

Kees Ivens and the Waalbridge

Joris Ivens shot many film sequences with bridges. This probably had to do with his youth, when as a kid and youngster he almost on a daily basis was confronted with his fathers' plans to build a large traffic bridge crossing the river Waal in his birthplace Nijmegen, the main river between Rotterdam and the industrial Ruhr area. Kees Ivens initiated in 1905 his visionary ideas about transportation and the construction of a bridge replacing the centuries old ferry. It took him 31 years of a hard fight before the queen could open the Waalbridge on 16 June 1936. In 2011 the 75th anniversary of this bridge, at that time the largest iron span bridge in Europe, will be celebrated with an exhibition, a book, a filmprogramme and several public events. The personality of Kees Ivens will be commemorated. The Ivens Foundation, Museum Het Valkhof, the Regional Archives Nijmegen and the local historical film society collaborate to organize this local event.

Book Robert Capa in China with Joris Ivens and Ferno

Rixt Boomsma wrote an article in the previous Ivens Magazine about Robert Capa's photos made in China, when he accompanied Joris Ivens and John Ferno during the shooting of *The 400 Million*. She found unknown photos and prints in US and Dutch photo archives. The most extensive collection of work photos made by Capa during his work in China can be found at the Ivens Archives (over 80 prints). Her research sponsored by the Manfred and Hanna Heiting Fund results in a book published by the Rijksmuseum. She is also preparing an exhibition with Capa's photos. Expected in December 2010: *Photography meets Film: Capa, Ivens and*

Fernhout in China, 1938 by Rixt A. Bosma. In the series Rijksmuseum Studies in Photography, published with the support of the Manfred & Hanna Heiting Fund. € 22.95, ISBN 978 90 71450 31 0. info: www.rijksmuseum.nl

Two avant-garde theatre plays with Ivens'films

At the end of the 1920's Joris Ivens collaborated in two avant-garde artworks, performed by students from the Technical University of Delft: the open air performance 'D.16.M.M.' (1928) and the theater play 'Donogoo Tonka' (1931). Film images from Ivens were integrated in the décor. Both theatre plays were performed during the manifestation 'The Group of Delft' that started on 15th of February and lasted till November 2010.

'D.16.M.M.' ('D 16 Mensch en Machine') was as a theatre play created in 1928 by Mannus Franken. It had a remarkable size of décor with a big machinery crushing people. In this machine Mannus Franken tried to visualise the battle between spirit and matter, men and machine, power and intellect. Franken wrote: 'A catastrophe was in the air, a fear that this Robot would become a Golem'. Ivens took care of the abstract film images and designed a equally remarkable modern décor of white cones. On



the 5th and 6th of June 2010 a reinterpretation of 'D.16.M.M.' was performed in Delft.

'Donogoo Tonka' is the original film script from 1919 written by the French poet and writer Jules Romains. A year later he published this story about a man with suicidal tendencies who was given the advice by a biometric psychotherapist and a geographer to go to a non existing country in South-America, to proof his luck,



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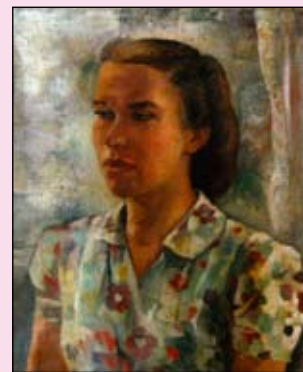
together with other treasury diggers. Because the film was not realised, Romains changed the text into a theatre play. On February the 7th 1931 the Delft Student Theater group (DSTG) performed 'Donogoo Tonka' in the Stadsdoelen. Joris Ivens shot images of fortune seekers, industrious looking for treasures in the dunes of the Northsea at Wassenaar.

Both experimental films of Ivens –the one surrealistic, the other abstract- got lost. We only find proof of the fact that Ivens made these films because the newspapers mentioned it and the Ivens Archives is keeping some stills.

Fake or fact?

In 1929 Joris Ivens fell in love with Anneke van der Feer, a young blonde Frisian with a strong personality. As an artist she was involved in several Communist groups, for which she made illustrations, drawings, posters and paintings. She also designed the film poster for *Philips Radio*, once awarded best film poster of the Netherlands ever. In 1931 she accompanied Ivens to Russia where she staid for a couple of years. Her artistic work is hard to trace, but suddenly in 2009 during an exhibition in the Dutch city of Veere several paintings appeared. More striking: the series of paintings involved some of the protagonists of Ivens' circle of friends in Amsterdam: Eva Besnyö, John Fernhout, his sister Annetje Fernhout, Joris Ivens and Anneke van der Feer herself. Was dropping these well known names merely a trick to raise more money for sale? Or was the quality of Van der Feers paintings that worse that one cannot recognize any of the persons mentioned in the titles? Watch the paintings and make your own judgement...

Anneke van der Feer, Annetje Fernhout, Joris Ivens, John Fernhout, and Eva Besnyö, Oil on Canvas, the 1930's. Private collection.



THE

ivens

MAGAZINE

Nr 16 | OCTOBER 2010 EUROPEAN FOUNDATION JORIS IVENS

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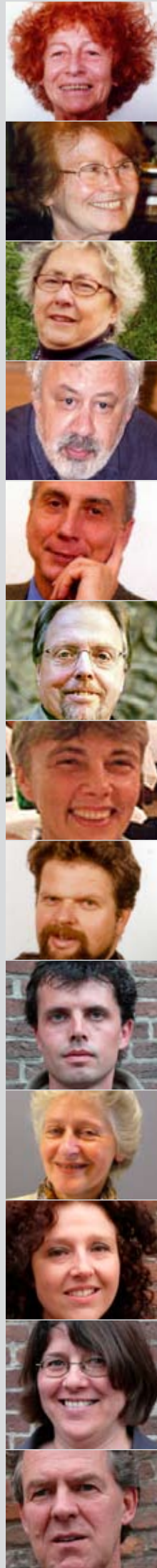
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Joris Ivens and Ernest Hemingway in Hollywood, July 1937
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ivens

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AND THE JORIS IVENS AWARD GOES TO...

'Le Prix Joris Ivens' at Cinéma du réel



ANDRÉ STUFKENS

Marceline Loridan-Ivens presenting the Joris Ivens Award to director René Ballesteros on 27 March 2010. Photo © Marion Saltel / Cdr
The audience at the 31th Cinéma du réel award evening. © Gaëlle Delort / Cdr

Javier Packer-Comyn, artistic director. Photo © Marion Saltel / Cdr

Sophie Goupil, president l'Association des Amis du Cinéma du réel. © Marion Saltel / Cdr

SINCE 1978, THE 'CINÉMA DU RÉEL' INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTARY FILM FESTIVAL IN PARIS HAS BEEN AN OUTSTANDING INTERNATIONAL MEETING POINT, WHERE THE PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONALS DISCOVER THE FILMS OF EXPERIENCED AUTHORS AS WELL AS NEW TALENTS, THE HISTORY OF DOCUMENTARY CINEMA AS WELL AS CONTEMPORARY WORKS. THE FESTIVAL PROGRAMMED THIS YEAR 226 FILMS FOR ITS VARIOUS SECTIONS, SCREENED AT THE CENTRE POMPIDOU, THE CENTRE WALLONIE-BRUXELLES, THE MK2 BEAUBOURG FILM THEATRE AND SEVERAL OTHER THEATRES IN THE ÎLE-DE-FRANCE AREA.

