuelled faces. (*Illustration 2*) These characters flee without any weapons. Another figure can be seen lying in front of them face-down, while another also runs away with a distorted face. The cartoon-like figures can be understood as soldiers because of their uniforms. Their faces and the forms of their bodies should indicate assumed ethnical but also indirectly cultural-social characteristics. Here we can see the typical and immediately defined concept of the enemy to characterize the opponents of the war, namely France, Britain and Russia - including all ethnicities of Russia. The shown visualization was created as an easy and plain way of propaganda. To exclude all possibility of doubt about the interpretation of the picture-postcard a popular German saying during the war can be read which at once labels the three big figures: "Jeder Stoß ein Franzos" "Jeder Tritt ein Britt! Jeder Schuß ein Ruß!" (*Every hit a French! Every kick a British! Every shot a Russian!*)

312

—

According to the size of the characters, the three tallest figures symbolize the three main German enemies whereas Belgium and Japan appear as small and negligible. The main characters are equipped with negative personifications whose statements and origins I will explain in more detail.

But first we certainly don't need to emphasise that the topic of propaganda, in this case in the following image propaganda, is highly topical in times of a current fascist-imperialist Russian war of extermination against Ukraine and thus against the entire free world. It is always important to bear in mind how inhuman propaganda works and what its intentions are. Even before the age of the internet and social media, which have elevated the effectiveness of propaganda to the realms of the barely controllable, images and slogans played an important role in inciting people, disinforming them and gaining their consent for crimes. So it will be interesting to look at the German enemy propaganda of the First World War and learn by this way something about contemporary propaganda.

***Punishment – for what kind of reason? German war legitimization.***

The tenor of German enemy representations is generated with the questions of the aim and the right of making the war which was problematic right from the beginning. The discussions in the German public started because they didn't miss the fact that – unlike in France – there wasn't a logical eye-catching reason for the war and that the invasion in Belgium was, from an ethical point of view and according to international law, dubious. Designing an effective explanation strategy for the public appeared all the

more important to explain a for example ‘deserved punishment’ of the German “Kriegsschule” (*war school*) for the small assaulted Belgium, as it can be seen at a postcard with the words “Strafe muss sein” (*punishment must be*). (*Illustration 3*)

Illustration 3

**Postcard, ‘Strafe muss sein’, in: Musées de la ville de Straßbourg, 73**



Wilhelm II pointed out an important line of argument in his speech ‘Aufruf an das deutsche Volk’ (*appeal for the German nation*), held 6th August 1914:

“Seit der Reichsgründung ist es durch 43 Jahre Mein und Meiner Vorfahren heißes Bemühen gewesen, der Welt den Frieden zu erhalten und im Frieden unsere kraftvolle Entwicklung zu fördern. Aber die Gegner neiden uns den Erfolg unserer Arbeit. Alle offenkundige und heimliche Feindschaft von Ost und West, von jenseits der See haben wir bisher ertragen im Bewußtsein unserer Verantwortung und Kraft. Nun aber will man uns demütigen. Man verlangt, daß wir mit verschränkten Armen zusehen, wie unsere Feinde sich zu tückischem Überfall rüsten, man will nicht dulden, daß wir in entschlossener Treue zu unserem Bundesgenossen stehen, der um sein Ansehen als Großmacht kämpft und mit dessen Erniedrigung auch unsere Macht und Ehre verloren ist. So muß denn das Schwert entscheiden. Mitten im Frieden überfällt uns der Feind. Darum auf! Zu den Waffen! [...] Um Sein oder Nichtsein unseres Reiches handelt es sich, das unsere Väter neu sich gründeten. Um Sein oder Nichtsein deutscher Macht und deutschen Wesens. [...] Und wir werden diesen Kampf bestehen auch gegen eine Welt von Feinden. Noch nie ward Deutschland überwunden, wenn es einig war. Vorwärts mit Gott, der mit uns sein wird, wie er mit den Vätern war.“ (*Since the foundation of the Reich, 43 years ago, it has been my and my ancestors’ struggle to keep the*

