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Displaced Subjects: Revolution, Film, and Women in Việt Nam and Palestine

> Here was a people with an indomitable spirit, a people whose heroic deeds placed them among the gods; here was a people whose unbound humanity was a blessing to mankind. The Palestinians must learn the secrets of the Vietnamese.
> —Leila Khaled, 1971

> There is a force that puts us together on the same road, and this is what strengthens our determination: The struggle of Việt Nam is the struggle of Palestine and the struggle of Palestine is the struggle of Việt Nam.
> —spokesperson, Women's Union for the Liberation of Việt Nam, 1974

THE TWO QUOTES by women resistance leaders inaugurating this essay bespeak the revolutionary history linking Palestine and Việt Nam in their struggles for liberation during the globalized revolts against colonial occupation, militarized violence, and empire in the 1960s and 1970s, and beyond.[1] Marking this convergence, our essay juxtaposes Palestinian and Vietnamese filmic production during the so-called revolutionary and contemporary periods to argue that the subject of revolution has been displaced in recent Vietnamese and Palestinian films. Through a transnational, relational, and feminist mode of analysis, we explore how the female resistance fighter emerges in Palestinian and Vietnamese revolutionary cinemas as a salient signifier of a militant call to arms for a nation in fragments. We then analyze how the images of this figure have been resummonsed in the "post-9/11" era, this time to perform an assimilative role rooted in neoliberal[2] tropes of selfhood and individual complexity that extract her from a notion of the collective. Rather than commend

these representations as evidence of a globalized cosmopolitanism, we chart the rupture of revolution within the films and their contexts. Where before she was a "woman warrior," the Vietnamese and Palestinian woman is conscripted to perform a new role on-screen in contemporary film: to quell the anxieties of failed revolution and facilitate imperial objectives of assimilation and pacification. Given such concessions, we query the ways in which revolution and revolutionary feminism have been displaced in contemporary discursive constructions of Việt Nam and Palestine and underscore how decolonial insurgencies give way to individualistic concerns about selfhood in a post-9/11 context.

While film is the medium through which we trace this dissolution, it is the framework of Yến Lê Espiritu's (2014) "critical juxtaposition" that we operationalize to probe Vietnamese and Palestinian representations on the screen. According to Espiritu, *critical juxtaposing* refers to an epistemological and methodological enjoining of "seemingly different and disconnected events, communities, histories and spaces in order to illuminate what would otherwise not be visible about the contours, contents and afterlives of war and empire" (21). In this vein, our essay demonstrates that the critical juxtaposition of subaltern cinemas enables a vigorous critique of U.S. and Israeli cultural hegemony for Palestine and Việt Nam, even as these communities have been differently memorialized in dominant global historiographies. Critical juxtaposition also enables an epistemological resuscitation of a shared history of revolt, one that is often cited only peripherally or additively. Expanding Espiritu's definition, we deliberately enjoin Palestine and Việt Nam to make visible the disjointed, uneven ways that their revolutionary histories have been appropriated to fulfill the goals of post-9/11 imperial projects. Conjoining the theoretical insights of critical refugee studies with feminist theory, cinema studies, and critical ethnic studies, we focus on "film feminisms"[3] in the so-called Global South to illustrate the need for a collaborative, feminist mode of knowledge production, one that highlights intersecting and relational colonial histories and the forms of resistance that have historically been activated in Việt Nam and Palestine.

Serving as "weapons of culture,"[4] revolutionary cinemas of the 1960s and 1970s advanced an indigenous, critical, and noncapitalist mode of visualizing and narrativizing anticolonial struggles from the perspective of the oppressed, powered by a cinematic language founded in the Soviet Union in the 1920s[5] and shaped by the Third Cinema movement in the 1960s more generally.[6] These latter cinemas were also produced during the height of the Cold War, a bipolar organization of global power that impelled the Soviet Union to secure support from Việt Nam and Palestine

in the struggle against U.S. global capitalism. Of course, their respective adversaries are distinct: North Việt Nam fought against French colonizers, South Việt Nam, and U.S. forces; Palestinians struggle against settler colonial encroachment by Anglo-European Zionists in Historic Palestine, with its major supporter and financier, the United States. In Việt Nam, precipitated by France's colonial failures, the United States unleashed a decade of unrestrained chemical and territorial warfare until its unpopular, costly, and humiliating defeat in 1975. In Historic Palestine, precipitated by British colonial rule, the United States has been a formidable and constitutive part of Israeli settler colonial occupation since 1948 through the ideological, military, political, cultural, and financial support of Israel—a "special relationship" that continues today. Despite these differences, Việt Nam and Palestine coalesced as part of a larger revolutionary Third World bloc in part due to their antagonistic positioning by the United States: not only did they serve as pawns and proxies of the Cold War; their national aspirations obstructed the capitalistic and geopolitical imperialisms of the emergent imperial superpower as well.

As discursive signifiers, "Vietnam" and "Palestine" circulate in the "colonial present"[7] on profoundly unequal terms, constituting different visual markers and meeting various needs for the project of U.S. empire and cultural hegemony. While both have had to be pacified in global cinema for the West to be won, Việt Nam is memorialized as successfully developed and geopolitically integrated, while Palestine has been discursively and materially "vanished" to sustain the United States' special relationship with Israel (Sharif 2016). Constitutive of what Gil Hochberg (2015) calls a "visual occupation,"[8] media images of violence and conflict in Gaza and the West Bank connote colonial notions of a place and time that are radically dissimilar to the images of present-day Việt Nam, a country that appears to have been pacified by economic rapprochement, symbolized most optimally by President Obama's celebrated visit to the socialist country in 2016. Such disparities formulate the calculus for why Việt Nam and Palestine are simultaneously remembered and misremembered within U.S. and Israeli cultural hegemony. The exigencies of neoliberal capitalism further shape the practice and production of both memory making and filmmaking today, whereby Vietnamese and Palestinian films, funded by foreign and private investors as well as NGOs, aspire to popular appeal in terms of local and global audiences. No longer is there a rhetoric of violence backed by the visual iconicity of revolutionary women; rather, these films gesture toward a representational politics of gender that domesticates and defangs the potency of collective action and militant resistance.