For decades 'Le Prix Joris Ivens' was granted at this festival, but the 2010 edition of the festival gave a new impulse to this award. Artistic director Javier Packer-Comyn says: 'The timing is perfect. Indeed we launched a new competitive section 'Premiers films / First films' dedicated to young filmmakers. 'Cinéma du réel' presents this new section in order to promote the debuts and the Joris Ivens award as something really important. Next to our main prize this is the most important award. In this section the festival shows the best 'first and second films' of the whole competitive selection of the festival. Both Marceline Loridan-Ivens, the European Foundation Joris Ivens and l'Association des Amis du Cinéma du réel are supporting the new competition with a total grant of 7,500 euro. After all this fits Joris Ivens' ideals, who during his lifetime spent much effort in supporting and encouraging young filmmakers wherever he could.

Marceline Loridan-Ivens presented the 'Joris Ivens Award' to Chilean filmmaker René Ballesteros for his documentary *La Quemadura (The Burn)*. The new First Films section found its natural place among the competitive proposition. With

the new Joris Ivens Award it established an attentive look at the boldest young contemporary creation.

La Quemadura

In the documentary the Chilean director René Ballesteros tells the story of his mother, who disappeared during the dictatorship 26 years ago. It is filmed from the perspective of René and his sister Karin, who at the age of almost 30 are attempting to discover the true reason for their mother's strange disappearance. The film also makes many references to the Chilean publishing house Quimantú, which was born as a project of Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular government to make literature more accessible to vulnerable sectors of society. However, its books were burned after the coup d'état, and the few copies that remain add to Ballesteros's story, which uses them to understand the past.

Next to the 'Joris Ivens Award' *La Quemadura* did won the Award of Best Filmmaker at the SANFIC Festival (Festival Internacional de Cine de Santiago de Chile) and the First Prize of the Jury in the Original Full-Length Documentary Section at the festival Documenta Madrid.





Interview René Ballesteros

Can you describe the presentation evening, what did it mean to you personally?

Ballesteros: 'It was an exciting soirée. I was not expecting this at all. It's my first film and the world premiere was at Cinéma du réel. I imagined that people who received awards at festivals, were discreetly advised by the organization. When they began to describe the film that won the Joris Ivens Award and when they spoke of a director who made a film searching for its missing mother it went through my head in a moment that someone had done a movie with the same subject as me and how it was possible that I had not seen this film in the program. When I was asked on stage and stood in front of Marceline Loridan-Ivens I could not believe it. The only thing I managed to say was that it was like in Chronique d'un été. She laughed and said 'but it was almost 50 years ago!'. It was very nice to receive the prize, Joris Ivens means so much to me as a filmmaker as well as the special relationship Ivens had with Chile. And to meet Marceline. Unforgettable.'

Does this price, the Prix Joris Ivens helps you in the next project?

Ballesteros: 'The award for La Quemadura, my first film, a documentary that tried to relate the story of my family with the history of my country and having received this recognition is certainly a driving force, something that makes me confident. For me it means that what I do can be welcomed and appreciated by others.'

Which trends do you see in contemporary documentary?

Ballesteros: 'In contemporary documentary I see not one but many paths. The documentary draws on contemporary fiction, contemporary art, video, and I think that it's a secret source that feeds the fiction. The relationship between documentary and fiction is today, similar to that of poetry and prose.'

What do pioneers and predecessors like Ivens mean to you?

Ballesteros: 'Ivens's work, Michel Brault, Pierre Perrault, the Maysles brothers is indicative of the strength of documentary. I think they are authors who always emphasized both the filmmaker's position as the characters in their movies. They never start from scratch. Their films are about life but also about cinema. And the films of Ivens, for example, is a cinema that is both experience of human desire as cinema in itself. In addition, Joris Ivens had a special relationship with Chile. He supported the creation and reflection in my country. It is a cinema that always takes risks, aesthetic and political. And the risk is a vital component to create. For me, the existence of these authors is a fertile, real presence like good company in this often lonely work.'

What is your next project?

Ballesteros: 'Before making films I worked for several years as a psychologist in southern Chile. I specialized in working with adolescents in prisons and street children. In my next movie I would like to work with youth in prisons in southern Chile, and build a sort of psycho-social horror film. What happens in those environments at the time made me think of a horror movie. And I'd like to do a mix of fiction and documentary, a psychological horror film. It's a risk-taking project, but it's something I want to do.'

DOK-Leipzig

At the 52th DOK Leipzig Documentary Festival the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv presented its 50th Retrospective with an homage to Ivens with 20 films, a publication and debates. Molto Menz (Absolut MEDIEN) launched the German version of the 'Joris Ivens Filmmaker of the World DVD box-set' on 28 October 2009.



'WE LOVE SHANGHAI...IT'S THE KIND OF BIG CITY WE'RE USED TO. LARGE CROWDS, THOUSANDS OF DIFFERENT STORES. CURIOSITY, CONSTANT MOVEMENT.'...READS THE COMMENTARY TEXT, WRITTEN BY JORIS IVENS AND MARCELINE LORIDAN-IVENS FOR LA PHARMACIE: SHANGHAI / THE DRUGSTORE: SHANGHAI IN 1976.

Since then Shanghai even more rapidly grew into today's vibrant metropolis of 20 Million inhabitants, the largest city of China and the largest port in the world. This year Shanghai hosted the World Exhibition on the banks of the Pudong river, with an expected 70 Million visitors. The Netherlands presented its cultural qualities both on the enormous exhibition site with a Pavillion called 'Happy Street', as well as outside this area downtown Shanghai. Here the Dutch Culture Centre showed an inspiring variety of programmes, among others the Joris Ivensweekend on 9 and 10 July, with the attendance of Marceline Loridan-Ivens.



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A long history

Joris Ivens' personal relationship with Shanghai shows a history spanning half a century. Already in 1934 Ivens intended to travel to Shanghai and shoot on location a feature film based on André Malraux's novel 'La condition humaine'. The book dramatized the Communist uprising in 1927, but Ivens' adaptation for screen wasn't realized. However four years later, in Spring 1938, Ivens succeeded in reaching China for the first time. He made *The 400 Million* in which he included footage about the devastating bombardment on Shanghai by the Japanese fascist airforce. Shanghai became the décor of three parts of the *How Yukong Moved the Mountains*-series, where Ivens and Loridan-Ivens during the first months of 1973 captured city life in *An impression of a city: Shanghai*, *The Pharmacy* and *The Generator Factory*. Images of Shanghai also appeared in Ivens/Loridan-Ivens final film in 1988: *A Tale of the Wind*.

Vivid debates

The Dutch Cultural Centre, established in a renovated textile factory, programmed 12 films for an enthusiastic and very keen audience. Marceline Loridan-Ivens was received like a vedette, the deeply felt friendship resulted in applause, gifts, interviews and warm affection. She from her side invited the audience to participate in open vivid debates. 'The images of Shanghai during the Cultural revolution are exactly as I remember this period myself', a man recalled. A woman said: 'The sequences of the pharmacy and post office in are very dear to my mother, because she lived there and all buildings are gone now. These are the only images left'. Another man criticised the wearing of white shirts in *The Football Incident*. According to his memory pupils didn't wear these kind of shirts at that time. Was it manipulated? Marceline Loridan-Ivens spoke sincerely about the production and explained that nothing was re-enacted. No actors were involved and especially the new way of direct filming created this sense of spontaneous reality. It was a hard fight to gain trust and let the people be themselves. But of course every filmmaking needs a 'mise-en-scene', special lighting, compositions etc. For this audience the Yukong-series proofed to be a completely unique testimony of Shanghai in the 1970's. 'We had this intense idea of creating a bridge between East and West, between the Western world and China', Marceline Loridan-Ivens explained about her intentions. This successful Joris Ivens weekend strengthened this bridge.



