

sounding D-natural to clusters of notes that open up around a missing D-natural all move in agonizing neighbor motions to measures 39–41 with reiterated pitches that get stuck in Lacan's "ditch" at the edge of the Real—the return of percussion at the end that can, to my ear, neither be played loud enough nor torn off with sufficient violence.⁶¹

CHAPTER FOUR

Left! Right! Left! Right!

Music, Bodies, Fascism

This chapter will focus, after Klaus Theveleit, on the structure of national socialist subjectivity in the texts and music of German war songs.¹ I will focus on songs of World War II and listen back to their antecedents in World War I. This chapter assumes a national socialist subject whose bodily fantasy space has always already been breached by the other and whose entire project within national socialist space is to heal such a wound. The impossibility and necessity of this task locks the national socialist subject in a lethal dimension of drive.²

In *Listening Subjects: Music, Psychoanalysis, Culture*, I wrote about Oi-Musik—right-wing skinhead music in Germany of the 1980s and early 1990s.³ The disturbing genius of Oi-Musik is its thinly veiled appropriation and turn toward the right of mainstream-to-progressive music. Oi turns the blues, the music of the sixties youth movement, and punk into right-wing death metal linked to the beatings and deaths of foreigners in Germany. Throughout the years of working with this material, Oi seemed to me like the return of the repressed. I wondered whether its appropriation of mainstream-to-progressive music might have had roots in fascism.

National socialists sought to cleanse German culture of the music of the other (Jew, communist-socialist, homosexual, modern decadent),⁴ appropriating vestiges of their music into their own in acts of musical cannibalism.⁵ This appropriation functioned in two ways. First, there was a conscious rewriting of German music history as a cleansing of the homeland of the music of the other.⁶ Second, there was an unconscious

need to bind the fantasy of a new musical Germany precisely to the music most hated.⁷ The musical project of national socialist Germany was so powerful because unconscious need and conscious agenda fueled a common fire.⁸

Music and Fascism

Postwar German musicologists and literary critics agreed early on that music was very important for fascism.⁹ Fred K. Prieberg has written extensively on music and fascism, pointing out that the national socialists designed and put into place an enormous and complex bureaucracy to fuse the German people into a singular "Volk" through music.¹⁰ Prieberg has also shown that, through the Hitler Youth, new singing organizations and schools were set up across Germany, in small towns as well as large urban centers.¹¹ All aspects of both middle- and working-class musical activities were carefully structured by the national socialists: "[this music shall serve] march singing, folk singing, hours spent at home, singing at Hitler youth squad evenings, the after-school hours, singing in camps, singing at company celebrations, at roll call and reveille, announcements, and at community festivals."¹² In describing the ideological power of the music of fascism, Johannes Hodek says, "We are talking about fulfillment [Erfüllung]. That means the process of singing and making music must stir up feelings, moods, desires that then lead to a mobilization of sensibility like an organization that was inspired from above."¹³

Monika Tibbe points out that nineteenth-century collections of folk songs were profoundly marked by censorship and ideology:

The criteria for determining what authentic folk songs were had the effect of censorship. Herder and Goethe strove for an authentic reproduction of texts while norms from the outside increasingly rule over almost all collections of the nineteenth century. Texts that were too crude, too sensuous or political were not published or were edited. The German folk song thus increasingly became a harmless little song that referred to nature and love in naive and familiar terms.¹⁴

The national socialists reserved a special place for the German folk song in their project: "out of hardly any other culture other than the German has arisen such a clear and consistent concept as 'folk song.' From the beginning the folk song has borne witness to the growth and development of the German folk culture."¹⁵ In describing the power of songs he had sung in the Hitler Youth, Hodek perceptively points out that

songs he had thought of as quintessentially of his youth, were, in fact, carefully produced to construct his youth in a social context (Hodek 24).

Hodek quotes a Hitler Youth song "Mich brennts in meinen Reiseschuhn" (Figure 37):

Mich brennts in meinen Reiseschuhn
fort mit der Zeit zu schreiten

Was wollen wir agieren nun
vor so viel klugen Leuten, vor so vielen klugen Leuten?

My hiking shoes are burning
to go forth and keep up with the times

How should we act now
in front of so many smart people, in front of so many smart people?¹⁶

The text contains in a nutshell one of the fascists' basic plays: to circumscribe ideological and political domination within the benign orbit of a nineteenth-century urge to hike or wander. The text contains, as well, a subtle hint of fascist anti-intellectualism: Go forth, wander, discover yourself rather than be held back by the constraints of intellectuals!

"Mich brennts in meinen Reiseschuhn" relies on the conventions of folk song: simple diatonic leaps and a melody that emphasizes scale degrees one, three, and five of the tonic G major. The fifth d-natural² is embellished with its upper neighbor in the penultimate measure to emphasize the descending line to tonic. The song thrives on its melodic coherence, its ease in G major, its clear final melodic descent to tonic, which, ironically, sets the unanswered question in the text. The song's meter is curious: 4/4 5/4. Most traditional German folk melodies are in 3/4 or 4/4 or perhaps a compound meter such as 6/8. Why 4/4 5/4? I suspect that the song's flexible alternation of 4/4 and 5/4 accommodates the text and gives the song a gentle tension between freedom and awkwardness.

Throughout this chapter I will argue that musicians working with the support of the national socialist propaganda bureaucracy used the strategy of taking folk songs, hymns, art songs, and ceremonial songs and altering them in the service of creating a musical fantasy of a unified, right-wing Germany:

The looming threat of an only archaic position has been overcome. Also, the threat of art has been overcome through the realization of the

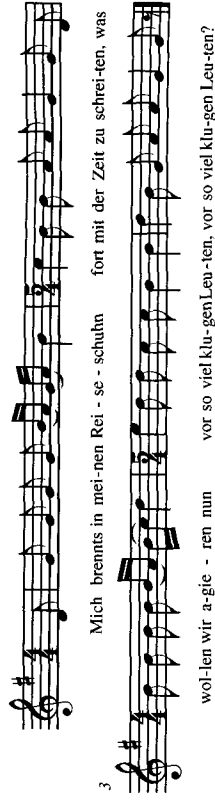


Figure 37

character and the role of folk music: we have returned to a simplicity of means and clarity of form. Thus new, screaming musical forces, which were formed by a spiritually bonded will for creation, have lead us to a deeper sense of art that does not seem as it is, but that is more than it seems.¹⁷

At times, the urge to give the national socialist the sense that all of German music history and musical classics are an upbeat to national socialism was subtle, as in the juxtaposition in anthologies of national socialist songs with chorales. At other times, the urge was explicit, as in articles and books that claimed that specific works and styles prefigure national socialism.¹⁸

In this chapter, I am not particularly interested in the role of high art music in fascism.¹⁹ Rather I am interested in what, for lack of a better expression, must be called popular music.²⁰ I am interested in music that German soldiers sang to themselves and to each other in the prewar and wartime years. I am interested in anthologies of music produced by national socialists for the citizens of the Reich, from which they sang to each other, and to the community at festivals, holidays, and ceremonies. Ideology is particularly audible in this mass-produced and mass-consumed music.²¹ And I am interested in how this ideology was inscribed onto the bodies of its subjects.

Music, Interpellation, and the Body

Writers of the period recalling their own experiences with music in the context of national socialism often talk about the body. According to Johannes Hodek "They [such Hitler Youth songs] sound stiff. They were sung in certain sitting or standing positions and got a hold of the lack of one's own body experience. The singing person, however, did not experience his/her lack of bodily sense, or only in a way to make this lack thereof seem natural."²² In his article/letter to the editor of *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland*, Hans Werner Henze writes,

"As a matter of fact, my brother and I had to perform with our hands and feet the Hitler greeting every morning at breakfast and every evening going to bed as our last tenderness between parents and sons. For me the Nazi state was incarnate in my body—the body of the punitive little guy, of the weak, erroneous, intimidated, robbed of one's ideals, the slightly funny and yet feared, unpredictable fanatic."²³

This passage reveals both the connection in fascism between the politics of the family and the politics of the state, as well as the importance of incorporation of ideology into the body.²⁴ The Hitler greeting, like all Althusserian hails, connects the body of the subject with the state. In the quote above, a series of male subjectivities is linked: Henze as a child, his father, his teacher, enforcers of the law, and finally Hitler.