Figure 1. "Victory for Palestine and Vietnam" (1972). Created by Ismail Shammout. Published by the Palestine Liberation Organization. Courtesy of the Palestine Poster Project Archives.

As critical refugee studies (CRS) scholars writing from different disciplinary formations and institutional locations, we recognize that the critical juxtaposition of Việt Nam and Palestine is limited and that the disjunctures between these histories cannot be overstated. Studied in tandem, however, Vietnamese and Palestinian film archives reveal that revolutionary cinema remains a critical site for the excavation of displaced knowledge about the subjectivities and solidarities of those in the Global South. Central to a CRS methodology, this epistemological reordering is potent in today's context, when figures of the "refugee" and "terrorist" have been so weaponized in current political discourse. To place Palestine and Việt Nam side by side is to reanimate the explosive connections underlying "Third World" revolutions and their vital critique of colonialism, war, and imperialism. Echoing the quotations framing this essay once again, we reclaim Vietnamese and Palestinian revolutionary histories and recuperate the revolutionary feminisms embedded within these histories. In the mode of critical juxtaposition and the spirit of collaboration, we are joined by a desire to imagine—even as we dwell in the colonial past and present—a more radical future for marginalized communities in a global context.

DECOLONIZATION AND THE ADVENT OF REVOLUTIONARY CINEMA

To query the shared histories between Việt Nam and Palestine is to begin with what remains: the vestiges of a cinematic archive for both Việt Nam and Palestine reflects a history of displacement and war. This section investigates the ways Vietnamese and Palestinian revolutionary films intersect and diverge. We analyze the originary moments of these emergent cinemas at a time when Palestine and Việt Nam were under siege by U.S. and Israeli military powers during the Cold War. Through a juxtaposition of Palestine and Việt Nam, we demonstrate that a history of militarism and empire continues to haunt and shape the filmic present. In outlining this shared history, we underscore how film for Palestinians and the Vietnamese was a technology to imagine sovereignty during times of tumultuous change, violence, and displacement.

For Palestine especially, cinema was connected to the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, during which five hundred indigenous Palestinian villages were depopulated through mass murder, such as in the Deir Yassin massacre, or were otherwise "cleansed" of their native Palestinian inhabitants through displacement and the suspension of return for refugees. The establishment of the Israeli state on May 14 marked a historic moment for a now seasoned political Zionism—an

ideology and project established in Europe in the late nineteenth century of "ridding" Historic Palestine of its indigenous Palestinian inhabitants to replace the land with Anglo-European Jewish settlement following World War II. In that year alone, referred to by Palestinians as the Nakba (meaning the "Catastrophe"), 750,000 Palestinians were displaced from their homeland, inaugurating the most protracted refugee crisis to date.[9] This key event—Nakba—has been memorialized as "Israeli independence" in dominant historiography, with Harry Truman being the first president to recognize the state of Israel the day it was claimed by European settlers.

The year 1948 was also pivotal for the advent of Palestinian cinema. As the Zionist slogan "a people without a land for a land without a people" suggests, Palestine and Palestinians were materially and figuratively erased from dominant cultural memory, and the land was renarrated as a place of vacancy ("a land without a people") wanton for conquest by European Jewish settlers ("a people without a land").[10] The year also marked the moment when Palestinian identity became equated with the category of refugee—simultaneously an imposition, as it evacuated Palestinian land claims and suspended Palestinians to a condition of statelessness exacerbated by Israel's denial of the right of return—as well as an experiential reality for most Palestinians. The year 1948 was monumental, in that Palestinian cultural production in general, and cinema in particular, were characterized by the conditions of statelessness and displacement, the reality of an ongoing militarized settler colonialism, and the globalized racialization of Palestinians—now simultaneously indigenous *and* refugee—as abjected bodies in white settler modernities.

Given the global hegemony of Zionism, a distinctly Palestinian cinema has been unambiguously politicized from its earliest iterations. Any expression of Palestinian-ness threatened Israel's self-representation as a "land without a people for a people without a land." Palestine had to be carefully and meticulously eradicated for Israeli settler colonialism to appear organic, moral, and divinely licensed. As such, Israel's culture, laws, architecture, and even landscape became central players in the process of "vanishing" Palestine (Sharif 2016, 25). Palestinians who managed to stay within the boundaries of Israel after 1948 were officially classified "Arab Israelis"—a racial locution formed with the double purpose of denying Palestinian attachment to the land while boasting a multicultural, democratic Israel.