• The Dutch Culture Centre in Shanghai, 9 July 2010. Design keyvisuals: Walter van Rooij.
• Marceline Loridan-Ivens opening the debate. Photo © Liu Lung Shang
• Marceline Loridan-Ivens and André Stufkens. Photo © Liu Lung Shang
• The audience. Photo © André Stufkens
• The vice-consul general of the Netherlands
• Marceline Loridan-Ivens with a filmcrew



International Avant-garde and the Chinese National Anthem:

TIAN HAN, JORIS IVENS AND PAUL ROBESON

THREE DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF 'MARCH OF THE VOLUNTEERS' (YIYONGJUN JINXINGQU), THE FILM SONG THAT BECAME THE NATIONAL ANTHEM OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AFTER 1949, FRAME THIS ESSAY. THE FIRST, AND THE ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE SONG, CAME FROM THE 1935 CHINESE FEATURE FILM *LOVERS IN TROUBLED TIMES* (FENGYUN ERNÜ). WRITTEN BY TIAN HAN (1898-1968), WHO HAD INTIMATE CONTACT WITH GERMAN EXPRESSIONISM AND RUSSIAN AVANT-GARDE WHILE SOJOURNING IN TOKYO AND BECAME A LEADING CULTURAL FIGURE IN SHANGHAI AT THE TIME, THE OPENING LYRICS OF THE SONG URGED THE CHINESE TO RISE UP IN FACE OF JAPANESE INVASION.

LIANG LUO

ONE SONG, THREE RENDITIONS

In the original film, the song opens with close-ups on a beating drum and a blowing bugle, and it initiates the music in the style of a military march. A male intellectual and a young girl lead the crowd: their faces in close-ups, glowing with determination and happiness. Their mixed voice singing, especially the male voice, dominates the whole song. Everyone, men or women, young or old, marches on to fight the Japanese in a resolute unison, as shown in repeated close-ups on their marching feet.

Three years later, in Dutch filmmaker Joris Ivens' (1898-1989)

documentary *The 400 Million* shot on location in China in 1938, it is this popular film song that was heard accompanying the raising of the flag of the Republic of China. 'March of the Volunteers,' again sung by a chorus of mixed voice, permeates a tightly edited one-minute sequence linking a series of activities: an opening shot of the back of two military band members with their Sousaphones, a low angle shot of the rising Nationalist flag cuts to a group of men gazing up towards it, female students in Red Cross uniform shouting 'long live the Republic of China' leads to a chorus

leader rhythmically conducting a group of students singing, and actors tearing down Japanese flag and shouting slogans with raised fists replaced by a young girl on an elevated platform passionately urging her audience to donate money and join up to fight the Japanese on the warfront.' Another three years later, Paul Robeson (1898-1976), the African American singer, actor, athlete, and activist, recorded 'Chee Lai: Songs of New China' with a Chinese chorus in New York in 1941. 'Chee Lai,' or 'Arise,' was the first line of 'March of the Volunteers,' and Robeson sang the song first in Chinese, and then in English. The English translation was reportedly translated by the then exiled Chinese conductor Liu Liangmo, in consultation with Tian Han, writer of the original lyrics, though it is likely that Robeson himself also contributed to some of the wording, including adding keywords such as 'freedom' and 'democracy,' which was hinted but never explicitly stated in the Chinese original. Robeson would sing 'March of the Volunteers' on many more occasions since the release of the 1941 album, and his live performance at the World Peace Conference in April 1949 in Prague, might have even contributed to the song being designated as the temporary National Anthem of the People's Republic of China at its founding in October 1949.

From the 1935 Shanghai film song to the 1938 soundtrack of a documentary film made by a Dutch filmmaker from Hollywood,² from the singing of the same song in both Chinese and English by an African American actor and activist in the United States in 1941 to the spread of the song in Europe in early 1949, this cluster of voices and images suggest that the production, circulation, and consumption of 'March of the Volunteers' and the making of the film song into the Chinese National Anthem had as much to do with the joint effort of an international avant-garde as with the rise of nationalism in Chinese politics.

THE INTERNATIONAL AVANT-GARDE

I emphasize the connection between the interwar international avant-garde and the future Chinese national anthem through the figures of three men: the Chinese writer of the film story and lyrics of the song, Tian Han, the Dutch filmmaker who used the song three times in his documentary, Joris Ivens, and the powerful singer and propagator of the song in both Chinese and English, Paul Robeson. They represent the diversity and interconnectedness of the interwar international avant-garde, from China, Europe, and the United States.

What do I mean by 'international avant-garde,' anyway? From Poggioli to Calinescu, and from Bürger to Murphy,³ the idea of the 'avant-garde' has been defined and redefined throughout the second half of the twentieth century. In the context of 'March of the Volunteers,' the male intellectual and the young girl were indeed the 'avant-gardes,' in the sense that they were charging ahead as 'vanguards,' leading the other volunteers in their military march.

Related to the military origin of the concept of the 'avant-garde,' I am also highlighting its association with utopian socialism. French utopian socialist Saint Simon first used the term in the sense of art as social engineering. The politics of the avant-garde was further emphasized when German philosopher Hegel referred to the avant-garde as 'the first teacher of the people,' and the 19th century witnessed realists and artists like Van Gogh and their commitments to society and their increasing self-identification as artistic Messiahs. The disaster of World War I made possible the rebirth of artists as visionaries and prophets of the new age. And the radicalization of the avant-garde in the twentieth and thirties culminated in the Spanish Civil War, a 'war of artists.'⁴ This leads us to the mid-1930s moment in the de-

velopment of the international avant-garde, the moment when 'March of the Volunteers' was born in China.

Tian Han, Joris Ivens, and Paul Robeson were all born in 1898, as well as the German composer Hanns Eisler who composed for Ivens' *The 400 Million*, and the German playwright Bertolt Brecht who wrote lyrics for Ivens and wrote plays on China. The Soviet filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein, whose *Battleship Potemkin* came to represent the Russian avant-garde and had direct influence on both Tian Han and Joris Ivens, was also born in 1898; as well as the Chinese premier Zhou Enlai, who was the key reason that Ivens frequently returned to China to film for over half a century from 1938 to 1988. All of them belong to the generation who came of age in post-WWI Berlin, Tokyo, Paris, New York, Amsterdam, and Shanghai.

Hailing from the Dutch city of Nijmegen, Joris Ivens began studies at the Technical University in Berlin in 1921. He frequented theatres, art galleries, and other cultural venues. Germaine Krull was Ivens' 'Red Salome,' as the Russian-educated An E was to Tian Han.⁵ Ivens and Krull met in the spring of 1923, and the former radical revolutionary introduced him to the Romanische Café, where the Expressionists and revolutionaries both gather in post-WWI Berlin.⁶

Germaine Krull was Ivens' 'Red Salome,' as the Russian-educated An E was to Tian Han

When Ivens returned from study in Berlin and found Film-liga in Amsterdam with like-minded friends in 1927, Tian Han had spent six years studying in Tokyo from 1916 to 1922. As an eighteen-year-old in 1916, Tian found himself situated in an overwhelming and exciting cultural environment: he frequented modern drama performances, especially Western adaptations, and was first introduced to the 'dream



Tian Han, Joris Ivens and Paul Robeson, all born in 1898.

world' of Hollywood and European films. He claimed to have become a 'cinema fan' the first year in Tokyo. He was in close contact with the earliest development of Japanese filmmaking, especially the Taihatsu, where Thomas Kurihara, an actor and director returned from Hollywood, worked side by side with Tanizaki Jun'ichirō in their endeavor to develop a 'pure' Japanese cinema as a reaction against Hollywood, in the same fashion as Joris Ivens and Tian himself came to declare in Amsterdam and Shanghai around 1927.