Much has been written about Althusserian interpellation.²⁵ For Althusser, the hail is a performative gesture enacted in public space to locate the individual as a subject in relation to the state through a surrogate. The classic example is the policeman who shouts "hey you!" In the process of turning around to meet the gaze of the policeman, the individual inscribes him/herself as the subject of discourse ("I am that 'you'"). The Althusserian model relies on Lacan's mirror stage and its shifting forms of recognition and misrecognition.²⁶ Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph des Willens* is one large-scale representation of ideological interpellation with the camera hailing its viewers as subjects of national socialism, constantly redrawing the trajectory from individual, to larger social unit, to Hitler through tracking shots, low camera positions in relation to Hitler, and "snapshots" of soldiers and citizens admiring and pledging loyalty to Hitler. Riefenstahl's camera and the radio were powerful tools that the national socialists embraced early on.²⁷

Althusserian ideological interpellation works, at its core, within the visual regime of the Lacanian mirror stage and the linguistic exchange of subject/object positions as "I" converts to "you" and back again.²⁸ I would like for this chapter to extend the predominantly visual regime of Althusserian ideological interpellation "back" into the regime of acoustic mirroring, the sonorous envelope, and the body.²⁹ The quote from Henze invites us to do just that. And he is not alone.³⁰

Fred Prieberg interviewed a draftsman born in 1931 who said the following about singing fascist songs as a young boy: "When I was down, I would automatically sing Nazi songs and everything was immediately snappy and straight. It was good medicine for me. Since these songs

were injected into me like a drug. You know, when one has been brought up under the Nazis, then these Nazi songs stay in your brain for twenty, thirty years.”³¹ But how does music hail us as subjects in a pre-Althusserian form of acoustic interpellation?

In the 180-degree conversion of Althusserian, visual-linguistic interpellation there is both conscious and unconscious agency. Consciously, we tell our body to turn around and we process who is “you” and who is “I.”³² Unconsciously, we know that we are always already the subject of discourse. And Althusser includes a curious “guilt” that accompanies the subject’s initial response to the call “hey you!” For Althusser, the “strange phenomenon” of “guilt feelings” has to do with whether or not the “you” is really aimed at “you” and whether or not the “you” has something on his or her conscience. For Žižek, the hail’s guilty feeling is an unconscious glimpse into the shared transgression that underlies social space. For Žižek, the shared lie is more powerful as foundational ideological support of social space than a fantasy of “truth.” The shared lie can take the form of the repression of those who challenge the law, the state’s economic exploitation of labor, or the violence upon which all states rely to attain nationhood in the first place and sustain it against incursions. So for Žižek, when the subject turns to meet the gaze of the Other’s surrogate who shouts “hey you!” the subject feels a tinge of guilt. This is interpellation prior to identification. This is interpellation being dependent upon the shared guilt of the subject with the social order that sustains him or her within the State.³³

The vehicle for Žižek’s “interpellation prior to identification” is voice not yet marked with meaning—pure sound. Sounds penetrate skin. Sounds are more threatening heard from behind since we can’t see their source, since our ears have thicker hair on the smooth backs of our ears muting the sounds, and since there’s a brief period of developing subjectivity in which we cannot roll over when placed on our stomachs. We can close our ears at loud sounds, but this gesture always only mutes, never cancels out sound. And at night, our subjectivity is utterly open to sounds. Sounds thus carry a profoundly imperative agency for us. Sounds enter our bodies as carriers of messages of intent from agencies benevolent, malevolent, or indifferent. Žižek’s “guilt prior to interpellation” is made possible by this acoustic vulnerability.

The most powerful instrument of interpellation for the national socialists was the radio—technology that brought the voice of the surro-

gate of the Other directly to anyone listening to a broadcast. For Goebbels, the success of the national socialist project depended on the radio. Speaking in 1933 to national socialist officers in charge of developing radio strategies, Goebbels said, “do it well and we shall win the people; do it badly and the people in the end will run away from us.”³⁴

Bringing War Songs to the Front

A 1940 article in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* describes the importance of music in general, and war songs in particular, for the support of national socialist politics during the war years:

The enormous importance of marches in the lives of soldiers is by now known to everyone. Exhausted from a seemingly endless march, soldiers revive themselves as they sing a fresh song. But a soldier needs not only marches; other songs are necessary for survival [lebensnotwendig] and function for him as a release for his discouragements, his inner animal [innerer Schweinehund], his longings.³⁵

The article was written by a musician reporting from the field. The author writes at length about a three-day training course he took to bring war songs to soldiers. Those attending were to be trained as song leaders (“Singer”). There was a main leader (the “Lehrgangsleiter”) and an assistant (“Gaumusikreferent.”) The main leader lectured; the assistant put the lectures into practice. On the first day, there were workshops on the structure and meanings of war songs, and the song-leaders-in-training learned several songs, supervised by the leader and his assistant. The first evening consisted of very precise instructions about how to form song evenings for exhausted troops so that a spontaneous and supportive atmosphere among the soldiers and leaders arose “organically.” On the second day, the song leaders heard the songs they had been working on performed by choir with brass accompaniment. The third day summarized and brought together the content of the previous two. The author stresses the beauty, the simplicity, and the power of good war songs as distinguished from the pleasing but superficial quality of popular songs.³⁶

This article shows implicitly how music functions as ideological component of national socialist politics. The connection is explicit as well. Early in the article, the author says, “Orders from above alone are never sufficient; there must always be middlemen who forge a connection between the leader (“der Führer”) and the people (“Gefolgschaft.”) The

song leader fulfills this task best, since he belongs to the troops and can best be a beneficial influence upon them.”³⁷

Germany produced war songs before the national socialists gained power in 1933. There were war songs preparing the Germans for World War I, songs written in 1870 (such as “Die Wacht am Rhein” [Tibbe 21]), and songs written in the seventeenth and early nineteenth century.³⁸ Before examining national socialist war songs, I shall examine songs written for the Germans in World War I. These songs provide a body of practice from which the national socialists took and adapted textual and musical strategies.

German War Songs: World War I

Kriegslieder für das deutsche Volk comprised eleven volumes of songs published in 1914 and 1915.³⁹ The keys are simple with few accidentals and the rhythms clearly marchlike; even the songs in 6/8 and 12/8 have a duple sound (best for marching). Only the faintly liturgical “Gebet ans Volk” and “Das Marienburger Lied” are in ternary meter.⁴⁰

“Kriegslied” presents a text from 1870 that seeks to protect the fatherland from exploitation and calls for a holy war to spill the enemy’s blood (Figure 38):

1. Arise my people! Sword in hand! And break out from the masses!
Be baptized with this fire of passion for the fatherland! The archenemy offers you insult and injury; the time has come, to war with God on our side; to war with God on our side! Onward! Onward! Onward!
2. Your intent and wish was to build a home in peace; and strife came down swollen with poison and envy. Fall upon them and their brood; the maliciously-spilled blood! Onward! Onward! Onward!