As Joseph Massad (2006, 34) documents, because of the absence of Palestinian institutions of culture that survived the Nakba, the emergence of a Palestinian cinema "had to wait." In the late 1960s, as Third World anti- and decolonial efforts were at their height, the newly formed

Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) established the Palestine Film Unit (PFU) to document and advance the Palestinian project of revolution, chronicle Palestinian displacement, critique Israeli settler colonialism and U.S. imperialism and their concomitant military industries, express solidarity with anti-imperial efforts in Việt Nam and Turtle Island, and raise Palestinian morale after the devastation of the 1967 War.[11] A primarily refugee cinema, Palestinian films were created in exile, mostly in Lebanon (Gertz and Khleifi 2008, 12), and developed through careful crowdsourcing techniques: film units would distribute surveys among audiences at open-air screens or in underground shelters. These researchers learned that Palestinian audiences consistently favored "realistic" depictions of their everyday lives rather than symbolic content, an aesthetic style Massad (2006, 36) calls "instrumentalist realism." Using minimal resources, Palestinian filmmakers created documentary-style shorts aimed at capturing the spirit of armed revolt while also serving propagandistic and pedagogical functions. Under the auspices of the PLO, Palestinian films were produced quickly in the revolutionary period, peaking at twelve films in 1973, despite extraordinarily violent production circumstances (Massad 2006, 36). Sulafah Jadallah, cofounder of the PFU, worked as a cinematographer during the production of the unit's first film, *With Our Souls and Our Blood,* in 1970. During its production, Jadallah was shot, causing her partial paralysis. Six years later, a second cofounder of the Film Unit, Hany Jawhariyyah, was murdered, camera in hand. Despite these conditions, as the following section illustrates, Palestinian film during this period asserted the project of revolution while mobilizing an explicit call to arms on-screen.

Unlike Palestinian cinema, which was restricted by the condition of statelessness and the ongoing condition of Nakba, Vietnamese cinema, as established by the Democratic Republic of Việt Nam (DRV), was invested in heavily by the state during the revolutionary period. The beginning of Việt Nam's state-operated cinema began momentously with the establishment of sovereignty in the North following the end of World War II. After 1945, the Democratic Republic of Việt Nam paved the way for the making of state-sponsored films. In 1953, President Hồ Chí Minh founded the Vietnamese State Enterprise for Photography and Motion Pictures and declared that Vietnamese cinema had two tasks: (1) to build socialism and (2) to struggle for the liberation of the South for the reunification of the country. Solidified by northern Việt Nam's victory over the French in 1954, the postcolonial state ensured through legislation that film would be an important industry in the years that followed. The year 1957 saw the opening of the first Vietnamese film journal, *Điện Ảnh* (Cinema), and

in 1959, Việt Nam constructed its first film school, the Hà Nội Cinema School, and movie engineering plant.[12]

The period after the war (1975–87) began a new era in Vietnamese cinema. These dates are significant because 1975 marked the official end of the American War and the moment when the two regions were reunified. The year 1987 is also critical, as it coincided with the economic reforms called Đổi Mới that were being instituted at the time. Although a small number of feature films were made annually, because of a sparsely funded industry, Vietnamese-owned studios, such as Giải Phóng Studios (in the South) and Việt Nam Film Studios (in the North), were able to finance only a handful of well-received films.

From 1987 to 2003, the Vietnamese film industry faced several challenges at the level of financing and reception. Nonetheless, some of the films produced in this time period are now a part of the country's film canon. Đặng Nhật Minh's *Woman on the Perfume River* (1987) and Nguyễn Khắc Lợi's *The General Retires* (1991) were especially distinguished because of their high aesthetic values and the cultural heritage upon which the latter film was based—Nguyễn Huy Thiệp's acclaimed short story "The General Retires." In 1993, recognizing the cultural significance of film, the government allocated more funding for film production and stressed the importance of aesthetic value in filmmaking.

In 2002, the state authorized the establishment of private film companies within the country, thus bringing about two important developments. Funding for films is currently privatized and thus often transnational. Authorities have also abolished prefilm script censorship; only the final cut of the film is now reviewed. Such developments have also led the way for many coproductions to take place. When, in 2007, Việt Nam joined the World Trade Organization (WTO), it amended its citizenship laws one year later to allow diasporans to hold dual citizenship. As part of the influx of capital and talent pouring into the country today, many Vietnamese American directors are now making films and screening them in major cities before distributing them across the country. Global events and legislative acts such as these have marked Việt Nam's cinematic landscape for the past seventy years, fundamentally changing the ways that Vietnamese and the diaspora imagine themselves in relation to history and nation.

The terms by which nationhood was achieved for Việt Nam are markedly different from the ways in which Palestine has yet to be recognized as a sovereign territory in our present moment. At the same time, juxtaposing the Vietnamese with the Palestinian film archive reveals that revolutionary cinema formed an essential cultural arsenal for the people to combat colonial and imperial forces. These works, produced, funded,

and circulated by 1960s liberation fronts—primarily the PLO and the Democratic Republic of Việt Nam in the North—narrate the program of revolution unapologetically and deliberately. Often expressed through the woman's body, this "revolution" was not construed as a potential or fantasy but was considered a constitutive part of Palestinian and Vietnamese ontology.

"Until the Final Hour": Palestinian Revolutionary Cinema and the Emergence of the *Feda'yeh*

Produced at the height of Third Worldist Euphoria, the 1974 documentary short *Laysa Lahum Wujud,* which roughly translates to "They Do Not Have Presence"/"They Do Not Exist," is arguably the most exemplary Palestinian film during the revolutionary period (Shohat 2006, 75). Forty-five years after it was made, *They Do Not Exist* continues to reflect the displacement of Palestinian cinema due to Israeli settler colonialism and militarized violence upon Palestinian lands. The film's location—the Nabatia refugee camp in the frontline country of Lebanon—reflects the materiality of displacement and longing for return faced by Palestinian refugees that continues today. Just shy of twenty-five minutes, the black-and-white film didactically exposes the violence of settler colonialism and displacement through the documentary mode. Its propagandistic nature registered the spirit of revolt for Palestinians located in the homeland and diaspora and signified a "revolution-in-progress" in the context of settler colonial eradication of Palestinian narrative and land. Moreover, the film was marked by extremely limited funding and dissemination, as it was heavily surveilled and then censored upon its release. Producer Mustafa Abu Ali was forced into exile soon after the film was made; to make it available, Ali was smuggled into Jerusalem to retrieve the documentary more than thirty years later. Owing to the extraordinary conditions under which the film was produced and the limited circulation it received, the film's success earned its rank as a foundational piece in Palestinian cinematic history. In fact, this film has been rendered a Palestinian national film par excellence, depicting everyday life in a refugee camp, where Palestinians awaited return to the beloved Homeland.

