Eisler's Music for Resnais' ‘Night and Fog’ (1955): a musical counterpoint to the cinematic portrayal of terror

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Eisler’s Music for Resnais’ ‘Night and Fog’ (1955): a musical counterpoint to the cinematic portrayal of terror

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Facing the horror in the concentration camps, the absurdity of making music appeared most clearly to those who performed it. The girls’ orchestra in Auschwitz was ordered by the camp leaders to entertain them in the evenings with lively operetta melodies and during the day to accompany prisoners going to work with march music [1]. This order meant more than just humiliation to the members of an unusual orchestra, however. To these young women, working in the arts was ‘a kind of sandwich ... one slice of music between two slices of misery’ [2]. Since making music prolonged their lives and, at the same time, allowed them the opportunity to preserve some of their self-respect, they dedicated themselves to this task with profound enthusiasm. Making music took on an existential dimension, which superseded its fundamental purpose in this context—the aesthetification of crime. Tunes from Madame Butterfly, Das Land des Lächelns and The Merry Widow were aesthetically wholly inadequate to a concentration camp context. Nevertheless, the ambiguity of music allowed the orchestra members to think of operettas as high art and, therefore, as symbols of human dignity. In Auschwitz-Birkenau, melodies by Franz Lehár and Franz von Suppé were performed with a devotion accorded Beethoven’s Fidelio or Ninth Symphony. Music helped prisoners cope with an overwhelming situation, simply by the intensity with which they played.

The function of music in concentration camps was usually ambiguous [3]. The external effect, for representatives of the National Socialist state, often differed from the internal one, for the victims. The SS accepted such discrepancies. However, it took restrictive measures if the objectives of distraction and consolation were replaced by potential resistance. Hans Krása’s children’s opera Brundibar was allowed in Theresienstadt [4], but Victor Ullmann’s opera Der Kaiser von Atlantis was forbidden prior to its first performance because it obviously satirized Hitler [5].

Together with the successful production of Brundibar, the performances of Giuseppe Verdi’s monumental Requiem, which took place in 1943–1944 at the main assembly room of the Theresienstadt ‘town hall’, were aesthetically the most important musical events to ever take place at a concentration camp [6]. At first, the musically inclined Jews could only carry out their passion in secret until the commanders recognized the propaganda value of camp concerts. After this realization, the formerly forbidden became officially supported. The Jews were not in agreement regarding choice of repertoire, however. There were voices declaring it impossible to perform a composition as challenging as Verdi’s Requiem with an orchestra reduced to a bare minimum. Beyond such doubts concerning its technical feasibility, there were also objections as to whether or not this Catholic work spoke to the situation of the Jewish prisoners. This
opinion was expressed with particular vehemence by Kurt Singer, the former head of the Jewish Cultural Association of Berlin [7]. In the Musikkritischer Brief, distributed within the internment camp, he wrote that 'the Catholics of Theresienstadt will rejoice. The art for art's sake system has won the day, the Jews have lost sight of their faith' [8]. However, conductor Rafael Schächter and witness Josef Bor saw it differently. In his novel Theresienstädter Requiem, Bor described how the rehearsals provided some purpose for lives so close to death, despite the fact that the choir was repeatedly reduced by deportations [9]. Verdi's Requiem raised prisoners' hopes for a just God at the Final Judgement [10].

For one year, Schächtter practiced so intensely that everyone memorized his or her part. He did not give up, despite overwhelming odds. He replaced lost singers, for instance, with new ones, who had to start from the very beginning. The performance of Verdi's Requiem at Theresienstadt was surely the greatest musical achievement ever to have taken place at a concentration camp. The 500 singers who took part in the rehearsals wished to provide a final sign of life with their music. Although the prisoners would not have been allowed to perform a piece of fiery resistance, Verdi's Requiem contained enough elements related to their situation to reflect their feelings symbolically.

When Adolf Eichmann's visit to Theresienstadt was announced in 1944, the camp administrators ordered a repeat performance [11]. According to Bor, Schächter initially hesitated because he loathed propagandistic misuse and believed it inexcusable that artistic means of self-expression and protest be transformed into mere illusions. His annoyance increased when the camp administrators ordered cuts. In the end, Schächter selected the most aggressive parts of the piece, such as the 'Dies Irae', which, as Bor noted, he interpreted as an indictment against Eichmann [12]. The setbacks experienced by the German armies seemed to Schächter like a divine punishment for Germany's crimes. For him, Verdi's Requiem represented a legal order and system of values alien to the National Socialist state, which could neither be simply neglected nor usurped. This piece could only serve such a function for the prisoners of Theresienstadt because, like most great works of art, it is multilayered and can be interpreted in different ways.