*world in peace and to support our powerful development peacefully. But the enemies envy us the success of our work. We have stood the obvious and secret hostilities from East and West and from the other side of the Sea because of the consciousness of our responsibility and power. But now we should be humiliated. We are requested to stand there with folded arms and watch our enemy preparing for malicious attack, we are not permitted to stand to our confederate in determined loyalty. This confederate fights for his reputation as a great power and with its humiliation our power and honour would also be lost. That's why the sword has to bring the decision. In the middle of peace we are attacked by the enemy. Therefore let's go! To the weapons! It's all about the existence or downfall of the Reich, our fathers have founded again. It's all about the existence or downfall of German power and German nature. And we will persist this fight even against a world of enemies. Never has Germany been defeated if it was united. Forward with God who will be with us like he was with the fathers.) (Wilhelm II, 6.8.1914)*

314

— In this interpretation of the occasions which was published in all newspapers on 7th August 1914, several tendencies of German strategies for justification can be found. These tendencies also had consequences for the enemy representations:

- Germany is a country of peace whose success is (only) envied from the outside.
- It stands loyally to its ally who has to fight for its honour.
- It's not Germany who attacks, they are attacked.
- A united Germany can persist against a world of enemies.
- God is with Germany, the 'true Christian' nation.

Another document that added a different aspect into the discussion of war justification was published in September 1914. The so-called 'Aufruf an die Kulturwelt' (*appeal at the cultural world*) was released as a reaction of the justified external reproaches that the German army should have raged barbarously in Belgium and that they had destroyed cultural treasures as the library in Löwen. This striking piece of propaganda was signed by 93 German intellectuals, among them the writer Gerhard Hauptmann and some other exceedingly designated artists and scientists:

„Es ist nicht wahr, daß wir freventlich die Neutralität Belgiens verletzt haben. Nachweislich waren Frankreich und England zu ihrer Verletzung entschlossen. Nachweislich war Belgien damit einverstanden. Selbstvernichtung wäre es gewesen, ihnen nicht zuzukommen. [...] Es ist nicht wahr, daß unsere Kriegführung die Gesetze des Völkerrechts

mißachtet. Sie kennt keine zuchtlose Grausamkeit. Im Osten aber tränkt das Blut der von russischen Horden hingeschlachteten Frauen und Kinder die Erde, und im Westen zerreißen Dumdumgeschosse unseren Kriegern die Brust. Sich als Verteidiger europäischer Zivilisation zu gebärden, haben die am wenigsten das Recht, die sich mit Russen und Serben verbünden und der Welt das schmachvolle Schauspiel bieten, Mongolen und Neger auf die weiße Rasse zu hetzen. Es ist nicht wahr, daß der Kampf gegen unseren sogenannten Militarismus kein Kampf gegen unsere Kultur ist, wie unsere Feinde heuchlerisch vorgeben. Ohne den deutschen Militarismus wäre die deutsche Kultur längst vom Erdboden getilgt. Zu ihrem Schutz ist er aus ihr hervorgegangen in einem Lande, das jahrhundertlang von Raubzügen heimgesucht wurde wie kein zweites. [...]“ (*It's not true that we hurt the neutrality of Belgium wantonly. France and Britain were demonstrably determined to hurt it. Belgium demonstrably agreed (to this plan). It would have been self-destruction to not anticipate them. [...] It's not true that our warfare disregards international law. It doesn't know undisciplined cruelty. But in the East the blood of women and children slaughtered by Russian mobs soaks the soil; and in the West the breasts of our soldiers are teared by Dumdummissiles. Those who ally with Russians and Serbs and show the world a shameful spectacle when setting Mongols and Negroes on the white race, haven't got the right to behave as the defender of European civilization. It's not true that the fight against our so called militarism is not a fight against our culture, as our enemies pretend hypocritically. Without German militarism German culture would have already been eradicated from the earth. Militarism has arisen from this soil to protect the culture in a country that has suffered from raids for centuries like no other country did before. [...]*) (Fulda, 1914, 593-596)

315  
—

Due to war racial tendencies are mixed with a cultural chauvinism here. According to this logic Germany is not fighting a normal war, but a war for the superior culture of Beethoven, Goethe or Kant that was believed to be threatened by 'Mongols and Negroes'.