It is fitting, then, that *They Do Not Exist* takes up the issue of ephemerality and the tangibility of life, depicting everyday life in the Nabatia refugee camp in Lebanon in the days leading to its decimation by Israeli phantom jets in June 1974. The film's seven chapters depict the refugee camp before, during, and immediately following Israel's airstrike, which caused its approximately six thousand Palestinian inhabitants to become exiled again to the neighboring camp of Ein el Hilweh. The chapter segmentation

of the film is reminiscent of the classic 1968 film *Hour of the Furnaces* directed by Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino, the founders of the Third Cinema movement in Argentina, who used intertitles to introduce chapters in their treatise against imperialism. Different from *Hour,* which is a 208-minute film and features a manifesto-like film form, *Laysa* uses a testimonial approach to relay the stories of Palestinians as evidence of their existence, what Hamid Dabashi (2006, 11) calls a "visual form of *j'accuse*." In fact, the title is taken from a speech given by the then prime minister of Israel, Golda Meir, in which she famously declared, "It was not as if there was a Palestinian people in Palestine and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They do not exist."

In response to Meir's declaration of Palestinian nonexistence, the film cuts from the title page to images of everyday life in the refugee camp. With few men depicted, the film emphasizes everyday acts of life making by Palestinian women in the camp: removing clothes from a clothesline, harvesting, lunching in a courtyard, transporting goods, chatting, carrying children, buying zucchinis in an open-air market; indeed, these quotidian practices of life making are overemphasized as a direct testament to Palestinian existence. While a Western liberal feminist analysis would critique the gendering of domestic labor found in the film, we find instead a kind of hyperliving performed by these women that draws attention to life and joy, even amid the mundane tasks of daily reproduction. Set to a popular Oum Kathoum song—a female Egyptian vocalist said to be the most powerful voice of the Arab world[13]—the women sometimes look directly into the camera frame without hesitation, as though to exclaim, "See me. I exist!"—asserting value of presence. In this opening scene, Palestinian women function as the makers-of-life in the context of displacement. They are the veins of a nation that stubbornly "exists" in the face of vanishment.

The first speaker in the film is a young girl. Through a voice-over narration, she identifies herself as ten-year-old Aida Al Shaikh, a refugee who resides in Nabatia refugee camp with her family. Her young voice—imbued with curious maturity and resolve—fills the screen, as the images of Palestinian women and children gather in a courtyard. Aida's voice-over reveals that she is writing a letter to a *feda'e,* or commando, which she intends to give along with the gift of a towel—demonstrating the material scarcity of life in the camp but also a collective consciousness about revolution. Endearingly and respectfully greeting him with "dear brother," she writes to the *feda'e,* "You deserve the best because you sacrifice yourself for Palestine." Aida's voice bleeds into the next chapter

with intermittent clips from the Palestinian nationalist track "Feda'e" ("commando, commando / Oh my land, the land of my ancestors / commando commando / Oh my people who never die").

Following these images of everyday life in Nabatia, the second chapter reveals the male *feda'e* who receives Aida's gift. A young man in his late twenties, he is dressed in guerrilla camouflage, and, adorned with the black-and-white *kefiyeh*. He smokes a cigarette by a tree as he reads Aida's letter, its contents revealed through her voice-over narration. She states that she has five brothers, one a student in Egypt, and that her father is a carpenter. After introducing her family, she relays her connection to Palestine by noting her origins. She is originally from a city in the Galilee called Cabri, which was captured by Jewish forces on May 21, 1948, soon after the state of Israel was declared.

As a child, female subject, and narrator, Aida's performative labor exists in the realm of the didactic, symbolic, and material. First, Aida's youth represents a generation of Palestinians to come, who, irrespective of their location, continue to remember their origins with the aim of returning to Palestine. Indeed, her resolute tone suggests that connection to the land is not lost but actively remembered, even by those who may have never seen its soil or were displaced from the land at a young age. Perhaps her expression of loyalty to the *feda'e* is filled with a naive desire to see him as a hero who returns her home. Or, perhaps her devotion to Palestine is meant to agitate Israeli anxieties about the "demographic threat" that Palestinian offspring impose on "proper" Israeli citizens idealized as white Europeans. Whatever the case, her message is clear: Palestine exists, and the people will return.

The performative labor of the female Palestinian fighter climaxes in the film's final chapter, this time by an older Palestinian woman from the Nabatia refugee camp, which by now has been eradicated by Israel. In the fourth chapter, aptly titled "Israeli Air Raid at Nabatia Camp May 16, 1974," the film depicts Zionist troops massaging rockets into jet engines etched with a black Star of David, while a Bach concerto eerily blasts in the background. The concerto is disrupted by the piercing sound of explosions and flashes, followed by an anesthetizing silence. Meanwhile, the camera pans across the previously lively refugee camp now violently razed, its inhabitants scrambling soundlessly amid the debris. The seventh, final chapter features testimonies from camp residents about the airstrikes. Here we meet a woman adorned in black: she is sitting on bare limestone, a child in her lap and two small children nearby. She speaks into a journalist's microphone. Identifiable only as Oum Jafar, or "Mother of Jafar,"[14] she describes searching for her eldest son, only to find that he

was buried alive in the wreckage of their home after Israel's airstrikes: "I looked in all hospitals for him until finally they found him under the rubble. It is a burning suffering for a mother. Many Palestinian mothers went through this. He was in his last year of high school. He is not the only martyr. We are all ready to sacrifice for Palestine."