There is a fundamental difference in the perspective of those directly affected by camp life, as was illustrated by the example of musical life at Theresienstadt versus that of those born after 1945. For the latter, the focus is not identifying or coping with an existential threat, but conscious presentation, analysis and artistic treatment, a point of view related to Theodor Adorno's famous dictum regarding the impossibility of lyric poetry after Auschwitz. Only after some delay was this concept consciously put into practice in contemporary music. Lyricism and romanticism were at first shunned by post-war composers. After a brief resurgence of interest in composers who had been driven into exile—for example, Arnold Schönberg, Paul Hindemith and Béla Bartók—the idea of starting a new became popular particularly in Western Europe. Traditions from the 1920s, halted in 1933, were partially revived in East Germany, where emigrants such as Hanns Eisler, Bertolt Brecht, Paul Dessau and Heinrich Mann were welcomed. Critical examination of the Nazi past was discouraged for political reasons in West Germany during these provocative early years of the Cold War [13]. It was only with great difficulty, for example, that Hermann Scherchen could stage Schönberg's work of conviction A Survivor from Warsaw at the Kranichstein Music Festival (later named after the city of Darmstadt) [14]. In contrast, apolitical acoustical research, as carried out by Karlheinz Stockhausen, met with approval. A musical examination of the Holocaust, which could hardly develop under the premises of a formalist aesthetic
derived from such physical models, was largely ignored during the first two decades of the Federal Republic of Germany. An exception was Luigi Nono's large-scale oratorio, *Canto sospeso* (1955), which, however, only deals with the annihilation of the political opponents, the resistance fighters.

Since political music was marginalized during the Konrad Adenauer era, artistic discussion of the National Socialist past originated abroad via such artists as Arnold Schönberg, Luigi Nono, Peter Weiss and Alain Resnais [15]. In May 1955, to mark the tenth anniversary of the liberation of German concentration camps by allied troops, the Comité d'Histoire de la Déportation de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale commissioned Resnais to make a documentary film on this subject. The young director, who lacked the relevant historical experience, did not dare approach this difficult topic alone. It was only with the cooperation of the writer and essayist Jean Cayrol, who himself had been deported to the concentration camp in Oranienburg and who had also lost his brother there, that the project seemed possible to Resnais.

Art dealing with Auschwitz from the perspective of outsiders after the event is essentially different from that produced or performed in the camps by the victims of National Socialism themselves. The former presumably would not be about how to deal emotionally with horror and fear, but rather the artistic treatment of a now historical event. Rather than approaching the issue via identification, which could have rendered the atrocities harmless, Cayrol and Resnais chose the objectivity of distance. To this end, the director juxtaposed pictures of present-day Auschwitz with historical material. In so doing, he emphasized the contrast between the past when the camp overflowed with prisoners and the far less spectacular present. The faded gray or black and white of the archival material was juxtaposed with present-day color photography; the mostly still historical pictures were further contrasted by the new material, taken by a moving camera. This separation of both material and temporal levels works against the illusion of empathy. Separating elements in such a manner is a method of distancing, a characteristic of Bertolt Brecht's 'Epic Theater' in the film medium. The contrasting visual levels are intended to present viewers with a contradictory unity.

The two pictorial levels are further contrasted by their emotional and aesthetic content. The director understood that a glut of horrific pictures would have a dulling effect. 'If I had done the whole film in black-and-white, then with all these old stones, barbed wire and leaden skies, I would have produced—and this was to be feared—a sort of film-romanticism, which would in no way have corresponded to the theme. The use of the color and silent sections was to help prevent such an outcome' [16]. Resnais refrained from a more conventional approach to film documentary, for there was very little original film material featuring the machinery of extermination and, more importantly, he believed such material could have the unwanted effect of blunting the incomprehensibility of what had taken place.