Making this propaganda pictorial, folklike and so how literally popular was the function of the picture-postcards and propaganda posters. There, words about the enemy became pictures of the enemy.

#### **German self-portrayal.**

When looking at some other examples for pictures one can see that perception of the other and especially of the enemy occurs only in demarcation of the own real or also only constructed purpose.

Illustration 4

Anton von Werner, 'Proklamation des deutschen Kaiserreichs im  
Spiegelsaal des Schlosses von Versailles,  
1885, (Friedrichsruher Fassung)', Wikipedia, public domain



316

Illustration 5

— Post card, Ferdinand Hodler, 'Auszug deutscher Studenten in den  
Freiheitskrieg', 1913, unused, undated, private property



A self-evident affirmative attitude towards the military is basic in German self-portrayal. First of all the German man is not a man but a soldier. The memory of the national German unity, achieved in the war and the victory against France in 1871, was permanently present in schools or on public holidays. This way an overemphasis of the military in every part of society was seen as normal. Every pupil knew Anton von Werner's monumental portrayal of the proclamation of the emperor on 18th January 1871 in Versailles. (*Illustration 4*) Here we can see nothing but powerful German men, mostly Prussians, some Bavarians united in victory – but



no civilians can be seen. The idea that a struggle against an enemy from the outside which overcomes German particular interests and German 'tribes' was something good because this could have a uniting effect and would maybe demolish all social barriers, can be found again and again in the German debates about wars of the past at that time. It's obvious that the debates about the past had an effect on self-perception during the war. In 1913 the swiss painter Ferdinand Hodler made a representation of the move-out into the war of liberation of students from Jena 1813 for the University of Jena which shows the young men as pulled out of their individual contexts because of the occasion and as united and anonymised within the black marching column. (*Illustration 5*) This painting must have also had an effect on the self-perception of the young men of 1914 and their perception of the enemy because Hodler's picture emphasises also the old tradition of a fight between France and Germany that nearly appeared natural. The unity and nation won on the battlefield is also the topic on the cover of countless German memory books about the war of 1870/71. A Prussian and a Bavarian shake hands on the battlefield of Wörth in Elsaß on 6th August 1870 to symbolize the eternal of Bismarck's claim that 'Blut und Eisen' ('blood and iron') are necessary basic requirements of German unity. However changes in German self-portrayal can be witnessed during the war. (*Illustration 6*)

317

*Illustration 6*

**Cover 'Illustrierte Geschichte des Krieges 1870/71'. 1895. Stuttgart:  
Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft**



At the beginning the unity with the ally Austria-Hungary is emphasised and it's pointed out that the German soldier is discharging his duty with a strong will in a forced war. But the soldiers remain also a little bit unsophisticated. The acquittal is often linked with a sentimental accent, as the soldier is also portrayed as a person with wife and family. (*Illustration 7*) In the course of the war the dutiful family father was supplemented by the 'iron' man who wasn't any longer armed with a 'Pickelhaube' (spiked helmet) but with a 'Stahlhelm' (steel helmet), portrayed with ice blue eyes, the dirty face of an industrial worker who defies the barbed wire and the machine guns of the war. (*Illustration 8*) The form and design of this 'machine person' of the Industrial Age already refers to the soldierly aesthetics of the National Socialism and the supposed Arians as 'supermen'.

*Illustration 7*

**Post card, 'Mitternacht', unused, undated, private property**

318



***Portraying the enemy.***

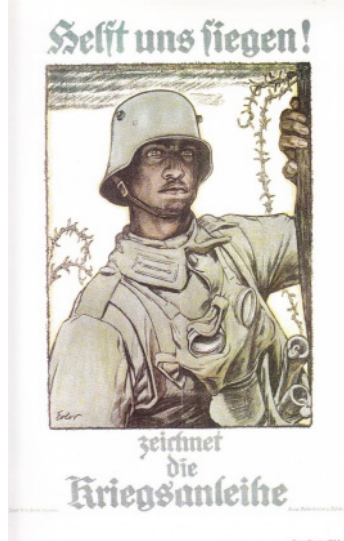
Every hit a French!