Like Aida before her, Oum Jafar's tone is determined and passionate despite her loss. She speaks with resolve wrought by the desire to avenge her son's martyrdom. Unlike the Palestinian films of the contemporary period in which grief, mourning, and loss are represented as solitary and individualized sentiments, as signified through the use of "we" and the reminder that "many Palestinian mothers" have seen the loss of their children, Jafar's death remains an affront to the collective Palestinian body. In this way, Oum Jafar's grief is represented as fortifying a sense of collectivity. As she tells her story, her voice becomes louder, more resolute. Because she laments Jafar's death as a collective loss, her maternity extends beyond a nuclear notion of reproduction. The screen then cuts to a young man clearing debris from the camp, and she calls to him, "Welcome, darling!"—a brief interruption as she returns to a framed photograph of the young Jafar. She declares, "All my dreams have been shattered. I will sacrifice my life to avenge you!" While she expresses words of grief, she also finds power in the promise of a pending revolution, one where she will sacrifice her own body "until the final hour" of deliverance.

What Aida and Oum Jafar reveal is how Palestinian girlhood and womanhood will consistently labor to advance the project of revolution; their cinematic representation services the nation through a didactic gesture directed toward collective consciousness and solidarity. As evidenced by her letters and gifts, Aida is a devoted nurturer of the revolution, while Oum Jafar's dedication to the collective is indicated by the will to sacrifice her own body and personal grief. In other words, the Palestinian female subject is constructed, first and foremost, as a *feda'yeh*—a female guerilla ready for a sustained revolution. Similar in didactic purpose, the Vietnamese revolutionary film centers on the fomenting of decolonial insurrection, and yet, different in form and content, it executes this idea and ideology through a specific visual style and narrativization.

VIETNAMESE REVOLUTIONARY CINEMA AND THE MAKING OF THE FEMININE SUBJECT OF RESISTANCE

In Vietnamese revolutionary narrative cinema, akin to Aida' and Oum Jafar's gendered expressions of collectivity, the value of the woman's body to represent the nation is paramount. The gendering of the country

has had a long lineage in literature, mythology, and history. In the nineteenth-century epic poem *Truyện Kiều,* or *The Tale of Kieu,* by Nguyễn Du, the protagonist of this classic text is a self-sacrificing woman who endures many ordeals and hardships to get her father out of prison and return to her family. A Vietnamese national classic that can be recited by different classes in Vietnamese society and is still taught in schools today, the poem is an allegory for the story of Việt Nam and its struggles with colonialism.[15] Other famous women in history, such as the Trưng Sisters, and mythological characters, such as Lady Triệu, have also been celebrated for their struggles against foreign occupiers.[16]

In filmic form, Vietnamese women insurgents as "long-haired warriors" embody the embattled nation in times of crises and renewal.[17] *Chị Tư Hậu* (1963), or *Sister Hau,* is no exception. An emblem of womanhood and nationhood, Giang is a young peasant woman who becomes radicalized after the South Vietnamese and French overrun the fishing village where she and her husband's father have lived. Directed by Phạm Kỳ Nam, the film shows the ways in which Vietnamese peasants struggled against French colonizers and South Vietnamese collaborators during the First Indochinese War.[18] Shot in black and white, the film is striking in its Manichean dynamics of good and evil, with anticolonial villagers as the former and the colonial military the latter.

The film's trope of woman-as-nation can certainly be critiqued as it hews to a heteropatriarchal nationalism, whereby not only are land and territory gendered but the expropriation of land is expressed cinematically through bodily violation. We argue, however, that the narrativization of the nation in these terms is central to many male-directed films during this time in Vietnamese cinematic history. As Ella Shohat (1997) asserts, a reading of Third Worldist film cultures must take into account the national, since these are the terms by which films and film cultures were produced and received. Shohat writes, "Third Worldist films, produced within the legal codes of the nation-state, often in (hegemonic) national languages, recycling national intertexts (literatures, oral narratives, music), projected national imaginaries" (186). Moreover, we contend that beyond this filmic metaphorization lives a radical politics about anti-imperialist resistance founded in the woman's body and which becomes key to an intertextual reading across global cinemas like Palestine's about the efficacy of a feminine ideal. The Vietnamese film industry's star system, furthermore, allowed for actresses like Trà Giang to create in the expressive modes of melodrama memorable characters of female suffering and resilience and turn in an iconic performance within a repertoire of revolutionary filmmaking. To emphasize such points, director Phạm engineers

Figure 2. Trà Giang as *Sister Hau* (1963). Việt Nam Film Studio.

point-of-view shots that assist in the narration of Sister Hau's story, rendering her story as the nation's.