Resnais and Cayrol deliberately adopted the perspective of a contemporary narrator. The actual theme of the film is not the events themselves, but their remembrance and the process of retracing what had taken place so as to resist the prevailing tide of concealment, forgetfulness and repression [17]. The title *Nuit et Brouillard (Night and Fog)* is to be understood in this sense. It refers to a particular category of foreign prisoners who were detained and deported in the so-called 'Nacht und Nebel-Aktionen' (Night and Fog Operations). Heinrich Himmler, head of the SS, took this poetico-sounding expression from Richard Wagner's *Ring des Nibelungen*. He wished to be just as invisible and untraceable while carrying out his acts of terror as Wagner's Alberich who, in *Das Rheingold*, dons the stolen 'Tarnhelm' with the words 'Nacht und
Nebel—niemand gleich! ‘(night and fog—fade from sight’) [18]. Cayrol and his brother were imprisoned and deported in just such a Nacht-und-Nebel-Aktion. In 1945, Cayrol summarized his experiences in a book of poetry entitled Poèmes de Nuit et Brouillard. In the film title, this terminus technicus from the language of the Third Reich takes on a new meaning: it signifies the cover-up history used to disguise these atrocities [19]. The artistic color photography of the present-day Auschwitz, which gives barely a hint of what happened there, alludes to this cover-up. The purpose of the film is to reveal the truth behind the facade.

This was carried out in an unconventional way through music, which Resnais declared to be the most substantial component of this multimedia work of art. After Nuit et Brouillard, he continued working together with important composers such as Hans Werner Henze in Muriel and Krzysztof Penderecki in Je t'aime je t'aime [20]; for Hiroshima mon Amour, Luigi Dallapiccola had been his first choice [21]. Yet music was to never again so strongly mark a Resnais film as it did in his documentary about Auschwitz, whose montage aesthetic was due largely to his collaboration with Eisler. Resnais was at first confronted with the music of this Schönberg student and friend of Brecht in Jean Renoir's film Woman on the Beach (1946). He then studied Eisler and Adorno's book Composing for the Films, in which both authors declared their break with the aesthetics of the Hollywood motion picture industry and pleaded for a more significant and autonomous role for music in film [22]. 'When I first sought to establish contact with him', Renais declared, 'it was really as if I threw a bottle into the sea, and my hope of reaching him was no greater than that of a shipwrecked person doing the same [23]. Resnais told his producer that the involvement of a persecuted German-Jewish composer would contribute to the moral integrity of the film. He later revealed that his production company only allowed him this request because an acceptance by such a well-known composer was considered very unlikely. 'So I wrote a letter to Eisler and, about eight days later, I received a telegram which simply stated: “Hello. I am coming. Eisler.” I cannot describe to you how overwhelmed I was' [24].

In hindsight, one cannot help but be amazed by the spontaneity of both collaborators, as well as the short time in which this masterpiece of film music was created. It was not until 18 October 1955 that the Argos Film Company wrote to the composer, inviting him to work in Paris from 15 November to 1 December [25]. After receipt of this letter on 25 October, Eisler answered immediately so as to expedite an agreement [26]. On 25 November, he traveled from Berlin to Paris and wrote the music based on the first-cut plus a written synopsis, in addition to numerous conversations with the director. Renais was immensely impressed with Eisler's expertise:

From Eisler, I learned so much about my profession and about film music, especially about how to work out a sequence together with a musician; (this includes what needs to be said—very trivial words, free from any sentimental-ity and all ‘literature’—so as to convey to the musician what one wishes). Above all, he showed me how to avoid musical redundancies. Though this is something we all basically know, he nevertheless showed me how to apply music to create something akin to a ‘second level of perception,’ something additional, contrariwise. For example, one could simplify the music the most during points of high drama and, vice versa, elaborate it significantly at moments when the eyes are no longer engaged. In this way, an equilibrium may be reached wherein the viewer finds a balance between both seeing and hearing. I believe that my particular liking for this kind of balance stems from
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Eisler. He put me on the right track, so to speak, and clarified all of these concepts for me [27].

The camera shots of the Polish landscape at the beginning of the film expose the remnants of the concentration camp Auschwitz, which by 1955, was overgrown with grass and flowers. Eisler contrasts these beautiful color shots, which do not reveal the camp’s former purpose, with a tragic melody for string orchestra. He entitled this ‘À la Funèbre’, a reference to the ‘Marcia Funèbre’ from Beethoven’s Third Symphony [28]. Since Eisler had to finish the film score within a very short period of time, he used some of his previously written stage music for certain parts, as he had also done on other occasions. The introductory string prelude’s music was originally composed in 1954 for Johannes R. Becher’s Winterschlacht, a stage piece dealing with the German attack on the Soviet Union [29].