The song is a call to arms—a march to be sung in battle. The first half of the song is lyrical with gently rising and falling motions emphasizing the first, third, and fifth scale degrees of D major. For the second half of the song, lyricism yields to slower, aggressive half and quarter notes. The music sets the line “to war with God on our side” to the rising line a-natural¹/b-natural¹/c-sharp²/d-natural² (measures 14–16). Text and music come together: the text’s linkage of holy war and bloodletting are set to a musical achievement of the pitch d-natural² with a stepwise ascent from the fifth—a-natural¹. The bugle calls “Onward! Onward! Onward!” tie d-natural² to d-natural¹ and the octave span of the song is completely

Em - por mein Volk! Das Schwert zur Hand! Und brich her - vor in
Hau - fen! Vom heil - gen Zorn ums Va - ter - land mit Feu - er lass dich
tau - fen! Der Erz - feind beut dir Schmach und Spott, das Maß ist voll, zur
Schlacht mit Gott zur Schlacht mit Gott! Vor - wärts! Vor - wärts! Vor - wärts!

Dein Haus in Frieden auszubauen, stand all dein Sinn und Wollen, da bricht den Hader er vom Zaun, von Gift und Neid geschwollen. Komm über ihn und seine Beut das frevelhaft vergossne Blut! Vorwärts!

Figure 38

resolved with the last note of the song.⁴¹ Figure 38 includes the lyrics to the first two stanzas; the song has six stanzas and was composed in July 1870.

“Der heilige Reiter” presents a text of a holy call to war outside Christianity (Figure 39):

1. I engage in a holy war, do not ask for salary, do not ask for victory.
I am a holy rider. I seek no cross and no grail and am nevertheless a thousand times more holy as fighter for my cause.
2. My heart keeps up with you, my horse. The earth trembles.
Trembling sword. I am a holy rider. I know no longer what drives me on; the best thing is, the victor remains. And I seek nothing else.

The 6/8 meter suggests the ongoing pace of the narrator’s horse, and the melody (while clearly located in F major) ends on the poised mediant.⁴² There is a level of understated terror in the text. The first stanza asserts the narrator’s holy mandate outside of Christianity; the second stanza suddenly shifts from third-person narration to a second-person form of address to the horse. And then there are two breathless lines with the repetition of “trembling.” The narrator no longer knows why he is fighting. He rides on, knowing only that the victor will remain standing in the end. The strophic setting of the music guarantees that these shifts will be contained within the driving 6/8 rhythm and clear diatonic tonality of F major.

5 Ich zieh in einen hei - li - gen Krieg frag nicht nach Lohn, frag nicht nach Sieg. Ich
9 bin ein hei - li - ger - Rei - ter. Kein Kreuz such ich und kei - nen Gral und
bin doch hei - lig tau - send-mal als mei - ner Sa - che Strei - ter.

Mein Herz hält Schritt mit dir, mein Pferd. Die Erde zittert, Zittere Schwert. Ich bin ein heiliger Reiter. Weiß nicht mehr, was mich vorwärts treibt, der Beste ist, der Sieger bleibt. Und ich begehrt nichts weiter.

Figure 39

4 Nun tritt ge - faßt mit Klirr und Klang und laßt die Ros-se, Ros-se
tra - ben, die weil wir von dem Stunk und Stank die Nase Na-se voll nun ha - ben, sie
9 trie-ben viel AhO-tri - a mit Lüf-gen und De-pe - schen, jetzt wol-len wir Ju-val-tera, jetzt
12 wol - len wir sie dre - schen dre - schen dre - schen, dre - schen, dre - schen, dre - schen.

Figure 40

"Marsch! Marsch!" is a song to be sung in battle. Here is the third stanza (Figure 40, with the words of the first stanza of the text):

Sing the last verse quickly since bullets are already whizzing. THUD, the enemy got one on his hide and needs to wipe his mouth. The whole world looks on trembling, flipping out of their galloshes. So, majesty, what do you say now, you're already defeated!

The text is light-hearted and giggly in effusive confidence. The music hammers relentlessly back and forth in tonic-median or tonic-dominant motions.

The second volume of the series, *Ein Hänlein woll'n wir rupfen*, consists of reworked war songs from the sixteenth through the nineteenth

centuries.⁴³ Several songs in this volume deal with leaving domestic, social space for war. "Die Jäger" is a typical example that replaces affective response with childish syllables. The text is third-person narration only; here are the fourth and fifth stanzas: "4. In 1914 the troubles began, and all the maidens began to cry, the large ones and the small ones, hi-ho, hi-ho, etc. / 5. They were called to formation, called to the bloody war. To fight for the kaiser, to fight for victory." The music is a duet in absolutely placid G major emphasizing scale degrees one, three, and five in thirds and sixths.

The very next song of the volume, "Soldatenabschied," internalizes the experience. The text describes being called to service; the most telling detail in the language is the modal verb "must" that accompanies every main verb of the first stanza: "The drum has sounded, and I must go; I must follow the word of my commander; I must leave the house of my father; I must go out into the wide open world. I must protect the fatherland despite the deceitful enemy; I must leave the house of my father: I must go out into the wide open world."

"Soldatenlosung" (Figure 41, with the words of the first stanza of the text) presents a darker text; here are the second and third stanzas:

2. When it flashes, thunders, and pounds, the blood flows red as roses; when the blood drips from our swords, then we're happy.
3. Where is he? Where is my comrade? He's fallen in the battle. We Germans don't question this; we're ready for it.

The music is a duet whose A major is just as placid as "Soldatenentod," with melodies that stress scale degrees one, three, and five, in thirds and sixths.

The last song in the volume stands out from the others. It is not an explicit war song. Rather its text praises, in gently sacred terms, the kingdom of God. It is a version of a chorale by J. S. Bach.⁴⁴ Having a piece connected to the Protestant church conclude the volume suggests a large scale "amen" to the project of awakening nationalist war sentiments in the volume's listener. Bach set the melody in his chorale number 149.⁴⁵ The uppermost melody is identical in both versions, and the harmonic are roughly equivalent. Wirth has replaced Bach's fermatas with note rhythms that keep the flow going. Wirth replaces Bach's four-part SAT texture with a piano texture notated with two tenor parts on the upper staff and two bass parts on the lower staff. Presumably, Wirth's version

Es gibt nichts Schön- res auf der Welt, kann auch nichts schö- ner sein, als wenn Sol- dat'n mar- schieren ins Feld, wenn sie bei- sam- men sind.

Figure 41

makes it easy for a piano to play along, doubling the voices. Bach had composed a bass line that is more rhythmically active than the upper voices; Wirth evens out the texture rhythmically, giving his version greater rhythmic uniformity.

The title of the third volume is taken from its first song, “Wohlauf Kameraden.”⁴⁶ The text of “Wohlauf Kameraden” is an eight-stanza poem by Friedrich Schiller. The poem posits the soldier as absolutely isolated in his freedom in a world of corrupt enemies: here are the first two stanzas:

1. Arise comrade, to your horse; to your horse to the field to freedom!
In the field, man is still valuable, his heart still carries weight. No one else will step in for him there! He stands there completely on his own!
2. Freedom has vanished from the world; one sees only lords and servants; deceit and tricks rule cowardly men. He who can look death straight in the face, this soldier alone is a free man.

Where all of the songs of the first volume are for one voice, all of the songs of the second volume are duets. Most of the songs of the third volume (including “Wohlauf Kameraden”) are for solo voice.⁴⁷ The music is cast in a strophic AAB form. In the middle of the B section, a fermata announces the entry of other voices for the rest of the song. This is a unique form in the songs I have seen. The music after the fermata repeats the text the solo voice has just sung, as if the many consists of replications of solo voices, all saying the same thing. The moment will sound to the listener like an echo in which he hears his own voice returning to him in the company of others.

“Zu Strassburg auf der Schanz” is told from the point of view of a French deserter who seeks death at the hands of his German captors. The enemy soldier craves an honorable death; here are stanzas five and

Es geht bei ge-dämpfter Trom-mel Klang: wie weit noch die Stätte, der Weg, wie lang! O wär er zur Ruh und al-les vor-bei! Ich glaub es bricht mir das Herz ent-zwei, Ich glaub es bricht mir das Herz ent-zwei.