In flashback, we witness the first acts of terror that the colonial army of South Vietnamese collaborators imposes on the village. Camera direction is important in these opening shots, as it works to align our sympathies with the villagers. When soldiers hunt down and shoot a young girl in crutches, we see from their perspective her body as a moving target. But the camera shifts from them to her after she is shot; from her point of view, we see the men as they laugh in her direction, recognizing the cruelty in their actions. A similar kind of camerawork is pursued in another sequence. After the village is torched and evacuated, our heroine is cornered in her hut by a South Vietnamese officer, who attempts to rape her. In the tight confines of her home, the camera swings back and

forth between them to animate the dynamics between hunter and prey. Their battle of wills and strength is then punctuated by an interruption: a bespectacled French soldier comes in, takes a picture of Sister Hau, and proceeds to sexually assault her himself. At this moment, we are aligned with the heroine's vision; the camera is upside down because she is upside down as she fights off the Vietnamese soldier. When she sees the French officer coming in, however, he enters more fully into view, and the camera is dramatically turned upright. Taking her picture, he exclaims in French, "Quelle une belle expression!" The film cuts to an exterior shot with the South Vietnamese officer speaking regretfully about not taking what was rightfully his, the jump-cut alluding to the traumatic moment of colonial appropriation of land and visual imagery and overlapping colonial histories of sexual exploitation.

Influenced by early Soviet cinema, this dramatic montage of Sister Hau's rape and its aftermath is strongly reminiscent of Sergei Eisenstein's formulations about montage editing and their dialectical effects. Though Eisenstein was not the first to innovate the technique of montage, he was a proponent of its ideological impacts. On the montage of attractions, he writes that an attraction is any element (in theater) that "subjects the audience to an emotional or psychological influence. . . . These shocks provide the only opportunity of perceiving the ideological aspect of what is being shown, the final ideological conclusion" (Eisenstein 1998, 30). Here the sequence shocks viewers into recognizing the brutality of colonial domination through what the sharp edits both elide and reveal. When we next see Sister Hau, the camera eye looks her up and down and takes in her exposed shoulder; a rip in her shirt stands in for her rape. Distraught, she runs to the ocean to drown herself, when she hears the cries of her baby in the distance. Remembering her role as mother to her family (and later to the postcolonial nation), she returns to her hut and cradles her infant daughter in her arms. Returning to the ocean, she breastfeeds her baby, with the camera coming in for an extended close-up shot of both the infant and her breast. The scene is further accented by diegetic sound composed of crashing waves and a loud, percussive sound track. Elliptical and symbolic, and edited with an insistence on shock and revelation, these scenes of metaphor and substitution display the connections between gendered land and colonial dispossession and the maternalism needed to birth the new nation.

From here on, Sister Hau's radicalization is closely tied to the land, with much of the middle of the film devoted to her resistance activities while trying to tend to family and home. When the paternal patriarch of the family is killed, she goes into exile with her daughter, and the

landscape shots of mother and daughter traversing the country link her story even more to that of the fledgling battle for the country's independence. Following this logic, then, if she is triumphant, so must the nation be in its struggle for autonomy and liberation. The film's climax stages the colonial encounter as a victorious one for the Việt Minh, as they storm the colonial garrison and liberate the men, women, and children imprisoned there, one of whom is Sister's Hau's daughter, who was captured while she was away on the front lines.

In its elliptical conclusion, in which the villain walks away with blood on his hands and Sister Hau is never reunited with her child, the reconstituted citizen who is Sister Hau remains in good socialist care, performed by a younger female nurse. Recuperating on the state's hospital grounds, the revolutionary female subject has sacrificed maternal self and child for the cause. By the end of the film, she is reconciled with the loss of her daughter, knowing that the work of nation building has been passed on to the next generation. The concluding shot consists of her smiling face, as the film zooms in on her before it fades to black. From beginning to end, the film's language is highly symbolic, moving between signifiers of national plenitude (the breastfeeding scene) and national loss (the rape and wounding of the woman) and ending on the promise of postcolonial socialism and care for the nation's heroic subjects. Desexualized and yet stripped of her maternal role, Sister Hau has fulfilled her role in serving the nation nonetheless. Made in 1963, a year that marks the beginnings of the American War in Việt Nam, the film, with its prescriptions about gender roles and national servitude, foretells a powerful story about a war that will be waged for the country's hearts and minds in the following decade.

THIRD WORLD CINEMA FIFTY YEARS LATER: 9/11, NEOLIBERALISM, AND THE DISPLACEMENT OF REVOLT

Whereas Palestinian and Vietnamese cinematic representations in the 1960s and 1970s centered the role of revolution as a present imperative and future aim through the representation of the female guerilla fighter, contemporary cinematic depictions have repositioned the Palestinian and Vietnamese woman as the arbiter of domesticity in the aftermath of a "failed" revolution. Such forms of filmic representation, while gaining global popularity in many cases (as in the 2005 film *Paradise Now*), signal a state of ambivalence about the revolution as previously imagined. More significantly, the representations of women in film herald a new institution of moral hegemony at the cost of revolution, such as the gendered formulation of national propriety, human rights discourse, and the containment of revolutionary efforts that have now been deemed outmoded.

In the 1990s, the shift in U.S. and Palestine relations cleared the discourse of revolution and made way for a particular misremembering of the United States' complacency in a violent occupation—a role that stands in stark contrast to its self-rendering as the arbiter of peace in the Middle East. In 1993, the Oslo Accords, brokered by then president Bill Clinton, oversaw the formation of the Palestinian National Authority following a six-year Palestinian uprising—the First Intifada. These accords, the result of secret meetings between Israel and the PLO, launched Palestine into a new epoch, inspiring neologisms like "roadmap to peace," "two-state solution," and other terms of pacification that effectively normalized the occupation as a permanent one in globalized discourse. Likewise, Palestinian cinema entered a new phase whereby the neoliberal agendas of the Oslo Accords and, later, the racial anxieties of the War on Terror[19] shifted filmic content from the explicit goal of revolution to the project of representational democracy, humanization, and character complexity. Funded by NGOs and foreign investors, most of these Palestinian films were vested in being "globally palatable" to "fit snuggly within a world cinema or human rights film festival programme," as Kay Dickinson (2016, 211) argues in her work on Arab cinema.