Beyond Becher’s drama, Eisler’s inspiration for this instrumental setting was likely drawn from a Shakespeare text, Horatio’s monologue from Hamlet: Eisler’s later published song ‘Horatios Monolog’ is a setting of this music coupled with the corresponding Shakespeare text. In September 1954, shortly prior to his work on Winterschlacht, Eisler had written music for a staging of Hamlet in Vienna at the Neues Theater an der Scala. However, this production did not entail a musical setting for Horatio’s monologue. According to Manfred Grabs, the composer probably adopted Shakespeare’s text for his song from another source, Karl Kraus’s Weltgericht [30]. In this book, Kraus quotes the very lines from Hamlet that Eisler was to use, but in reference to the aftermath of World War I.

If this is not a turning point, then the world has never seen one. If here no Fortinbras steps in, then there have never been ruins of a reign or the need to rebuild a broken era. Just as Horatio did, I shall receive him with these words:
And let me speak to the yet unknowing world
How these things came about; so shall you hear
Of carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts,
Of accidental judgments, casual slaughters,
Of deaths put on by cunning and forced cause,
And, in this upshot, purposes mistook
Fall’n on the inventors’ heads: all this can I
Truly deliver [31].

As Karl Kraus conceived Horatio’s monologue as an appeal to expose the transgressions of World War I, Eisler related it in a similar way to World War II: the monologue is the hidden subtext of his preludial music in Winterschlacht and Nuit et Brouillard. This relationship was only revealed later in the aforementioned song ‘Horatios Monolog’, which Eisler wrote in the spring of 1956. The musical texture is characterized by a single extended melody divided between the voice and piano parts and is surprisingly consonant despite the thwarted expectation of a cadence in C major at the end. Despite its tragic undertone, this song, with its Handel-like diatonic sequences, does not have a resigned character. Instead, it combines a sense of sadness with that of triumph. In the second half, a descending chromatic bass line is reversed and pushes upward at an accelerated pace with the words ‘Plane, die zurückgefallen auf der Erfinder Haupt’ (‘purposes mistook fall’n on the inventors’ heads’).

Shakespeare’s text expresses a dialectic that is also preserved in the textless string version. The stage director Manfred Wekwerth recalled heated discussions about the music during the initial rehearsals of Winterschlacht, wherein Brecht and the others
finally understood Eisler’s explanation of the music [32]. After all, there had been both victory and defeat at Stalingrad. During the prelude to Becher’s drama, a few soldiers are shown scattered on the stage. The music then suggests that these solitary figures are part of a collective, the remains of a gigantic defeated army [33]. The orchestral prelude to Nuit et Brouillard serves a similar dramaturgical function: the music is a reminder that these now deserted landscapes pictured had once been populated by millions of people. Like a dramaturgical counterpoint, the music alludes particularly to what is not explicitly shown. At the same time, it suggests what is not explicitly heard: this is yet another context in which the Shakespeare text is revealed.

Resnais contrasted the color landscape shots with archival film footage [34]. The black-and-white images show people, even marching Nazi troops—the perpetrators. A traditional film composer would probably have accompanied these images with a pompous march or the ‘Horst Wessel-Lied’, though altered in a sinister way. Eisler, however, renounced such clichéd presentations of terror. He accompanied the propagandistic scenes of a parade marking the ‘Reichsparteitag’ in Nuremberg with thin pizzicati and, as the camera panned over to Hitler and Himmler, added a high chirpy violin melody. A similarly thin-voiced musical accompaniment is used in two later scenes: one depicting the aftermath of the extermination that had taken place and the other showing the SS troops when they themselves were taken prisoner. These musical associations tie the first appearance of the Nazi marching troops with the gruesome consequences [35]. Eisler also employed the melody of the German national anthem, ‘Deutschland Deutschland über Alles’, though in a critical manner. By breaking up the melody into harsh single beats, by neglecting the chordal accompaniment and by accentuating the arrangement with drumbeats, he created an aggressive caricature of the national anthem that reflected what the Nazis had made of Germany [36].