Figure 42

six: “5. You brothers, all three of you, I beg you to shoot all at once. Don’t spare my young life! Shoot so that the red blood springs from my body, I beg you! 6. O queen of heaven, take up my soul! Take it to you in heaven; dear angels forget not mine!”

“Es geht” (Figure 42, with the words of the first stanza of the text) presents a text in which a woman witnesses the execution of her beloved. Here is the fourth stanza: “4. Nine took aim and eight bullets flew past; all tremble in agony and pain, but I, I struck him straight in his heart.” The song mimics the staccato beat of a snare drum. There is bitter irony in the song as the beloved’s heart is at once struck by the lover’s devotion and the executioners’ bullets.

“Frisch auf, Soldatenblut” (Figure 43, with the words of the first stanza of the text) provides a stark contrast between text and music:

1. Arise you soldier’s blood; arise in good spirits! And don’t let yourself feel fear when cannons are trembling. Beat the drum nice and strong; I want to be the first!
2. The drums roll; their sound is terrible. One sees almost no ground at all from all the dying and the dead. Here lies a foot; there lies an arm; Oh! May God have mercy!
3. One falls sprayed with his own blood. He folds his hands in prayer; his time is almost up. Dear one, good night!
4. How many young brides cry bitterly! Because she has been faithfully loving, he has stayed with the battle; his path is now complete. Dear sweetie, good night!

The music has the bright bounce of a bugle call in A major, sounding first, third, and fifth scale degrees within a limited range stressing a-natural¹. The music consists of three four-measure phrases; phrase one

5 Frisch auf, Sol-da-ten - blut, fäßt ei - nen fri - schen Mut! Und

9 laßt euch nicht er - schütt - tern, wann schon Ka - no - nen zit - tern.

Schla - get nur tap - fer drein, Ich will der er - ste sein!

Figure 43

ends wrapping the tonic a-natural¹ in both of its neighbors—b-natural¹ and g-sharp¹ (measures 3–4); phrase two ends on an unresolved leading-tone g-sharp¹ (measure 8); phrase three ends again wrapping the tonic a-natural¹ in both of its neighbors—b-natural¹ and g-sharp¹ (measures 12). The melodies of phrases one and three close on a-natural¹, outlining a compound melody (measures 3–4 and 11–12). The top portion of the melody moves in a 3-2-1 motion down to a-natural¹ (see the c-sharp² sixteenth note / the b-natural¹ sixteenth note / moving down to a-natural¹), while an implied lower voice articulates tonic from below—a-natural¹ / g-sharp¹ / a-natural¹.

The tenth volume of songs contains a very vivid account of a soldier dying—"Der sterbender Krieger" (Figure 44):

1. Far away on a green meadow lies a dying soldier who here on the field has fought honorably as a hero.
2. He heard the trumpet calling him to the dance of weapons and sees in his mind his homeland, forest and field in the brilliant sun.
3. His lips tremble gently "O, what a short path of life! I and many comrades will never again see my homeland again.
4. "If only I could shake the hands of my love one last time; I must leave the world, and I die for the fatherland.
5. "In my homeland I entrust my loved ones to God; may so much young, German blood not have flowed in vain!"
6. Evening winds blew around him, his breast is breathing hard; his limbs trembled gently and then his heart beats no longer

A binary meter would have made this song sound like a funeral march; instead, the $\frac{3}{4}$ meter gives it a hushed, sacred quality. The music is unique in the double quality of its 3–2–1 descending final line. The melody closes once, quickly in its higher register f-sharp²/e-natural²/

4 Fern auf frem-der, grü-ner Au-e liegt ein ster-ben-der Sol-
dat, der hier auf dem Feld der Eh-re als ein Held ge-foch-ten
8 hat, der hier auf dem Feld der Eh-re als ein Held ge-foch-ten hat.

Figure 44

Die Ku - gel traf, mich der Tod, und al - les tritt zu -
 4 ritlich. Jetzt end ich mei - nen Le - bens - lauf und all mein Le - bens - glück.
 9 Wer auf der Welt was Lie - bes hat, der blieb so gern all - hier. A -
 13 de - a - de, du schön - ne Welt, ich schei - de schwer von dir.

Figure 45

d-natural² in measure 9. The earlier f-sharp¹ is still resound however, and the last phrase of the music gently pulls the melody through e-natural (measures 10-11) to its final resting point — d-natural¹ (measure 12).

"Der sterbende Soldat" from volume 9 ("Ich weiss einen Lindenbaum stehen") is very unusual in the series (Figure 45, with words o the first stanza of the text). The pain of death is plentiful in the text "The wound burns, the eye fails, everything is faint around me. I was sent so soon into battle and now I lie dying here. Farewell sunlight; I shall see you no longer." The music (by Arnold Mendelssohn) begins in F minor and shifts to F major—a Schubertian touch. The poignancy o the song resides precisely in this modal shift as the dying soldier remembers what might have been in major. The range of the song is limited to a major sixth f-natural¹/d-natural² (plus the e-natural¹ leading tone). Note the imagery of the soldier's heart breaking in two at once from his fatal injury and from love for his beloved.⁴⁸

Of the remaining songs in the series, all are in major with only five exceptions.⁴⁹ There are two songs by major classical composers.⁵⁰ Most of the composers are men, but there are several songs in the series composed by women.⁵¹ The other songs in the series set texts in ways similar to the songs discussed above. The overwhelming use of major keys in the songs in this series and the preponderance of duple division make them ideal marching songs, with an occasional song in a darker minor mode and an occasional song in triple meter. The texts of the songs discussed above prepare the listener for the death and suffering of others and for his own death and suffering. The use of major keys in such songs produces a discrepancy in them between text and music.

German War Songs: World War II

A new version of *Wohlauf Kameraden* was published as *Wohlauf Kameraden! Ein Liederbuch der jungen Mannschaft von Soldaten, Bauern, Arbeiter und Studenten* in Berlin in 1934. The dedication to the volume reads:

Arise Comrades! A songbook of young people—soldiers, farmers, workers, and students. In cooperation with the national socialist, German student organization, the national organization of German technical and vocational education, the national association for the study of the German nation and homeland, edited by Gerhard Pallman. Bärenreiter, 1934.⁵²

Listing all these administrative groupings is the bureaucratic equivalent of the structure Leni Riefenstahl captures so clearly in *Triumph des Willens*, especially in the scene in which frontal medium shots capture German soldiers calling out their home regions. The exhaustive, bureaucratic subheadings of *Wohlauf Kameraden* make it possible for each German student, worker, and farmer to find him- or herself in the book.⁵³

The anthology as a medium is an ideological construct. It began in the nineteenth century as an outgrowth of the relatively recent inauguration of the masterwork in the Western canon. As soon as pieces of music achieved the status of monuments in culture, lesser pieces arranged themselves around the edges. Collections of such pieces became a common genre intended to provide pedagogical and recreational activity for the middle classes. The national socialists used this tradition of the anthology to further their project. *Wohlauf Kameraden* not only presents its performer/listener with pieces that celebrate the new Ger-

many; the anthology also embodies the act of purification itself, avoiding the stain of decadent music.⁵⁴

The title of the collection, *Wohlauf Kameraden*, embodies in miniature one aspect of my thesis about right-wing ideology. The editors have taken the leftist word *comrades* to refer to fascist subjects. The book is an anthology of German music that presents, as if an organic whole, a history of chorales, folk songs, national socialist war songs, and songs of workers and laborers whose texts have all been bent to the right.⁵⁵

The book has a foreword by Frick, interior minister of the Nazis. With reference to the folk song, Frick writes:

If this weapon, which has been proven within our own ranks, is placed in the hands of the German worker, it will fundamentally contribute to the manifestation and internal realization of the national socialist revolution. "Wohlauf Kameraden" should be the battle cry to war in which the Hitler youth and the university and college students step up to the great task of a higher calling with the will to form a new internal unity of the nation based on the foundation of its thousand years of cultural heritage.⁵⁶