The German portrayal of the French finds its motives and tendencies in the German memory of the German-French war of 1870/71. A popular motive, also before the war, used to be the meeting between emperors Napoleon II and Bismarck on the Chausee near Donchery after the battle of Sedan in September 1870. (*Illustration 9*) The French emperor sits crouching and suppliantly in his coach, his generals following in loser pose. Bismarck on horseback, physically massive, looks down arrogantly

on the loser crouching in his/ the prime minister's shadow. Since 1871 the German conceit against the losing nation France, who is described as molly coddled, undisciplined and abject and therefore had to be defeated by the German power and earthiness, is expressed here.

*Illustration 8*

**Poster 'Helft uns siegen', in: Musées de la ville de Straßbourg, 112**

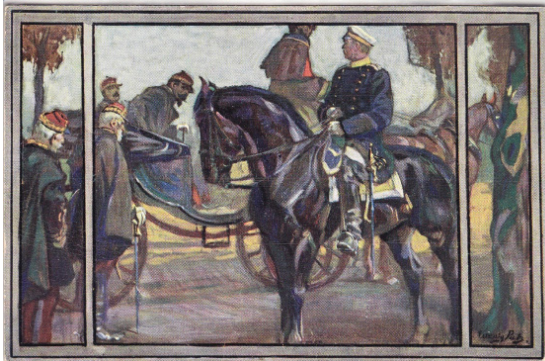


319

---

*Illustration 9*

**Post card 'Fürst Bismarck und Napoleon III treffen sich auf der Straße von Donchery, unused, undated, private property**



On another postcard with the title 'Nur nich' drängeln! Ihr kommt alle dran!' (*Just don't push! You'll all get your turn!*) can be seen typical portrayals of laid comfortable French soldiers in a war. (*Illustration 10*)

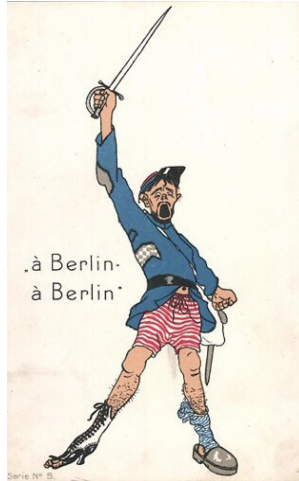
Illustration 10

Post card 'Nur nich' drängeln!', 1914, private property



Illustration 11

Post card 'à Berlin!', in: Musées de la ville de Strasbourg, 162



But first of all there is a German private in the foreground with unsophisticated pipe who marches towards the German main enemies with a rod in his hands, while an Austrian already hits on enemies in the background. The French soldier however wears the uniform which is known since 1871: red trousers, his physiognomy is Mediterranean, shoes dangle in rags. The disfigured footwear isn't missing in any German pictures of the French enemy. The really grave equipment defects of the French army of 1870/71 was transferred to the situation in the Great War to present the sloppiness of the French in military as a kind of a national character. The damaged footwear and the poorly patched red trousers on the body of the 'coward' French can also be seen on another postcard that shows

again another version of the motive of the enemy fleeing the Germans. In a different postcard three more alleged characters of the 'welsch' French are claimed: One soldier even without any trousers, a clog on the left, a lady's shoe on the right foot and a patched blouse shouts with widely opened mouth 'A Berlin'. Here the French is not only sloppy but furthermore effeminate, arrogant and avid for glory which seems ridiculous given his equipment. (*Illustration 11*)

However not only German conceit but also racial motivated refusal which was expressed in ubiquitous torrent of hatred about the coloured colonial troops, can be seen in the portrayals. They are presented in smug language ether as Negroes in a Caricatur of caught enemies' or simply as an archaic-anarchical crowd that is 'killed' off by German machine gunning. Time and again, however, black colonial troops are also vilified as man-eating 'savages': "Menschenfleisch versprach man uns, blaue Bohnen bekamen wir." (*We were promised human flesh, we were given blue beans/ i.e. bullets*) (*Illustration 12*)

Illustration 12 <sup>321</sup>

**Post card 'Menschenfleisch versprach man uns, blaue Bohnen bekamen wir', in : Musées de la ville de Straßbourg, 171**



It wasn't far from here to portrayals like the one in a German Nazi book about the battle Tannenberg (1914) published in 1939 that rants about the use of black troops: "Eine untilgbare Schande für die gesamte weiße Rasse brachte das Erscheinen farbiger Hilfsvölker." (The appearance of coloured peoples brought irredeemable dishonour to the white race.) (Ettighoffer, without page)