Eisler linked his musical adaptation of Horatio’s monologue with World War II in Winterschlacht and with Auschwitz in Nuit et Brouillard. Yet, this text was to hold further connotations for him. The overriding theme was the collapse of a tyranny, wherein the perpetrators create their own undoing or, as Shakespeare described, ‘purposes mistook fall’n on the inventors’ heads’. Although Eisler addressed Stalin’s crimes, initially a taboo in the German Democratic Republic, in ‘XX. Parteitag’ from his final work, Ernstes Gesänge, he had already raised this issue in his song ‘Horatios Monolog’. This is hinted at in his musical setting of Karl Kraus’ Printemps Allemand. (German Spring), which he substituted anläßlich des XX. Parteitags (on the occasion of the XX. Party Congress): a sketch of ‘Horatios Monolog’ is on the same manuscript page [37]. Reckoning with the Stalinist past was a necessary prerequisite for a socialist future, for a ‘German spring’. The composer underlined a single sentence from Kraus’ poem, a deep sigh, ‘Was hat die Welt aus uns gemacht’ (‘What has the world made of us’). Stylistically, the little known song ‘Printemps Allemand’ is far more advanced and, therefore, closer to Eisler’s teacher Schönberg than his adaptation of Horatio’s monologue, which is deliberately simple.

As part of his film music aesthetic, Eisler avoided stock methods of musical illustration and outbursts of emotion [38]. For him, this did not necessarily mean the renunciation of emotions but rather the attempt to elucidate their origin. For the gruesome documentary shots of gas chambers and piles of corpses, he composed a deliberately unsentimental music, which contradicted the expectations of the regular studio musicians [39]. According to Resnais,
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I recall the astonishment around us as we recorded his music. As you know, when a piece of music is recorded, the corresponding film segment is simultaneously projected in order to see if the orchestra plays in synch. At times, the technicians believed that when certain footage was projected, really gruesome footage, the thirty-two musicians assembled in the recording room would make an all-out effort. But Eisler simply said: 'No, this is a small piece. We've got one flute, one clarinet, and that's all.' One could sense a certain uneasiness in the studio. The people were really stirred up: the usual rules were no longer valid. [40]

Through his thin-voiced lyrical music, the composer sought to create a sense of detachment from the overwhelming power of horror. Whereas the string orchestra serves to 'populate' the empty landscape in the prelude, the small chamber orchestral and even soloistic instrumentation accompanying the scene with the piles of corpses serves to focus attention away from these to the individual lives that they represent. As the almost tender melodic lines suggest, each of these corpses was an individual in his or her fullest humanity. Eisler resisted convention not only in his treatment of dynamics and sonority, but also in his expression. 'The more horrible the scenes, the more friendly the music', recalled Resnais. 'Eisler wanted to show that human optimism and hope could even exist in a concentration camp' [41].

By reducing the multitude to individual destinies and refraining from stock emotional effects, the events are portrayed in such a way as to allow a genuine sympathy for the victims to develop. This explains the emotional reaction evoked by the quote from Resnais' already historical film in Margarethe von Trotta's feature Die Bleierne Zeit (The German Sisters, 1981). The latter deals with a pastor's two daughters growing up in post-war Germany and their experience with the deep-seated societal repression of Nazi crimes. Their viewing of Nuit et Brouillard at a Christian youth center comes as a total shock. In this scene, the father is at the projector and his two daughters are sitting with other adolescents in the cinema room; what the daughters see so deeply shocks them that they are brought to tears and have to throw up. From the bathroom, they hear the final part of the film with Cayrol's sober commentary, translated by Paul Celan (in the German version): 'As I am speaking to you, water seeps into the death chambers. It is water from the surrounding swamps and ruins. It is cold and dreary like our memory. The war only sleeps. On the roll-call sites and around the blocks, grass has grown again. A deserted village, still foreboding. The crematory is out of order, the Nazi methods are out of fashion. This landscape ... the landscape of nine million dead' [42]. Accompanying this final scene is Eisler's musical postlude, which continues the string melody heard at the beginning. Only now is the meaning of this music fully revealed: a reminder of the millions of dead, from whom only piles of hair, shoes and dentures remain.