Two things strike me as remarkable about this anthology. First, the speed with which it came out—a mere year after the national socialists attained power in 1933—and second, the gesture of re-marking the entirety of German music history, including socialist worker songs, into the ideological circle of fascism.⁵⁷ The book's sources are well documented. Brief citations at the bottom of each song suggest the apparatus of musical-cological scholarship. Many of the citations say "mundlich überliefert" or "aurally transmitted." This, too, is ideological, as if to add a touch of the authenticity of the aural tradition to the powerfully mediated production of national socialist ideology.⁵⁸

Pallman's *Wohlauf Kameraden* of 1934 opens with a transposed and altered version of a song that had begun the earlier collection of the same title published in 1914. The 1914 version has eight stanzas of a text by Friedrich Schiller set to a song in B-flat major. For his 1934 work, Pallman transposes the song to a brighter A major. The 1914 version is for one voice alone; the 1934 version for two and then three voices. In the 1914 version there are eight stanzas of text; in the 1934 version, Pallman has omitted stanzas 4–7. Pallman might have wanted to edit out particularly gruesome lines such as "he digs and shovels as long as he lives and digs till he digs his own grave" from the end of stanza 4.⁵⁹ The

1914 version had a fermata in the middle of the music; Pallman deletes the fermata in favor of constant, fluid, rhythmic motion.⁶⁰

Much of the power of *Wohlauf Kameraden* derives from juxtaposition. The songs seem loosely organized—within each section of the book they are unnumbered—but the editor seems to alternate between the archaic and the contemporary to create in the ear of the singing subject a sense of deep connection between the texts and music of Germany's past and national socialist present. To see how this works, I will examine the sixteenth and seventeenth songs of the first section "Volk und Reich": "Gelöbnis" and "Die Fahne hoch," respectively. Here is the text of "Gelöbnis":

I swear to you, o fatherland
with clean sword firmly in my hand
upon the altars of the holy shrine
to be true to you unto death.

I swear to you, o freedom
to serve you as well till my last breath
with heart and soul, courage and blood,
a man's best attributes.

I swear I will enflame bloody hatred
and the deepest rage
without regard to whom and whose land
who disgrace our German soil.

You above in heaven
who steers both suns and hearts
you great God, o abide by my side
that I remain true and faithful to you.

The music (Figure 46) is extraordinary in many ways. The meter is 5/2. Each line of text gets one measure of music, beginning and ending with half notes; quarter notes are in between. Each measure is a single phrase. The meter is simple and declamatory. The half notes mark off the modality of D dorian: d-natural'/a-natural' for the first phrase, a-natural'/d-natural' for the second phrase, a-natural'/f-natural' for the third phrase, and f-natural'/d-natural' for the fourth phrase.⁶¹ Half notes are points of departure and destination. It is as if the rhythm embodied the declamatory gesture of the text's oath taking; from one half note to another, the singer pledges his or her allegiance.

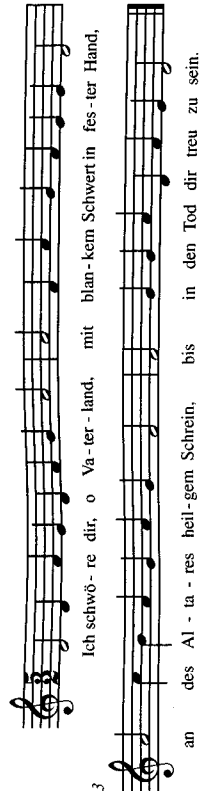


Figure 46

The archaic D dorian has no leading tone and fails to reach d-natural², coming very close with the c-natural² in the third phrase.⁶² The dark, failed apex of the melody sets up the powerful descending perfect fifth dead center of the fourth phrase. The perfect fifth sets "Tod" (death). There is a religious undercurrent in this work, both in the text and music. Fred K. Prieberg has argued extensively that the national socialists carefully refigured church music in the years from 1933 to 1945. The national socialists discouraged texts that were "confessional" and pointed away from "das Volk" as source of meaning in German life. Textual alterations ranged from subtle to explicit, including the project of reading Bach and Handel as composers of the new Germany (Prieberg 344–75).⁶³ "Gelöbnis" is followed by a song that has become infamous, the "Horst-Wessel Lied," published in *Wohlauf Kameraden* as "Die Fahne hoch":

Raise the flag, the troops in tight formation!
The SA is marching in calm, steady formation.
Comrades who were shot as reactionaries,
they march as ghosts with our formations.

Clear the street for the brown battalion!
Clear the street for the storm troop leader,
millions are already gazing with hope at the swastika.
The day for freedom and bread has come.

The attack alarm has sounded for the last time:
we all stand ready for the fight.
Soon Hitler's flag will flutter above all streets,
the servitude will last only a little longer.

Raise the flag, the troops in tight formation!
The SA is marching in calm, steady formation.
Comrades who were shot as reactionaries,
they march as ghosts with our formations.

Figure 47

Like “Gelöbnis,” “Die Fahne hoch” (Figure 47) gives each line of text a phrase of music.⁶⁴ Unlike “Gelöbnis,” “Die Fahne hoch” is in fully realized, modern B-flat major, complete with leading tone a-natural¹ and the bright and powerful third scale degree d-natural² (the note that the previous song had failed to reach) in the third phrase. More importantly, “Die Fahne hoch” rhythmically resolves the irregular 5/2 of “Gelöbnis.” “Die Fahne hoch” is in clear 4/4, the meter of the text’s calm SA formations. This is a marching motion of complete confidence and expansive certainty. Each phrase begins with a quarter rest in which the singer can comfortably take in breath for the next phrase. And while a dark, descending third ends “Gelöbnis,” a bright, ascending third concludes “Die Fahne hoch.”⁶⁵

“Spruch” is quite similar to “Gelöbnis.” The text is from Ernst Leibel; the setting from Walther Henkel in 1929:

And the fist will be weak from bruises,
we believe in our eternal goals
and incite the red-hot fire.
And hope deep in hard humiliation
that Germany’s sun shall rise again.

The haggling foreigners became guilty;
we have suffered long enough, patiently in God’s eyes.
But now it has come to an end!
God gives the insolent, malicious power of money
back into our hands.

Then let us build upon spirit and love!
The chaff is separated and the red kernels
remain in our strainer.
To work! To work! The vein
sows it blessing in the fields.

Writing in 1944, Richard Eichenauer speaks of “bäuerlich” as a state of mind of national socialist “Bodenfestigkeit,” of being rooted in time and space as opposed to the nomadic “hin und her” of Jews and Gypsies.⁶⁶ For Eichenauer the “Bodenfestigkeit” of national socialist ideology is reflected in the simple acts of farming, of working with the seasons, as reflected in the text of “Spruch” (Figure 48).⁶⁷ The national socialists skillfully blended politics and nature in their music anthologies. *Musikalisches Fei ergestaltung* was published in 1938; it is an annotated bibliography of music with brief essays aimed at giving teachers and music leaders throughout the country a guide to what music to sing for specific occasions. The cycle of seasons is stressed throughout with key festivities, including the “Tag der Macht ergiefung” (January 30), blended seamlessly into a series of seasonal celebrations.⁶⁸

The text alludes to Germany’s post-World War I economic woes in conventional anti-Semitic discourse. The text focuses on reclaiming the land in idealized agricultural imagery. The five-line stanza gives the text a heavy, labored quality. The music, like “Gelöbnis,” is in a combination of meters: 3/2 and 2/2—a pacing but awkward meter. Each line of text gets a phrase, each beginning with an upbeat. Like “Gelöbnis,” each phrase reaches out. Rhythmically there is an upbeat, a measure of 3/2 or 2/2 followed either by repeated notes or two half notes. “Spruch” is in D dorian without leading tone. The range is an octave from d-natural¹ to d-natural² (with an upper neighbor e-natural² extending the octave to a ninth). The archaic modality is articulated by the endings of the three phrases. The first phrase ends with ascending g-natural¹ / a-natural¹ slur followed by a half-note a-natural¹ in measure 2. The second phrase closes on two half notes: b-natural¹/a-natural¹ in measure 6. The third phrase brings the entire song down to the modal point of origin with e-natural¹ moving to d-natural¹ in measure 10.