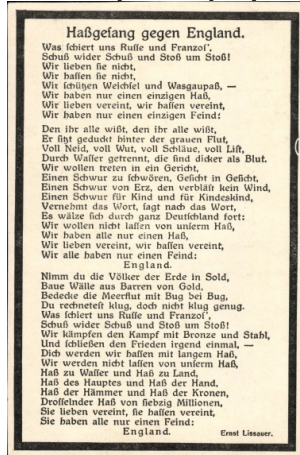
Every kick a Brit!

While some Germans had a certain comprehension of the French war motives – that were the reclaim of the lost Elsaß – no pardon was given towards Britain. For them the assumed British portrayal of the German brother nation was the main reason for the war of the complete world against the successful German Reich. England was downright hated because of its entry into the war. An excerpt from the poem ‘Haßgesang gegen England’ (Hate song against England) by Ernst Lissauer is an example of this. It was published by postcards and leaflets:

„[...] Was schiert uns Russe und Franzos’?/Schuß wider Schuß, und Stoß um Stoß!/Wir kämpfen den Kampf mit Bronze und Stahl,/Und schliessen den Frieden irgend einmal, —/Dich werden wir hassen mit langem Haß,/Wir werden nicht lassen von unserem Haß,/Haß zu Wasser und Haß zu Land,/Haß des Hauptes und Haß der Hand, /Haß der Hämmer und Haß der Kronen, /Drosselnder Haß von siebzig Millionen,/Sie lieben vereint, sie hassen vereint,/Sie alle haben nur einen Feind:/ England!/" (We're not interested in Russians and French/we fight with bronze and steal/Some day we will make peace with them/But you are the one we will hate/We will not stop hating you /on the sea, on land,/ hate of the head and the hand, /hate of the hammers and the crowns, /hate of 70 millions,/ they love united and hate united/ they all only have one enemy:/ England) (Lissauer, 1914) (Illustration 13)

Illustration 13

Post card, ‘Haßgesang gegen England’ von Ernst Lissauer, unused, undated, private property



But when looking at all the hate about the assumed betrayal and the malice of the British merchants in the visual portrayals no such racial conceit like against the French and Russians can be found here. In fact illustrations for examples of deceitfulness of the 'perfidious Albion' were more popular. The British soldier however was rather caricatured than debased. 'Tommy' emerges as a scraggy quite ascetic fellow, wearing kilt and an inappropriate uniform from the days of the Krim war who likes to smoke a pipe and consumes alcohol. A German private could recognise himself in the last two attributions. The reason for the prevention of racial motives but at the same time excessive hate was the German belief that they had been cheated and attacked not by a natural and degenerated enemy such as France, but by the closest relative. In some pictures, Britain is even represented by a British self-cartoon, the humorous figure of 'John Bull'. (*Illustration 14 and 15*)

Illustration 14

Post card, 'Zum Donnerwetter noch einmal', unused, undated,  
private property

323



Every shot a Russian.

Russians couldn't expect friendly descriptions in all manners: In the portraying of the Russian enemy, three tendencies of systematic vilifications are striking. From today's perspective, however, the first two do not appear to be entirely inaccurate.

- Russia is a despot system of violence that seeks world domination.
- Russia is backward and governed by an elitist-decadent ruler clique who rules in account of the normal people. (*Illustration 16*)

But the third is clearly racist and anti-Slavic:

- The Russian soldier is dirty, boozy, uneducated and as a Slav also racial inferior.