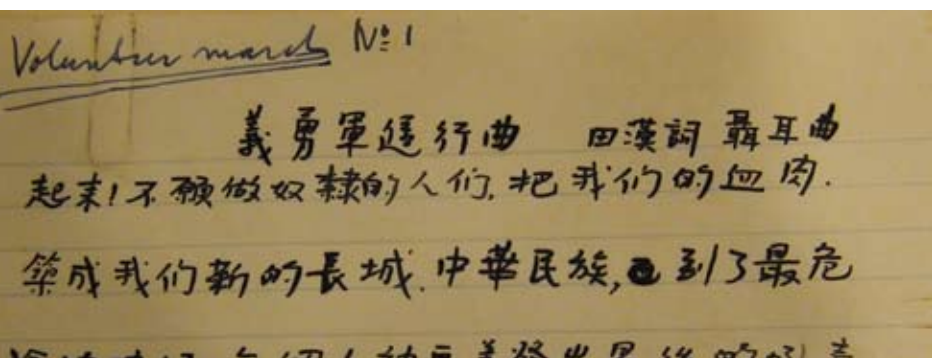
A son of a runaway slave, Paul Robeson raised the issue of race and called for a New Idealism in his 1919 commencement oration at Rutgers University. His remarks on the WWI presented a powerful statement of self-determination, 'a new vision and a new American spirit,'⁷ which corresponded with what Tian Han wrote in 1919 linking Whitman and Wilson in a democratic vision of a new Americanism.⁸ From 1919 to 1926, Robeson reveled in the excitement of the unfolding

Zhao Weimin, Nanjing Road, from a series of Views of Shanghai, after 1932. Coll. Shanghai History Museum.



Paul Robeson singing

- Paul Robeson singing
- Joris Ivens, film still from *The 400 Million*. © JIAJIEJI
- Ivens' personal note with Chinese text of 'Volunteer March', 1938. Coll. Joris Ivens Archives.
- Pathé record of 'The March of the Volunteers', 1935
- The score of 'March of the Volunteers'



Harlem Renaissance. He was introduced to the best of the Greenwich Village bohemian artists in the same fashion as Tian Han was at the center of a bohemian artistic circle in Shanghai in 1926. Robeson's rescuing 'Negro Spirituals' as folk music suitable for concert performance was comparable to Tian Han's reforming Chinese local operas throughout their careers. James Joyce, Ernst Hemingway, and Langston Hughes were among the admirers of Robeson's concert performances as well as his records.⁹ More important, Paul Robeson came to represent the political engagement of the avant-garde as he increased his intimate contact with Labor Party activists in Britain in the late 1920s.¹⁰ Throughout the 1930s, Robeson's racial identification with his own black cultural roots led him to use China as a model for Africa, and after his experience in Spain and his exposure to the Soviet Union, and his contacts with the Chinese resistance movements during the WWII, he came to increasingly identify with a powerful revolutionary internationalism.¹¹

The interwar international avant-garde and their shared identification with Soviet Union and China as alternative cultural resources against the decaying of bourgeois societies originated in a cluster of shared cultural texts:

Swedish playwright August Strindberg influenced both Joris Ivens and Tian Han greatly, and his *Ghost Sonata* was on stage with Provincetown Players during Paul Robeson's association with Eugene O'Neill and the Players. Strindberg's *A Dream Play* was playing in Berlin in 1921 by Max Reinhardt's company and Ivens recorded his excitement of seeing it.¹² Around the same time, Tian Han was creating one of his very first stage plays in Tokyo. He inserted a 'dream scene' in his three-scene play 'The Holy Light' (originally entitled *Female Faust*), where the female protagonist Meili (Chinese transliteration of Mary) was lead by Mephistopheles to bear witness to the suffering of the refugees, in a similar fashion as the Christ-like female protagonist Agnes was lead to experience in *A Dream Play*.¹³

Robert Wiene's *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* premiered in Berlin and Tokyo almost simultaneously in the early 1920s, and Sergei Eisenstein's *The Battleship Potemkin* was shown by Tian Han in Shanghai in 1926, and by Ivens' group after its founding in Amsterdam in 1927.¹⁴ In the same year, Tian Han founded Nanguo Film and Drama Institute to make his first film *V Narod (To The People)* with a Russian and Germanic motif in Shanghai.

Joris Ivens was associated with a group of artistic friends in Berlin, Amsterdam and Paris around the same time, who agreed about notions of anti-bourgeois morals and the desire for innovation. Hendrik Marsman was the Tian Han figure in this group, who wrote, 'Art and life are one, undivided and undistinguished.'¹⁵ This attitude of social involvement is something Joris Ivens, Paul Robeson, and Tian Han remained loyal to all their lives, with the latter advocating 'the artification of life' in their daily practices in Shanghai.

Both Joris Ivens and Tian Han were deeply influenced by trends in Russian literature and Soviet cinema. Gorki's

novel *Mother* influenced both, though Tian was mainly influenced by the original story and rewrote it as a one-act play in Shanghai,¹⁶ while Ivens was mainly influenced by Pudovkin's film adaptation of the original story. The October Revolution had ushered in a period of cultural freedom in which Futurists, Suprematists, Constructivists and other avant-gardists experimented with film, theater, music, literature and the visual arts, this had profound impact on Joris Ivens and Tian Han as early as in the late 1910s and on Paul Robeson in the late 1920s.

Amidst the fever of all the cultural experimentations, the rise of sound as a dominating feature on screen in the global film industry and the mechanical reproduction and circulation of film songs brought about revolutionary effects. Joris Ivens' documentary *Philips Radio* became the first Dutch film with sound in 1931. He also joined the Communist Party of Holland in the same year. Tian Han joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1932, and went on to write some of the most popular screen songs in the mid 1930s. Although Paul Robeson was never a Communist Party member, his sympathy with the common people, originated in his humble beginning, intensified during his concert tours in Britain around 1928 to 1929. Hence the conversations between the making and propagating of a popular film song, the shared experience of an interwar international avant-garde, and the radicalization of the artists worked hand in hand.

TIAN HAN AND THE MAKING OF A POPULAR FILM SONG

It is thus important to step back and trace the conception of the song and its initial circulation through print, record, radio, and film, and how such processes were closely linked to an international milieu of interwar avant-garde centered on the figure of Tian Han in Shanghai in the mid 1930s.

Written by Tian Han as two short stanzas of an unfinished epic poem in a film story in January 1935, the simple and colloquial expressions in the lyrics contain some of the most 'catchy' phrases of the time. Expressions such as 'Great Wall made of flesh and blood' (*xuerou changcheng*), 'final outcry' (*zuihou de housheng*), as well as 'ten thousand with one mind' (*wanzhong yixin*),¹⁷ both consolidated images widely circulating in the popular imaginary, and further established their canonical status in the Chinese national imagination.