The next song in *Wohlauf Kameraden*, “Deutsches Weihenlied,”⁶⁹ moves the modality of D dorian into the tonal D minor:

We raise our hands in deep, bitter misery.
Lord God send us a leader

3 Und wird die Faust uns Schwach von Schwie - len, wir
glau-ben un-tern ew-gen Zie - len und glü-hen Feu-er - brän - de. Und
7 hof-fen tief in har - ter Schmach auf Deutsch-lands Son - nen - wen-de.

Figure 48

who will turn around our sorrows,
with powerful command
with powerful command.

Awake for us, the hero
who has mercy on his people;
the people that has been weighed down by darkness,
sold and betrayed,
and are in the hands of our enemy.

Awake for us the hero,
who is strong in times of need,
who will stir his Germany powerfully,
who leads your Germany with belief
into the red of the morning sun.

We bless our arms and weapons,
our heads, and heart, and hand!
Do not let your light, people
of the earth and my mother's land,
be ruined.

This text, from 1919, brings to the surface the anthology's strategy of stirring post-World War I outrage at reparations. The image of Germany marching, renewed, into the red sun of morning condenses the move of making a glimpse to the east represent rebirth (simultaneously of the new day and the new German nation) as well as a right-wing appropriation of left-wing workers' imagery. The text's urge is for prayer, however, not revolution. The text associates the national socialist response to Germany's post-World War I humiliation with the Pfingsten religious holiday. And the title of the song, "Deutsches Weihelied," connects the work to songs of blessing and devotion (Figure 49).

5 Wir he - ben uns - re Hän - de aus tief-ster bitt - rer Not. Herr
Gott, den Füh - rer send - de, der un - tern Ku - mmer wen - de mit
9 mäch - ti - gem Ge - bot, mit mäch - ti - gen Ge - bot.

Figure 49

This song takes the laconic, awkward D dorian of "Spruch" and brings it into the diatonic tonality of D minor. "Deutsches Weihelied" has three phrases. Each phrase is split into two subphrases. The first subphrase moves from a-natural¹ down to d-natural¹ through the third f-natural¹/e-natural¹/d-natural¹ (measures 1-2). The second subphrase introduces the leading tone of the now decidedly diatonic D minor and pauses at its conclusion on a-natural¹ (measure 4). Both subphrases of the next phrase outline F major (measures 4-6 and 6-8). The third phrase (measures 8-12) brings us back to D minor with the first subphrase (measures 8-10) ending on the f-natural¹/g-natural¹/a-natural¹ rising motion. After the horn-call perfect fourth from a-natural¹ to d-natural², the same rising motion is repeated, and the song ends on d-natural¹.

The next song continues to work with the D dorian / D minor modal/tonal binary. "Morgenruf" (Figure 50) has, according to the song's documentation, a complex history. The text is Schenkendorf (1813); the music from Heinrich Schütz (1628); the version at hand by Ernst Sommer:

Arise from the earth, you who are slumbering!
The horses whinny the good morning to us.
The lovely weapons are shimmering
so brightly in the red of the morning sun;
one dreams of victory wreaths and of death.

You splendid God, in grace
look down from the blue tent above!
You yourself brought us here
to this field of weapons.
Let us have the day
and give us victory;
the Christian flags are fluttering,
the war, dear Lord, is yours.

A morning shall come,
a morning mild and clear;
the devout are waiting expectantly
the company of angels gazes at them.
Soon he shines like a mantle
upon each German man;
O day of fullness, break forth,
you day of freedom, break forth!

Then resounding from all the towers
and resounding in every chest,
and quiet after the storm
and love and high spirits!
All paths resound
then cries of victory,
and we the loyal soldiers
we were also there!

The conflation of religion and war is condensed in the phrases “Engel Schar” and “Christenbanner.” “Engel” and “Christ” are Christian images; “Schar” and “Banner” are military images. The music is a hybrid of modality and diatonic tonality. The first phrase (measures 1–4) suggests D minor with the ascending line b-natural¹/c-sharp²/d-natural². The rest of the piece sounds like D dorian with C-naturals and B-flats.⁷⁰

“Das Lied vom neuen Reich” (Figure 51) is explicit national socialist propaganda. The text is by Hermann Claudius 1933; the music by Konrad Ameln:

We want a strong, united empire
for which our fathers fell.
That’s why we march, you and I,
and hundreds of thousands, too,
and our flags unfurl.

We want a strong, united empire
for us and our descendants.
That’s why we march, you and I,
and hundreds of thousands, too.
And for this, we wish to die!

We want a strong, united empire
full of high spirits.
That’s why we march, you and I
and hundreds of thousands, too.
And our flags blow.

Er - hebt euch von der Er - de, ihr Schlä - fer, aus der Ruh!
Die lie - ben Waf - fen glä - zen so hell im Mor - gen - rot;
man träumt von Sie - ges - krän - zen, man denkt auch an den Tod.

Figure 50

We want a strong, united empire
of our own German blood.
That’s why we march, you and I,
and hundreds of thousands, too.
Help, O Lord, our courage.

There is one vocal phrase for each line of the text—an uneven five-line form. The song is in D dorian. While the vocal line reaches d-natural² (measures 3, 5, and 8) and sounds bright, the lower register sounds dark, poised on e-natural¹ at the end of the song.

One of the clearest examples of musical appropriation occurs in the three versions of the socialist worker song “Brüder zur Sonne zur Freiheit” in *Wohlauf Kameraden* (1934). The Russian revolutionary Leonid P. Radin wrote the text in 1897. “Arbeiterlied” bears the closest resemblance to the original. It contains a different second and third stanza that connect the worker of the first two stanzas with a national socialist worker of the new third stanza, as follows:⁷¹

Break the yoke of tyranny!
Its sowing must sprout!
Then fly the flag of the swastika
over the nation of workers!

See Figure 52 for “Arbeiterlied” with the added third strophe.

Monika Tibbe points out that the imagery and political orientation of the original leftist text was vague and hidden because the text and song were written in prison. The words had to be coded (Tibbe 39). It is precisely into this vague text that the national socialist interpolation of a new stanza can be placed.

Both other versions set text to this music exactly, with no change of tonality or articulation. Since this is a well-known song in its socialist

Wir wol-len ein star-kes ei-ni-ges Reich, wo-für unsre Väter ge-fal-len Da-für mar-schie-ren wir, ich und du, und hun-dert-tausend-de-da-zu. Und uns-re Fah-nen wal-len. (Mu-te)

Figure 51

Brecht-et das Joch der Ty-ran-nen! Auf-ge-hen muß ih-re Saat! Dann hißt die Ha-ken-kreuz-fa-he-ne ü-ber-dem Ar-bei-ter-staat!

Figure 52

original, and since Pallman included three rewritings of it in *Wohlauf Kameraden* (1934), I shall offer translations of the other two versions in their entirety. “Brüder formiert die Kollonen” occurs early in the volume and concludes the first section, entitled “Volk und Reich.”

1. Brothers, form columns!
Listen to the cries of thousands!
Germany, my Germany, we are coming
Coming to liberate you!
2. Hear what the dead are saying!
Working Germany is in need.
We unfurl our flags in storms
Blood-red and black as death.
3. Brothers, let's make an end of this.
Tear yourselves loose from your chains.
Germany, great Germany,
We are coming to make you unified and large once again.
4. Brothers form into columns.
Make an end to distress.
Germany, my Germany
We are coming with bread and freedom for you!