Illustration 15

Post card, 'Nun aber wollen wir sie dreschen', 1914 private property



Illustration 16

Post card, 'Auf was hätten Herren Appetit?', unused, undated, private property



324

It was then again up to postcards, the popular medium of the war, to visualise these views. (*Illustration 17*) The Russian soldier is often shown as unshaved or with a long beard and towards the in- and outside shown with a knout in the form of a cat with nine tails, as a logo for his tyranny. His red nose is a symbol for heavy alcohol abuse. Fighting against a repressive despotism at least in the East was one of the crucial impulses for the war sceptical German social democrats to agree to the war credits in the Reichstag in 1914. Today the coarseness of the portrayals may appear strange but in these days the portrayal of a backward and despotic Russia united all social levers and political wings. The last example however shows how problematic those one-sided distorted concepts of the enemy had been. The illustrator of this racist and anti-Slavic caricature was the Jewish-Austrian artist Walter Trier, who later became justly famous for his



illustrations of Erich Kästner's children's books. Trier emigrated to Canada in 1936 and thus escaped National Socialist persecution. On Trier's postcard we can see two lousy, unshaved Russian soldiers. They can only hardly keep their eyes open due to their claimed degeneracy, maybe they are also drunk. Typical 'German' virtues like discipline, courage or fight for 'something for its own sake', seem to be completely unknown to those two. They grumble in a German-Russian jargon which presents them as uneducated or nearly dense about an escape plan and the hope that they will get 'something good to feed' from the civilised Germans.

Illustration 17

**Post card, 'Russische Grenzsoldaten', unused, undated,  
private property**



325

Such depictions are then not far removed from the images used by German propaganda after the invasion of the Soviet Union to show captured Red Army soldiers as, in the jargon of the National Socialism, 'slawische Untermenschen' (slavic subhumans). So it can be seen how close the vilification on paper-only and the real murderous behaviour of the observer could be. Ragged and unshaven soldiers in Russian uniforms can be seen on hundreds of nazi photos showing captured soldiers of the 'Red Army' too. The cameras of the German propaganda photographer watched the supposed 'subhuman beings' with full of presumably blind and unconscious racism. Millions of these soviet convicts, not only Russians, also millions of Ukrainians ought to die in the hands of National Socialists.

**Conclusions.** What worked in 1914-1918, as I hinted at the beginning, will work even better in 2024. Just think of the great effectiveness of the Kremlin propaganda channel 'Russia Today' in European countries too. Our task as historians is to speak out against Russian lies and hatred through historical education, as best our modest means allow, in schools, universities and in our personal environment. May be that one day Russian citizens will also recognise the lies of their leaders.

**References:**

1. Arand, Tobias. 2023. "Wie Anno 70. Eine Geschichte der deutschen Kriegserinnerung erzählt an einem Denkmalensemble". Andreas Dorrer. Thomas Petraschka. Der Erste Weltkrieg: Erinnerungskulturen in Deutschland und Australien/The First World War: Cultures of Remembrance in Germany and Australia. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck Ruprecht. 147-164
- 326 2. Ettighoffer, P.C. 1939. "Tannenberg. Eine Armee wird zu Tode marschiert". Gütersloh: Bertelsmann.
- 3. Hamann, Brigitte. 2004. "Der Erste Weltkrieg. Wahrheit und Lüge in Bildern und Texten.". München, Zürich: Piper
4. Fulda, Ludwig. 1914. "An die Kulturwelt". Das Monistische Jahrhundert 1(3). 593-596
5. Walther, Peter. 2007. "Endzeit Europa. Ein kollektives Tagebuch deutschsprachiger Schriftsteller, Künstler und Gelehrter im Ersten Weltkrieg." Göttingen: Wallstein
6. Musées de la ville de Straßbourg. 2016. "L'autre guerre. Satire et propaganda dans l'illustration allemande (1914-1918)." Graulhet: Presses d'Escourbiac
7. Rother, Rainer. 1994. "Die letzten Tage der Menschheit. Bilder des Ersten Weltkriegs". Berlin: Ars Nicolai
8. Spilker, Rolf/Ulrich, Bernd. 1998. "Der Tod als Maschinist. Der industrialisierte Krieg 1914-1918." Bramsche: Rasch
9. Traub, Rainer. 2004. "Der Krieg der Geister." Stephan Burgdorff/Klaus Wiegrefe. Der Erste Weltkrieg. Die Urkatastrophe des 20. Jahrhunderts. Hamburg: DVA
10. Wilhelm II. 1914. "Aufruf an das deutsche Volk". Berlin: J. Meyer
11. Zühlke, Raoul. 2000. "Bildpropaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg.". Münster: Ingrid Kämpfer