Composed by a young composer Nie Er, the music, was 'a good example of what some musicians are trying to do now—that is, in brief, to copy the good points from Western music without impairing or losing our own national color,' according to the author of a New York Times article and the Chinese editor of a 1939 bilingual songbook, in which this song was included. 'This stirring 'cry of pain and rage' spread over the country like fire,' the editor wrote in his explanatory notes.¹⁸

The film, from which the song originated, was made by Denton Film Company in Shanghai in 1935. The company was first founded to sale sound recording equipments, specifically the domestically produced Sanyou recording machine.

It was taken over by the then underground Communist Party, and a film company was established in 1934. The party connection has always framed the story of the Denton Film Company ideologically, while glossing over other important aspects such as technology, market, and profit, all of which can be linked to the development of an international network of talented artists and activists.

At the time of writing the story for the Denton film, Tian Han was head of the Music Group of the 'Soviet Friends Society,' a United Front style organization initiated by Madame Sun Yat-Sen and Tian himself in early 1933. Ren Guang, An E, and Nie Er were among the initial members of the group. Nie Er, the talented young composer for 'March of the Volunteers,' died under unclear circumstances in Japan on his way to the Soviet Union in 1935. Ren Guang, a returned student from France, at the time the music director at the French-American music giant Pathé-EMI, who lived in a Western villa, equipped with piano and high quality radio, provided not only a space for the gathering of the Music Group, but also the necessary technical facility for their direct communication with Soviet music via short wave broadcast.

An E, the Russian-educated female writer who later became Tian Han's wife, had joined Ren Guang at the music department of Pathé-EMI in 1933, and collaborated with him on one of the first screen hit songs in China. Hence the people involved in the Music Group were also part of the international avant-garde occupying important industrial positions in Shanghai at the time. The popularity of film songs made the Music Group a core institution in reaching out to the masses: Liu Liangmo, the future active campaigner for mass-singing through the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. who taught Paul Robeson to sing 'Chee Lai' in Chinese, was also a member of this group in 1935.

'March of the Volunteers' was central to the making of the film, as Denton Company was determined to make the song a market success even before the film premier so as to attract more audience. He Luting, sound director at Denton, was entrusted with the task of arranging instrumental accompaniment for the song. At He's invitation, Russian composer Aaron Avshalomov, whose creative life was lived essentially in China, from 1918 to 1947, composed the orchestra

Shanghai and Man's Fate

The first attempt of Joris Ivens to create a film in China was not in 1938, but already four years earlier. After French novelist André Malraux published his novel *Le condition humaine (Man's fate, 1933)*, for which he received Le prix Goncourt, Ivens and Malraux decided to adapt the novel to a screenplay. *Le condition humaine* depicted the 1927 Communist uprising in Shanghai and the party's later disintegration in a purge and massacre led by its ally Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist forces. At first a French film producer was interested, but the project was soon cancelled. Later on the Mezrapbhom Studios in Moscow took over. Although being a fictional film it was Ivens' desire and plan to travel to Shanghai and film it on the spot. It would deepen the realistic, documentary approach. Later on there were negotiations with Meyerhold's theatre group who wanted to adapt the novel to a theatre play. Also Skljjoet, the script writer of Eisenstein, became involved and he wrote a script. At the end all attempts led to nothing. Decades later other attempts by Zimmerman, Bertolucci and others also failed.



accompaniments to 'March of the Volunteers' in May 1935. In the same month, an elaborate advertisement campaign started on the popular Shanghai newspaper Shenbao. A full-page print advertisement listed Seto Waiman (Situ Huimin), Communist party member, filmmaker, and cousin of Situ Yimin, an American-educated engineer who helped create the sound recording device, as one of the sound recording technicians, and He Luting as in charge of musical accompaniments. It also reported that Ren Guang, the music director at Pathé-EMI, had recorded 'March of the Volunteers' sung by the Denton chorus members on May 9, 1935. Hence the advertisement also contained a short line advertising this gramophone record.

From an unfinished poem to a full-fledged film song with highly sophisticated instrumental accompaniment, the making of 'March of the Volunteers' was an essential component of the making of the 1935 film hit. Though orchestrated by Denton Film Company, itself an enterprise based on the newly invented sound recording device and supported by the underground Communist party, this 'chorus' could not have been formed without the coordinated effort from all the technical, musical, and commercial personnel involved. Many of the 'singers' and 'actors' in this 'chorus' were closely associated with the post-WWI international avant-garde and had a keen sense of product marketing in a media society.

I have found multiple connections with Joris Ivens throughout the process of the making and further propagating of 'March of the Volunteers.' Situ Huimin, one of the sound-recording technicians for the original film song, would become a close contact in China for Joris Ivens in the 1950s.¹⁹



- Film Poster for *Lovers in Troubled Times* (1935)
- Filmstill, *Singing 'March of the Volunteers' in Lovers in Troubled Times* (1935)



• Li Hua, Roar, China, 1935, woodcut. Coll. Lu Xun Memorial Hall.
 • Robert Capa, Joris Ivens and John Ferno shooting *The 400 Million*, 1938.



Ivens would find, most possibly, the 1935 Denton record of the song during post-production in Hollywood in late 1938, the only record of a Chinese song that he could locate in Hollywood at the time.²⁰ Most important, on April 22, 1938, Tian Han, the mastermind of the song and head of the Music Group in 1935, then the bureau chief in charge of propaganda in the United Front of the Nationalists and Communists in Wuhan, representing 14 groups and more than 200 cultural figures present, personally welcomed Joris Ivens when he returned from Tai'ierzhuang to Hankou. Ivens' concluding words at the welcoming meeting were recorded as follows: I represent countless people in Europe and North America, who sympathize with the anti-Japanese war in China. In order to defend truth and humanity, I am filming a true record of the courageous war effort in China, so as to have it spread all over the world.²¹

JORIS IVENS AND *THE 400 MILLION*

Joris Ivens, who, with Ernest Hemingway, made *The Spanish Earth* documenting the Spanish Civil War in 1936, arrived in China in February 1938 to make *The 400 Million*, a documentary of 'the people's war in China against Japan.' Alongside his shooting notes on the 'flag-raising scene,' Ivens included lyrics of *Yiyongjun jinxingqu* ('March of the Volunteers,'

which he translated as 'Volunteer March') written out for him in Chinese characters, and regarded the song as the 'Chinese National Hymn,'²² mistakenly, but perhaps prophetically, giving it an identity it would only assume more than a decade later.

Ivens is well informed in identifying 'March of the Volunteers' as the first song for the flag-raising sequence in his film. Facing clear external threats and a single national enemy, 'March of the Volunteers' functioned as an important call to arms summoning a new Chinese nation and a new type of Chinese citizen into being. The global political climate between the two World Wars, from the rise of anti-colonial nationalism in Africa, Asia, and Latin America,²³ to the formation of an internationalist political solidarity, provided fertile grounds for the reemergence of the 'masses' and 'volunteers' as important religious, political, and popular cultural categories. Italy's annexation of Abyssinia (now Ethiopia) after the Second Italo-Abyssinian War in 1936, like the Japanese annexation of Manchuria after the Mukden Incident in 1931, triggered writers and artists to create figures of suffering and humiliation;²⁴ and the sounds and images of the International Brigades at the Spanish Civil War popularized by Joris Ivens, Ernest Hemingway, Robert Capa, and Paul Robeson,²⁵ have been etched into a fervent collective political aspiration.