The other version of the song occurs right after the only work in the volume ascribed to a great composer: “Arbeiter tretet ein,” with music by Ludwig van Beethoven. “Arbeiter, tretet ein” is in F minor. The song is based on Beethoven’s three-part canon “Abbe Stadler,” originally in G minor.⁷²

The song that follows reworks the melody of “Brüder zur Sonne, zur Freiheit” one more time, in A major. Pallman is skillful throughout the anthology, linking songs in a gentle series of modal and tonal configurations. Having a piece in F minor be followed by a piece in A major sounds very bold, and it is an unusual harmonic opposition in the volume. F minor and A major are distant, chromatic mediants. “Brüder in Zechen und Gruben” has the same pitch structure as “Arbeiterlied” shown above. To this music, the following text is grafted:

1. Brothers in the mines and pits
Brothers behind the plow
Out of the factories and inns and offices
Follow the procession of the banner!
2. Hitler is our leader
He hasn't been tainted by the gold
Of Jewish thrones that
Roll at his feet!
3. The day of revenge is near!
One day we'll be free.
Working Germany awaken,
Break your chains in two!
4. Then let the banner fly,
So our enemies will see it, too!
We will always be victorious
As long as we stick together.
5. Load the empty rifles!
Load them with powder and lead.
Shoot the betrayers of the fatherland!
Down with Jewish tyranny!
6. Remain true to Hitler
True to the death!
Hitler will lead us
Once and for all from this distress.

Jews are only mentioned explicitly twice in this anthology—once in “Volk ans Gewehr” (to be discussed at the end of this chapter) and here

in "Brüder in Zechen und Gruben." The anti-Semitism in "Brüder in Zechen und Gruben" is particularly virulent, an extraordinary act of musical aggression for anyone with the socialist song in his or her ears.

There are several songs in *Wohlauf Kameraden* that set texts describing a soldier's death to simple, clear, diatonic harmonies. These songs depend on a simple and severe contrast between text and music. "Der Trommelbube" is an example:

1. We march along the street with calm, steady step
and the flag flutters above us.
2. The drummer boy marches at the front drumming well,
the boy has no idea, as love has no idea, who will be taken.
3. He drums many into blood and grave,
and yet each loves this happy drummer boy.
4. Maybe it will be me tomorrow who will die in blood,
the boy has no idea, as love has no idea, who will be taken.

There is a powerful disavowal of an affective response to death in this text. The happy drummer boy marches on in the dimension of drive, oblivious to the death around him. The implied narrator ponders the possibility of his own death; yet he, and all other implied subjects in the text, love the drummer boy nevertheless (Figure 53).⁷³

The music is in clear G major, moving from g-natural¹ (measure 1), to b-natural¹ (measures 2 and 5), to d-natural² (measure 6)—a clear arpeggiation of the triad of G major. The piece ends on b-natural¹ suggesting continuous motion, the implication of a first-inversion G major triad making the song resonate at its conclusion.

"Der Trommelbube" is very much like "Von allen den Kameraden" (Figure 54, with the words of the first stanza of the text):

1. Among all of our comrades
no one was as good and so true
as our little trumpeter
inspired by the joy of Hitler.
2. We sat so happily together
one stormy night,
and he made us happy
with his songs of freedom.
3. Then during his happy song
an enemy's bullet

Figure 53

- struck him down
with a wistful smile on his face.
4. We took shovels and spades
and dug a grave for him.
And those who liked him the best
lay him down to rest.
 5. Sleep well you little trumpeter,
we all liked you;
sleep well you little trumpeter
inspired by the joy of Hitler.⁷⁴

The music is in a clear and unremarkable C major. "Der Trommelbube" and "Von allen den Kameraden" are both songs in which fantasies of dying are set in very bright, diatonic harmonies.⁷⁵ There is, in both cases, a crass discrepancy between lyrics dark with ominous forebodings of death and very bright, diatonic music. This is a music of disavowal—profoundly psychotic at its edges.⁷⁶ As well, the songs give to the subject singing them a self-pitying fantasy projection of what it would be like to have comrades mourn one's own death.⁷⁷

We have listened to several songs of *Wohlauf Kameraden* that typify national socialist strategies for creating a musical vehicle of interpellation. Some songs rely subtly on appropriation of Jewish elements (as does "Volk ans Gewehr," to be discussed below); other songs take music and openly substitute new, national socialist texts (i.e., "Lied der alten Garde," not discussed here). Some songs turn a worker's song to the right (three versions of "Brüder zur Sonne zur Freiheit"). Some songs use bright, diatonic harmonies to disavow affective responses ("Der Trommelbube")

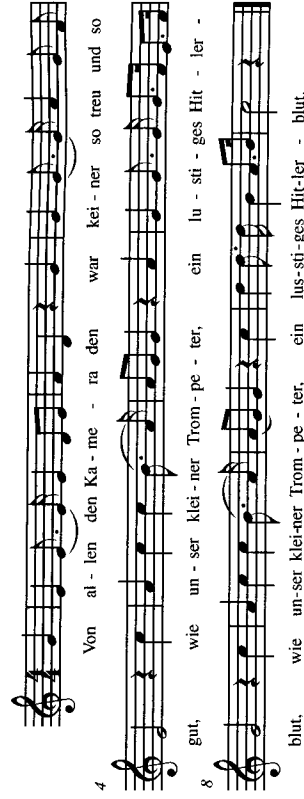


Figure 54

and “Von allen den Kameraden”). Several songs evoke a dark, pretonal modality to evoke, simultaneously, a purer German past and a burden to be overcome (“Das Lied vom neuen Reich”). Other songs move in pairs back and forth between tonal and modal musical materials (“Gelöbnis” and “Die fahne Hoch”). Such binary motions create at once an evocation of a pretonal world of German purity (better than the national socialist “present”) and a triumphant rebirth of the German spirit (better than the dark, modal “past”).

One of the main differences between *Wohlauf Kameraden* (1914) and *Wohlauf Kameraden* (1934) is that, in the world of the latter collection, the enemy is both without and within German social space.⁷⁸ As a result, the binary oppositions upon which national socialist aggression are based are much more complex than those that underwrite the German songs of World War I. The psychoanalytic structure of sadism can help us understand subject formations based upon complex (mis)identifications of the enemy within and the enemy without.

Music as Sadism

Masochism and sadism and were first coined as psychoanalytic terms in 1893 by Richard Freiherr von Krafft-Ebing, with reference to the lives of the Marquis de Sade and Baron von Sacher-Masoch, respectively.⁷⁹ Sigmund Freud discussed sadism and masochism as the two poles of pleasure resulting from inflicting pain on the other (sadism) and inflicting pain on the self (masochism). For Freud, the violent component of sexuality produces, in extreme versions, the perversions of sadism and masochism. For Freud, sadism is primary; masochism, secondary.⁸⁰

At the end of his lecture “The Deconstruction of the Drive,” Lacan says,

how can one say, just like that, as Freud goes on to do, that exhibitionism is the contrary of voyeurism, or that masochism is the contrary of sadism? He posits this simply for grammatical reasons, for reasons concerning the inversion of the subject and the object, as if the grammatical object and subject were real functions. It is easy to show that this is not the case, and we have only to refer to our structure of language for this deduction to become impossible. But what, by means of this game, he conveys to us about the essence of the drive is what, next time, I will define for you as the trace of the act.⁸¹

For Lacan, the sadist is more interested in the gaze of the Other than an other he abuses. Let us consider the voyeur as an illustration. Lacan situates the articulation of the voyeur’s subject position with a look at an other imbricated withing the symbolic and inscrutable gaze of the Other in whose service the entire scenario takes place.⁸² When Lacan says that sadism “is a question of *Herrschaft*, of *Bewältigung*,”⁸³ he means mastery of an other in the service of the Other.