The 2005 film *Al-Janna Al'aan,* or *Paradise Now,* seems to offer such global palatability with surprising audacity, as it depicts the psychic, emotional deliberations of two childhood friends after they are recruited for a suicide bombing by an unnamed Islamist fraternity. Said and Khaled are two lowly mechanics living in refugee camps in the Palestinian city of Nablus in the occupied West Bank. Unable to disclose their pending murder-suicide, Khaled and Said mull over their secret until they are confronted by Suha, Said's love interest. The film follows Khaled and Said for forty-eight hours before their scheduled "mission."

A film humanizing Palestinian suicide bombers, a European coproduction, written and directed by a Palestinian with support of Israeli producers—*Paradise Now* was met with a great deal of controversy from the outset. When it was nominated in 2006 for an Academy Award, online petitions demanded the film be rescinded. Of the thirty-two thousand signatories, many argued that the humanization of suicide bombers meant complacency with terrorism, a critique laced with the polarizing language of "terrorism" wrought by George W. Bush's War on Terror. Israeli publicist Irit Lenor (2006) called the film "a quality Nazi film." In the words of Nouri Gana (2008, 22), a major film that deals with suicide bombing approves only of "one streetcar named condemnation" (22). The film was also produced during a bloody uprising, the Second Intifada, during which three thousand Palestinians were brutally killed. During filming, a land

mine was detonated three hundred feet from the filming site, causing actor Lubna Azabel (Suha) to faint. The location manager was kidnapped by a Palestinian faction (Caro 2005). Helicopter gunships launched a missile attack near the set, causing six crew members to abandon the film.

Despite the film's controversy and its violent conditions of production, it was clear that the War on Terror brought about a public fascination with the psyche of the suicide bomber. The film was distributed to forty-five countries and gained an 89 percent rating on Rotten Tomatoes.[20] It was the first film from the occupied Palestinian territories to be nominated for a Golden Globe for Best Foreign Language Film, which it won, as well as an Oscar in the same category.

A feature-length narrative film, *Paradise Now* contrasts with the docu-shorts and instrumentalist realism of the revolutionary period, reflecting the shifting political economy of Palestinian cinema. Its storyline relies on the productive labor of Palestinian female characters to enhance a neoliberal logic. In particular, Suha's character embodies Western logics of good versus evil within the polarizing thematic of "terrorism," while Said's mother, unnamed and hardly speaking, individualizes grief in a way that gestures against a robust Palestinian collective. Suha is Said's love interest and customer at the mechanic shop. Raised in Europe, Suha received a French education before returning to the West Bank to pursue human rights work following the murder of her father, Abu Azzam, a respected Palestinian resistance leader. Her dialogues with Said and Khaled hinge around a rendering of violence and nonviolence as a product of individual choice, illustrated in a scene with Said after he learns he has been selected for the suicide mission. Impulsively running to Suha's house, he arrives unannounced in the middle of the night. Suha awakens, startled, but then insists that he stay for tea. She asks Said about his interests in film, cafés, and hobbies, interests that reflect her own elite education and cosmopolitanism. This exchange indicates that her emphasis on leisure resembles a neoliberal lifestyle marked by consumer culture. Said, carrying the weight of his secret on his shoulders, responds to her questions despondently; shifting the conversation, he asks Suha instead about her father:

SAID: They say he was a hero. You must be very proud of him.
SUHA: I'd rather he was still alive than to sit in his absence and be proud of him.

Here Suha challenges Said's claim that her father was heroic and attempts to convince Said that militarized revolt can be replaced by other forms

of resistance: "Resistance can take many forms. We have to accept that we have no military might to find alternatives."

Later in the film, upon learning of the men's pending suicide bombing, Suha confronts Khaled:

> SUHA: Why are you doing this?
> KHALED: There's no other way. If we cannot live as equals, we will die as equals.
> SUHA: [. . .] You should be able to find a way to be equal in life!
> KHALED: How? Through your human rights group?
> SUHA: That is one of the possibilities! At least the Israelis will not have an alibi to continue to kill us!
> KHALED: [. . .] There can be no freedom without struggle. As long as there is an injustice, there must be sacrifice
> SUHA: [. . .] If you kill, there is no difference between victim and occupier.

Again, Suha's retreat to liberal humanism suggests that a collective revolt may not only be passé but also immoral. Through documentary-style dialogue (there is almost no sound track in the film), Suha's character embodies a neoliberal, assimilative politics that demonstrates a shift away from an expressly revolutionary agenda. Her dismissal of her father's resistance efforts as futile and outmoded as well as her assertion that Palestinians maintain a position of moral superiority vis-à-vis their victimhood mark a turn toward pacification that mirrors the impulses underlying the Oslo Accords. Moreover, the notion that a tamer Palestine would protect against Israeli murder clashes with the facts on the ground—indeed, Palestinians never saw more violence against their lands and people as they did during these so-called diplomatic times. Finally, as glimpsed through this character, the film retreats into polarizing, imperial logics of violence and nonviolence; as a result, the violent context of the settler colonial occupation is evacuated, despite the beautiful way its mundaneness is captured.