Even before Paul Robeson's 1941 bilingual album was published, Ivens had encountered the resounding 'Chee Lai' while on location in China in 1938: '...after dinner in an old barn, each of us sings songs from his country. John and I sing old Dutch songs, sailor songs, and love songs. Captain Carlson plays *Working on the Railroad* on the harmonica. In a hoarse, melancholy voice Capa sings songs of the Hungarian plains and then we all sing a Chinese war song we have learned: *Chi-Lai!*'²⁶

Hemingway, Ivens, and China

During the years following their collaboration for *The Spanish Earth* on the war front in Spain Ivens and Hemingway shared similar experiences on the war front in China. In February 1938 Ivens flew to China to film *The 400 Millions*, during which he was confronted with severe censorship by generalissimo Chang Kai-shek, leader of the Nationalists. Despite his limited access Ivens had a secret meeting with Zhou Enlai, leader of the Communists in Wuhan. This would be the start of a longtime friendship. In January 1941 Ernest Hemingway went to China on his honeymoon with Martha Gellhorn, while covering their travel for newspapers and magazines in the US. One day on the marketplace of Chongqing (or Chungking) Gellhorn was approached by a woman, who asked her whether she and her husband would like to meet Zhou Enlai. The name meant nothing to Gellhorn. Afterwards, when she asked Hemingway, he recognized the name, saying that he was 'a friend of Joris'. After their illegal meeting Hemingway considered Zhou Enlai an incredibly charming and intelligent man and Gellhorn stated that he was the only decent man she met in China. Hemingway noted that the Communists made serious effort to attract the attention of Western artists and journalists, like Ivens, Snow, Smedley, Epstein, Hemingway and others.

Source: Peter Moreira, *Hemingway on the China Front. His WWII Spy Mission with Martha Gellhorn*, Washington 2006, p. 127-129.

Portnoy's Complaint and the National Anthem

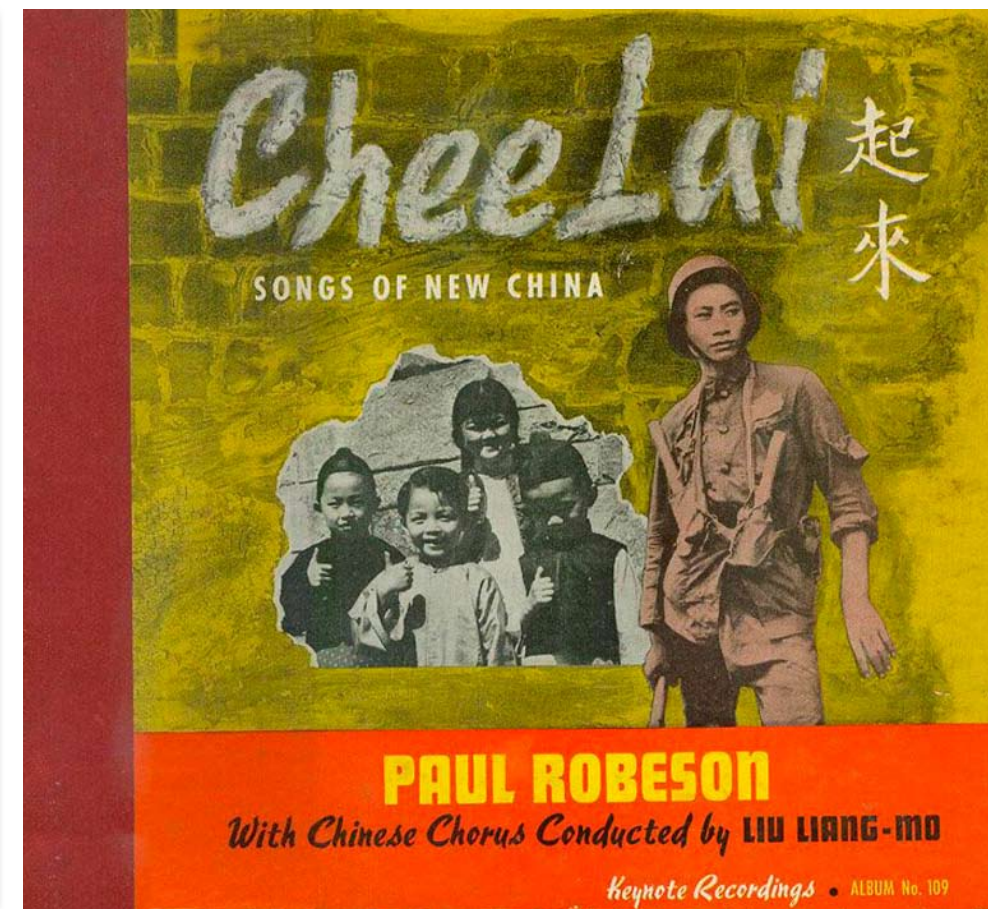
Joris Ivens' misinterpretation of 'The March of the Volunteers' being already China's National Anthem in 1938 was not unique. Alexander Portnoy, the protagonist of Philip Roth's 1969 novel *Portnoy's Complaint* made the same mistake when remembering the song: '...Just the rhythm alone can cause my flesh to ripple, like the beat of the marching song of the victorious Red Army, and the song we learned in grade school during the war, which our teachers called 'The Chinese national Anthem'. 'Arise, ye who refuse to be bond-slaves, with our very flesh and blood' – oh, that defiant cadence! I remember every single heroic word! – 'we will build a new great wall!' And then my favourite line, commencing as it does with my favourite word in the English language: '*In-dig-na-tion* fills the hearts of all of our coun-try-men! A-rise! A-rise! A-RISE!' (This is the exact translation as in Pao-chen Li's bilingual songbook published in Chongqing in 1939 and reprinted in *Music Educators Journal* by the National Association for Music Education in the United States in 1942.)

The text is also living proof of the popularity of 'The March of the Volunteers' in the US during WWII due to the dissemination of the song through Robeson's record and Ivens' film.

Here 'Chi-Lai,' or 'March of the Volunteers,' provided a common language and a common expression for the Dutch filmmakers, the American Captain, and the Hungarian photojournalist, in the 'catchy tune' composed by Nie Er and possibly in the original Chinese lyrics written by Tian Han. Ivens reported again how, after the battle of Tai'erzhuang, 'a volunteer song of North China, a war song' was sung during a night march, 'one of the officers up front on the road starts the song, another picks it up, then a third, and then we all sing.'

Now it seems only natural for Ivens to have included 'March of the Volunteers' as the number one song in his film. John Fernhout (John Ferno), 25 at the time and already a seasoned cameraman who collaborated with Ivens since *Regen* (Rain, 1929), one of the representative pieces of European avant-garde documentary, introduced a chorus sequence with masterful control of the camera in *The 400 Million*. The scene opens with the camera panning from left to right through faces of singing young girls in medium shots. Behind the girl students are boys in military uniform, possibly new recruits at this recruiting gathering in Xi'an, as the big banners in previous scenes indicated. The camera highlights the girls who prominently occupy the front row, with one of them holding a triangular flag with characters read 'propaganda team' (*xuanchuan dui*).²⁷ Then the scene cuts to a longer shot from the opposite angle, revealing the chorus formation. The previous scene is indeed part of a chorus formed by two rows of female students in front, and one row of male students in uniform in the back. The crowd is gathering and the camera again pans from left to right to disclose the location of the chorus leader. Now surrounded by his chorus from the left, and the spectators on the right forming a half circle, the skinny young man, in his well-tailored Zhongshan suit, passionately conducts the chorus while leading the singing himself.