Let us imagine how this works with Lacan’s well-known broken circle of drive. At the tiny horizontal bar that suggests a starting point, the drive moves toward its object counterclockwise, aiming at the other imbricated within the symbolic gaze of the Other. If brute cruelty were at stake, an act of violence would close the circle. But these war songs suggest in their proliferation, their strophic structures, their reworkings of a small number of images, motives, and calls to arms, the dimension of drive.

If you write a computer program as a series of if-then statements and variables, the program will run once and stop. In the old days of slow computers, a programmer could see the singular event in a flawed program and fix it; now since computers are so fast, a singular run through a program occurs so quickly it is hard to distinguish what has happened from what hasn’t. But with the addition of a “repeat loop,” the program will run over and over again, with a sense of digital “presence” simulated by reiterated “nows” at the speed of the processor. So what is the sadist’s repeat loop? What keeps the sadist from exhausting his energy in a single expenditure of pain?

The sadist’s other can never feel enough pain since what the sadist really wants resides in the symbolic space of the Other—always at an inscrutable remove from the imaginary oscillations of (mis)identifications moving back and forth between the self and the other.⁸⁴

“Volk ans Gewehr” and Sadism

“Volk ans Gewehr” is the fourth song in *Wohlauf Kameraden*. It was written by Arno Pardun, composer of several songs in the anthology. It was dedicated to Goebbels and, according to Theodor Adorno, was “in the desolate air of Berlin in 1932 and 1933.”⁸⁵ According to Hodek, “Volk ans Gewehr” was one of the most often sung SS songs of the fascist years (Hodek 31). Leni Riefenstahl included the song in the soundtrack of her 1934 classic *Triumph des Willens*.⁸⁶

1. See in the east the red of morning?
A sign of freedom of the sun!
We'll stick together, in life as in death,
whatever comes our way!

Why do we still doubt?
Stop quarrelling,
There's still German blood in our veins
The people to arms! The people to arms!
2. Many years passed.
The people betrayed and oppressed.
Traitors and Jews profited;
they had legions of victims.

A leader arose from the people,
restored belief and hope
to the people of Germany.
The people to arms! The people to arms!
3. Germans arise and stand in line for battle;
we march ahead to victory!
Work shall be free and we want to be free
and courageous and bold.

We ball up our fists and will dare
there's no turning back now
and no one can back out.
The people to arms! The people to arms!
4. Young and old, man for man,
embrace the flag of the swastika.
Whether townsman, or farmer, or worker,
they swing the sword and the hammer.

For Hitler, for freedom, for work, and bread.
Awaken Germany!

4 Siehst du im O - sten das Mor-gen-rot? Ein Zei-chen zur Frei-heit, zur

8 Son-ne! Wir hal-ten zu-san-nen, ob Le-ben ob Tod, mag kom-men was im-mer da

12 wol-le Wa - rum jetzt noch zweifeln, hört auf mit dem Ha-der-moch fließt uns deutsches

Blut in den A-dem. Volk ans Ge - wehr! Volk ans Ge - wehr!

Figure 55

An end to distress.

The people to arms! The people to arms!

The song appropriates the music of the other in an act of barely disguised musical cannibalism (Figure 55). The music that sets the first stanza sounds like a Jewish melody.⁸⁷ The dotted rhythm, the gently rising melody in D dorian rises to the fifth, inflected with the flatted sixth, B-flat, before falling again back to D-natural. The repeated melody sounds gentler with the a-natural in measure 4 that is an upbeat to measure 5. One could hear the melody in D minor, but for me the song is more modal than tonal with the absence of the leading-tone C-sharp.⁸⁸

The setting of the second stanza opens up suddenly with the octave leap from d-natural¹ to d-natural² (measure 9). This leap signifies for me a gesture of mastery that eradicates the melancholy of the first stanza. And more pointedly, the octave leap musically replaces the music of the other with a move to the masculine, contemporary, German F major. The octave leap is followed by a minor seventh that is very hard to sing, setting the words “uns deutsche.” The g-natural¹ to f-natural² seventh (measure 11) strains the voice and threatens to tear apart the unison texture of male voices.⁸⁹ This minor seventh did not need to happen. The melody is descending from g-natural¹, and the song could have continued its descent; it would, in fact, have been more singable that way.⁹⁰

The musical setting of the first iteration of the phrase “Volk ans Gewehr” describes the descending perfect-fourth f-natural² (downbeat of measure 13) to c-natural² (downbeat of measure 14) outlining F major

in a tonic to dominant motion. The musical setting of the second iteration of "Volk ans Gewehr" returns suddenly to D dorian, with the hail-like ascending perfect-fourth a-natural¹ to d-natural² (measures 15–16). F major suggests the impossibly perfect, purged body of the male, fascist subject ("noch fließt uns deutsches Blut in den Adern").⁹¹

Before the settings of the line "Volk ans Gewehr," the note values are sixteenth notes, dotted eighth notes, quarter notes, and dotted quarter notes in the song. The first "Volk" (measure 13) repeats the song's climactic f-natural² held for two full beats; after two beats of rest, the next "Volk" and the syllable "-wehr" (of the word "Gewehr") also get half notes (measures 15–16).

The song is strophic—the same music is set to each stanza. This is a highly conventional structure in religious, folk, and art music. In this song, however, the strophic setting qualitatively contributes to the song's structure. Over and over again, the music embodies the music of the other in D dorian followed by a leap to f-natural² in F major. The music stiffens then collapses and as men and women fill and empty their bodies and the bodies of those around them with sound.⁹²

The phrase "Volk ans Gewehr" occurs at the ends of stanzas 2, 4, 6, and 8. Understanding these occurrences of the phrase as repetition might lead to a state of military readiness, as in "people to arms (repeated), and once you're ready, attack!" On another level, the phrase "people to arms" suggests a desire for readiness that is always already too late. Thus no amount of military readiness will ever sufficiently protect the state, since it is always already infected by the other. In this sense, occurrences of the phrase "the people to arms" are reiterative—saying the same thing over and over again.⁹³

In the late nineteenth, early twentieth century, traumatic neuroses began to emerge in Europe and America as the result of industrialization and its capacity to produce severe accidents. The trauma of highly mechanized war supported many of the war songs that prepared German soldiers for World War I. Several of these songs explicitly represent dismemberment, especially "Frisch auf, Soldatenblut" discussed above.⁹⁴ The songs from *Wohlauf Kameraden* (1934), however, have no such explicit representations of dismemberment.

While the World War I songs contain works written by women, *Wohlauf Kameraden* (1934) contains no songs by women, reflecting the

gender politics of the national socialists that held that women belong at home raising children or in a social position clearly subordinated to male authority figures.⁹⁵ Like their antecedents, the songs of *Wohlauf Kameraden* (1934) reach far back into German history for textual and musical sources. Unlike their antecedents, the songs of the later *Wohlauf Kameraden* use a wide variety of meters to simulate spoken language, evocative of German theater of the 1920s, and skillfully oscillate between tonal and modal musical materials.⁹⁶

Both the earlier and the later *Wohlauf Kameraden* contain songs whose texts suggest a connection between war and love beyond imagery of the sacrifice of domestic love for love of country or thinking of one's beloved at the moment of falling in the field. In particular, "Es geht" from *Wohlauf Kameraden* (1914) and "Der Trommelbube" from *Wohlauf Kameraden* (1934) connect love and war. To think of a bullet piercing a soldier's heart as love that breaks his heart ("Es geht") and to think of the appearance of death in war as the appearance of love in peacetime ("Der Trommelbube") suggest that these are less war songs than love songs: love of country, love of family, love of comrades, love of adventure, love of independence, and love of one's beloved at a distance.