The reference to Nuit et Brouillard in Die Bleierne Zeit is just one instance of its far-reaching influence. Additional examples would include Erwin Leiser's documentary film Mein Kampf, as well as the works of Alexander Kluge [43]. Nuit et Brouillard had already made an impact even prior to its premier, which was scheduled to take place at the Cannes Film Festival in 1956. Since this film did not neglect German industry's roll in the Holocaust, it did not fit into the Adenauer era's 'collective ignorance' regarding such issues. Hence, the West German Government interfered with the film festival's leadership and had Nuit et Brouillard pulled from the official festival program—despite protests by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Christian Pineau, who himself had been imprisoned at the Buchenwald concentration camp [44]. In France, despite
having received accolades such as the Jean Vigo Prize, this film was also very controversial—but for different reasons. For approximately 5 seconds during the film, a French policeman was shown in a supervisory role at an internment camp of the Vichy Government. This reference to Nazi collaboration was so unbearable to the French Government that, following 2 months of negotiations, Resnais was compelled to alter this scene beyond recognition [45]. Neither the French nor German Governments of the time wished to face the question of guilt, with all of its consequences. 'We feared creating a great monument', as Resnais later described his motives.

We wanted to avoid making a film where one memorializes the past, mourns its victims and then concludes with a 'never again!', etc. What we sought was to induce the viewer to action rather than merely stirring his or her emotions. Now, as soon as I say this, everybody will say: 'Okay, Eisler, of course.' But this is exactly why I would describe our collaboration as 'magic'—that it took place—had to take place and yet, had occurred quite by random. It was like casting dice in a game of chance ... [46].

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NOTES

[1] Fania Fénélon, Das Mädchenorchester in Auschwitz (Frankfurt am Main, 1980).
[4] Translator's note: Theresienstadt (Czech name Terezin) was a fortress town in Bohemia converted by the Nazis in 1942 into an internment camp for Jews—a Jewish 'ghetto'.
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[18] Translator’s note: the ‘Tam_helm’ is the helmet in Wagner’s *Ring des Nibelungen* that makes the person wearing it invisible.
[19] The Nazis created their own language for official governmental discourse as well as propaganda. This was thoroughly analyzed by Victor Klemperer in *LTI. Notizbuch eines Philologen* (Leipzig, 1985); LTI is short for *lingua tertiae imperiae* (language of the Third Reich).
[25] The original letter is located at the Hanns-Eisler-Archiv, which is housed at the Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste Berlin.
[27] Pfrimmer & Resnais, *Für Hanns Eisler*, p. 373. See also, Thomas *L’Atelier d’Alain Resnais*, p. 256.
[29] Winterschlächt was premiered by the Berliner Ensemble on 12 January 1955.
[32] Regarding this connection between triumph and sadness, see Manfred Wekwerth, in *Hanns Eisler heute*, pp. 156–7.
[33] In his book *Composing for the Films*, Eisler makes reference to a similar use of music in *Hangmen Also Die*, wherein he used a *Kampflied* (protest song) to represent the invisible masses—the common people, p. 60.
[35] In one of his last compositions, ‘XX. Parteitag’ from *Ernste Gesänge* (1962), Eisler used pizzicati in a similar way to invoke living without fear. For Eisler connoisseurs, this served to bridge the crimes of Hitler with those of Stalin.
[36] This musical passage is missing in the black-and-white film version distributed by the Federal Republic of Germany’s Department for Political Development (Amt für politische Bildung).
[37] Translator’s note: XX. Parteitag refers to the Twentieth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR (1956), during which the crimes of Stalin were officially disclosed for the first time.
[39] Eisler had written the music that accompanies the loading of the concentration camp prisoners and their being taken to the gas chambers from his music to Brecht’s *Galileo*. See Grabs, ‘Über Berührungspunkte’, p. 127.
[40] Pfrimmer & Resnais, *Für Hanns Eisler*, p. 373.
[43] Leiser had written the Swedish subtitles for *Nuit et Brouillard*. The success of this film encouraged the distribution company to grant him a commission to produce a full feature documentary about
Albrecht Dümling is a Berlin musicologist and music critic. He completed his doctoral thesis in 1978 on Arnold Schönberg and Stefan George. In 1985 he published the first comprehensive book about Bertolt Brecht’s collaboration with composers, Laßt Euch nicht verführen. Brecht und die Musik. He organized the exhibition Entartete Musik. Eine kommentierte Rekonstruktion, which has traveled to over 45 cities worldwide since 1988. In 1989–1990 he was a Getty Scholar in Santa Monica, California. From 1990–1997, he was the chairman of Musica Reanimata, an association supporting composers who were persecuted by the National Socialist regime, and their works. The International Hanns Eisler Society has made him a member of the editorial board for Eisler’s collected works, the Hanns Eisler Gesamtausgabe (HEGA).