Accompanying the masterfully edited sequence is 'March of the Volunteers' sung by a chorus of mixed voice (most possibly from the Denton record Ivens located in Hollywood, as it was not the all-male chorus recorded in Hankou), in the



same fashion the song may have been sung by the enthusiastic mass-singing participants on screen, though there is no intention to match the song with the movements of lips or the conductor's baton on the screen. Hence the singing of 'March of the Volunteers' can be read as both diegetic and non-diegetic: it speaks for all the human activities connected through this mass-singing scene and could be issued from sources both on and off the screen; it is also part of the commentary and represents the filmmaker's deliberate choice.

In defining 'Montage of Attractions,' Sergei Eisenstein highlights their 'shock' effects in producing spectators. 'The spectator himself consists the basic material of the theatre,' famously says Eisenstein, and 'the objective of any utilitarian theatre is to guide the spectator in the desired direction.'²⁸ Eisenstein highlights the role of popular music, or what he calls the 'emotive vibration' in montage, to demonstrate the bodily effect on the audience and spectators.

It is thus important to reexamine the remaining scenes accompany the song in Ivens' film from the viewpoint of the role of sound and music in intensifying 'montage of attractions.' Visible to the spectators (both on and off screen) are actors tearing a Japanese flag into several pieces and shouting slogans with the broken flag in their fists. Audible to the audience's ears are the following comments: 'actors leave their theatres, play on the street corner. They instruct the audience how to resist the enemy.' All the while, 'March of the Volunteers' plays in the background, stitching the visual and the audio into a deliberately pedagogical statement, albeit an emotionally persuasive one.

Ivens, after returning to the United States for post-production of the film, gave a lecture at the Museum of Modern Art on subjectivity and montage in documentary film in 1939. In this lecture, he considered documentary as part of the avant-garde emerging in Europe in 1927 to give film artistic and educational values, but insisted that pure aesthetic brings films to an artistic dead end. For him, it is much more important if a film is connected with a social movement, and he openly announced: 'Yes, we are propagandists! Art-

Paul Robeson, Record Chee Lai, Songs of New China, 1941.

Liu Liangmo conducting a 700-people chorus in Shanghai in 1936



ists must take sides!' He highlighted the subjectivity of documentary filmmakers, and their necessary emotional involvement with their subject. In the true Eisenstein tradition, he emphasized the crucial importance of montage in producing spectators and achieving emotional persuasion. The case of *The 400 Million* was used to illustrate the harmony and close collaboration between music and editing.

PAUL ROBESON AS THE VOICE (FACE) OF CHINA

What Ivens and Ferno captured in Xi'an in May 1938 was only a single note in a symphony of mass-singing activities throughout China at the time. Liu Liangmo, the chorus leader and future teacher of Paul Robeson in singing 'March of the Volunteers' in Chinese in the United States, was captured in a memorable black and white picture conducting a 700-people chorus: in their student gowns, some girls rais-

Painting Fight of China against Japanese invader, 1938.



ing their heads following the elevated conductor, others, songbook in their hands, concentrated on singing. It seems that gender, as well as female-centered performance, still occupies important symbolic location in such events; so as individual genius and agency amidst the gigantic collective: the skinny male figure balancing on the high ladder looks strikingly similar to the skinny and passionate conductor in Ivens' film.

Liu Liangmo was mentioned in a November 30, 1941 New York Times article as 'the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. secretary who communicated his enthusiasm to many others and was called to teach at the front,' and praised as the inspiration of this mass singing of patriotic songs in China. As a result, the author quotes Lin Yutang, the famous bilingual author, that 'China is finding her voice!'

This article was penned by *New York Times* music editor Howard Taubman, who was introducing a new album, *Chee Lai*, indeed 'March of the Volunteers' with new English lyrics, with Paul Robeson singing in Chinese and English, and Liu Liangmo singing with a Chinese chorus. Taubman considered Robeson's performance 'with power and passion,' and concluded that, 'the songs tell us more about China's valor than about her music, and at the moment her fight is more momentous than her art.'

However, Taubman would soon come to the conclusion that the distinction between 'fight' and 'art' are not so clear-cut after all. He wrote again in *New York Times* on June 27, 1942, half a year after Pearl Harbor, on Liu Liangmo's appearance in a Town Hall music program under the auspices of the 'Negro Publication Society of America.' Liu was reported as 'singing and speaking for the valiant Chinese,' who 'offered 'Chee Lai,' which means 'Arise!'' This time, Taubman appreciated the songs in a more wholesome fashion, as he claimed that the singers 'fight for their liberty with songs on their tongues as well as with guns, tanks and planes,' and that 'they were true to the spirit of their songs and was delightful for that reason.' Liu's connections with the African American communities and his encounter with Paul Robeson in the United States has become legendary: Liu taught Robeson, who recently returned from Europe, to sing 'March of the Volunteers' in Chinese, and the latter, the leading African American actor-singer of his time, became an astonishingly powerful spokesman for the Chinese resistance against Japanese aggression.

When the Pacific War broke in 1941, 'March of the Volunteers' was sung in Singapore, Malaysia and other countries and areas of Southeast Asia, and became a major marching song in the international anti-Fascist movement. During WWII, radio stations in England, USA, USSR, and India often broadcast the Robeson version of the song. And in 1944, 'March of the Volunteers' became the opening music of the Chinese language broadcast at Dehli Radio Station, India.

At the World Peace Conference in Prague in April 1949 and on the occasion of Pushkin's 150th anniversary in Moscow, Robeson would twice sang 'Chee Lai' in Chinese and record records to mark history, months before 'March of the Volunteers' assuming the official status of a 'temporary' national anthem of the People's Republic of China at its founding on October 1st, 1949. The video recording of Robeson singing 'Chee Lai' in Chinese at the Prague Conference is nothing less than sensational. One can only imagine the musical, bodily, and emotional effect on such a receptive international audience and the possibly audience back in China, when an African American singer singing in Chinese the words that have been etched into the consciousness of 'the 400 million' for so many years.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Joris Ivens and Tian Han's linkage through *March of the Volunteers* of 1935 and *The 400 Million* of 1938 were consolidated by the meeting of the two on April 22, 1938 in Hankou; Paul Robeson and Tian Han were connected by Robeson's singing of *March of the Volunteers* since 1940 and in the early 1950s, especially Robeson's creative translation of the Chinese lyrics as mediated by Liu Liangmo in New York in the early 1940s. When I interviewed Tian Han and An E's son Tian Dawei in Beijing in the spring of 2004, he mentioned to me how Robeson kept sending royalties of the song from the US to the family, even after Tian's death in 1968. Although Ivens and Robeson may have met before, in Europe or the Soviet Union, their linkage was tightened through the making of *Song of Rivers* during the years of 1953 and 1954, as Charles Musser puts it, an expression of 'utopian vision in Cold War documentaries.'²⁹

Music and Poetry served as enduring themes in all three artistic worlds: Ivens in his *Song of the Rivers* continued the musical tradition in his early City Symphony style filmmaking. The structure of the film is musical. Poetry provided a closely related model, and the sound track (or in silent films, the intertitles) was poetic in structure. The mode of songs conveniently brought these two impulses together.³⁰ Robeson singing *Song of the Four Rivers* for the US Popular Front movement in the 1940s and 50s foreshadows his singing Brecht's lyrics in *Song of the Rivers* with an updated anti-Cold War theme. Tian Han's identity as a young poet and playwright who constantly injected songs into his 'spoken drama' prefigured his writing opera in the early 1950s when *Song of the Rivers* was being made in East Germany by Ivens and his group.

'March of the Volunteers,' aided by the power of mechanically reproduced records and films, had indeed become the embodiment of an internationalist political solidarity in face of rising fascism. The original film story and lyrics by Tian Han, the documentary of Joris Ivens and the bilingual record of Paul Robeson, demonstrated a collective international imagination of modern Chinese nationalism. Popularized by Tian Han, Joris Ivens, Paul Robeson, among others, the Chinese fight against Japanese fascism were but one among many in such a context. In this context, 'March of the Volunteers' became the anthem of a post-WWI international avant-garde whose 'obsession with China,' after the baptism of the Spanish Civil War, went hand in hand with their search for a political and artistic utopia.

- Joris Ivens, *The 400 Million*, 1939 (USA / 53.51 min / b-w / sound / 35 mm). 'March of the Volunteers' appeared from 20:20 to 21:20 for a full minute.
- Joris Ivens went to China to film as a member of 'History Today Inc., Motion Picture Production,' a New York venture with Ernest Hemingway, Lillian Hellman, and Ivens himself as members of Board of Directors. Hans Wegner Archive, document no. 91, European Foundation Joris Ivens, Nijmegen, the Netherlands.
- Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-garde*, translated from Italian by Gerald FitzGerald, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968; Matei Calinescu, *Faces of Modernity: Avant-garde, Decadence, Kitsch*, Indiana University Press, 1978; Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-garde*, translated from German by Michael Shaw, University of Minnesota Press, 1983; Richard Murphy, *Theorizing the Avant-Garde: Modernism, Expressionism, and the Problem of Postmodernity*, Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- André Stufkens, 'Lust for Life: An Introduction to Ivens and the 20th Century,' in *Cinema Without Borders*, European Foundation Joris Ivens, 2002, 14.
- An E (Zhang Shiyuan, or 'Miss Sonia'), based on whose articles Tian Han wrote his first article on Soviet film in 1930, had returned from Moscow to Shanghai in 1929. She worked as an underground Communist Party agent and played an important role in connecting Tian Han with the Soviet film scene. See Tian Han, 'Lessons from the Development of Soviet Film Art and the Future of Film Movement in Our Country,' in *Nanguo yuekan (Nanguo Monthly)*, 2: 4 (20 July 1930); included in *Tian Han quanji (Complete Works of Tian Han)*, 18: 74-95.
- Hans Shoots, *Living Dangerously: A Biography of Joris Ivens*, Amsterdam University Press, 2000, 27-8.
- Paul Robeson, Jr., *The Undiscovered Paul Robeson, An Artist's Journey, 1898-*

- 1939, Wiley, 2001, 37-8.
- Tian Han, 'On the Centenary of People's Poet-Whitman,' *Shaonian Zhongguo (Young China)*, vol. 1, no. 1 (July, 1919), 6-22.
- The Undiscovered Paul Robeson*, 143.
- ibid.*, 155.
- Paul Robeson, *A Biography by Martin Duberman*, New York: The New Press, 1989, 172-175.
- Living Dangerously*, 24.
- Tian Han, *Lingguang (The Holy Light)*, *Taiping yang (The Pacific Ocean)*, vol. 2, no. 9, (January 1921), 5-28.
- Living Dangerously*, 25.
- André Stufkens, 'The Song of Movement. Joris Ivens' First Films and the Cycle of the Avant-garde,' in Kees Bakker (ed.) *Joris Ivens and the Documentary Context*, Amsterdam University Press, 1999, 54.
- Tian Han, *Muqin (Mother)*, based on Gorki's novel, included in *Tian Han daibiaozuo (Representative Works of Tian Han)*, Shanghai, San-tong shuju, 1941, vol. 1.
- Given Tian Han's background, it is possible to read *wanzhong yixin* as borrowed from and now used as an implicit polemic against the Japanese slogan that one hundred million Japanese beat as one heart (*ichioku isshin*).
- Lee Pao-chen ed., *China's Patriots Sing*, Chungking: The China Information Publishing Company, 1939.
- Situ Huimin's sons' New Year card to Ivens, 1958, China. European Foundation Joris Ivens, Nijmegen, the Netherlands.
- According to Ivens' retrospective accounts written in 1945, he most possibly got hold of a copy of the Denton record in Hollywood. It was recorded by Ren Guang with the Denton chorus in 1935 in Shanghai. The availability of 'March of the Volunteers' in Hollywood in 1938 and its prominence in *The 400 Million* reminded us the rather unusual flow of mechanically reproduced sound bytes from China to the United States, which then came to represent a 'real' China in 1938 via a European filmmaker who connected China and Hollywood artists and activists through his filmmaking. See Joris Ivens, 'How I Filmed *The 400 Million*,' *Joris Ivens and China*, Beijing: New World Press, 1983, 29.
- 'World-famous photographer Ivens returns from Tai'erzhuan to Wuhan. Wuhan cultural groups welcome him. The anti-Japanese documentary will be spread to the world.' *Wenhui Daily (Shanghai)*, April 30, 1938, 3.
- See Joris Ivens' handwritten notes in Hankow (Hankou) in 1938 on sound effect recording for *The 400 Million*, Joris Ivens Archives, no. 238, European Foundation Joris Ivens, Nijmegen, the Netherlands.
- For in-depth discussions on this topic, see Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*, Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Tian Han, *Abixiniya de muqing (Mother of Abyssinia)*, in *Limin zhiqian (Before Sunrise)*, Shanghai: Beixin shuju, 1937.
- Robert Capa ascended to world fame through his expressive photographs taken at the warfront during the Spanish Civil War. He was invited by Joris Ivens and went to China as a photographic assistant and a reporter for *Life* magazine in 1938. See Alex Kershaw, *Blood and Champagne: The Life and Times of Robert Capa*, New York: Thomas Dunne Books, St. Martin's Press, 2002; Paul Robeson went to Spain in 1938 in support of the International Brigades. He also appeared, together with Madame Sun Yat-Sen, in London in a Save China performance later the same year. See Martin Duberman, *Paul Robeson: A Biography by Martin Duberman*, New York and London: The New Press, 1989, 217-222.
- Joris Ivens, *The Camera and I*, Berlin, Seven Seas Books, 1969, 158. The typescript of this book was drafted in the USA during the years 1943-1944.
- Propaganda is an inadequate, if not incorrect, translation for the Chinese word *xuanchuan*, which literally means to announce and to spread. *Xuanchuan dui*, in the Chinese context, is often understood as a singing and dance troupe with a mission, often less connected with a negative connotation as in the English usage of a 'propaganda team.'
- Sergei Eisenstein, 'Montage of Attractions,' Daniel Gerould trans., included in Rebecca Schneider, Gabrielle H. Cody eds., *Re: Direction: A Theoretical and Practical Guide*, Routledge, 2002, 303-304.
- Charles Musser, 'Utopian Visions in Cold War Documentary: Joris Ivens, Paul Robeson and Song of the Rivers (1954),' *Cinemas: revue d'études cinématographiques / Cinemas: Journal of Film Studies*, vol. 12, n° 3, 2002, 109-153.
- ibid.*, 121

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