In contrast with Suha's outspoken pacifism, Said's mother is almost completely silent in the film, a crucial absent-presence that further displaces the subject of revolution. Always brooding, her downcast eyes and sharp cheekbones accompanied by a seemingly permanent scowl, she emerges on-screen preparing dinner, smoking a cigarette, and reading Said's fortune. In the final scene, where Said is believed to have carried out the suicide bombing, we return to her briefly. With the poster of her

Figure 3. Suha converses with Said in *Paradise Now* (2005). Warner Independent Studios.

dead son on the table, she grieves tearlessly, alone and silently, which stands in stark contrast to the collective grief expressed by Oum Jafar in *Laysa*. One is left to wonder, *what is her story?* with as much curiosity as the related question, *where is the revolution?*

By pathologizing and individualizing Palestinian resistance as a matter of choice, and with its emphasis on the faces and minds of the characters, *Al-Janna Al'aan* offers a consumable spectacle of Palestinian deliberations that interpellate an imperial gaze. Gender is mobilized to further show the dynamics of a perpetually failed Palestinian masculinity. The decision to pursue suicide bombing racially marks Palestinian men as pathological, while Suha's presence on the screen serves to allay the anxieties of a suspended revolution. With Suha's character, who introduces an alternative rooted in consumerism and pacifism, the film illustrates the ways that

the subject of revolution has been evacuated, and Palestinian resistance necessarily tamed, at this juncture of empire.

HIRED BIRTH AND THE LABORING FEMALE BODY

From a form of Palestinian humanity that is rendered digestible within the post-9/11 context, we move to another kind of bodily movement, one that involves birthing and the female body. As with *Paradise Now,* failed masculinity in the postwar Vietnamese film is rendered slightly hysterical and ungrounded. If, in *Sister Hau,* the maternal body is at once raped, sexualized, and made reproductive of nationalist ideology, the gestating body is dealt with differently in a more recent film from Việt Nam. This next section emphasizes how the metaphor of revolution is expressed through the act of gestation.

In *Để Mướn* (2006), or *Hired Birth,* concerns for the national are replaced by concerns for the personal. As demonstrated by the breastfeeding scene in *Sister Hau,* wartime films made in North Việt Nam graft the revolution onto women's bodies. Released in 2006, effectively forty-three years after the classic film *Sister Hau* was made, *Hired Birth* is one of the many Vietnamese comedies to have benefited from the state's 2002 legislation that allowed for the establishment of private film studios in the country. As such, its production represents a major shift in the political economy of filmmaking at the start of the new millennium. Produced by Phước Sang entertainment, a company based in Hồ Chí Minh City and known for its highly popular romantic comedies, the film must be situated in the context of the economic reforms that began in 1987.

After 1975, Việt Nam was plunged into a decade of extreme poverty, exacerbated by the exodus of thousands of Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese, the country's border wars with Cambodia and China, and the U.S. trade embargo. As a response to these crises, the Fifth Party Congress implemented a historic roster of economic reforms called Đổi Mới, or Renovation. These reforms introduced Việt Nam to a bifurcated system of socialism and capitalism, which was designed to slowly open the country to the free market while still upholding the socialist values upon which it had been founded. Since Đổi Mới, the country has become more of an economic force within the Southeast Asian region than a socialist stronghold. An index of the country's global presence is found in its membership in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the WTO from 1995 and 2007, respectively.

Within the realm of film especially, Việt Nam's newly renovated cinema laws were liberalized. Since 2002, the state has allowed for the establishment of private studios in the country and the private funding of films,

Figure 4. Vân and Bảo as a couple struggling with infertility in *Hired Birth* (2006). Phuoc Sang Film Studio.

paving the way for transnational coproductions and accommodating further collaborations between Việt Nam, the diaspora, and other countries, particularly in Hồ Chí Minh City, the film industry's center for investment possibilities with respect to production and exhibition.

Reflective of these legislative changes, *Hired Birth* emerges as a particular brand of Vietnamese cinema. Southern Vietnamese cinema, or films made in studios in Hồ Chí Minh City, was once dominated by U.S. military funding and private investments during the Vietnam War. More recently, the city has been remade into a vibrant site of highly commercial, privatized filmmaking. In the late 1990s especially, a coterie of young male directors from the South produced comedies set in the city. These films include not only *Hired Birth* but also *Souls on Swings* (2006) and *When Men Get Pregnant* (2006), comedies that dealt with body swapping, gender changes, and the fantasy of role reversal and identity switching against a city that served as the staging for carnivalesque comedy and a site for the play of capitalist and consumerist desires.

Within the context of Đổi Mới and the newly renovated urban household, *Hired Birth*, in particular, pays homage to the reproductive work and household labor that women perform. In contrast to the (backhanded) celebration of women's roles, the male characters in the film are simultaneously emasculated by the demands of the new economy and forgiven for

their lapses into weakness. Vân and Bảo constitute a high-powered couple in Việt Nam's postsocialist economy who want to conceive but cannot. In a convoluted plot, Vân believes that her husband Bảo has been having an affair with Mai, their surrogate, a younger woman of a lower-class status who needs the money to pay for her mother's medical treatment. The film's storyline pivots around the older woman's insecurities about aging and her ascendance in the business world—and the costs of this rise.

Hired Birth demonstrates the ways that women's bodies are, indeed, sites of contestation in the post–Đổi Mới era, when the metaphor of revolution is now imagined as a reversal of gender roles and power within the space of the middle-class Vietnamese family. But while the film revolves around women's bifurcated role within a socialist–market economy, the last sequence of the film features a fantastic moment of male abjection. Thus far, the film's plot line has been devoted to showcasing a woman's fears about infertility and her social worth; however, it is later revealed that the husband is sterile and that it is he who has created an elaborate ruse to hide his sterility and shame his wife for her barrenness. A representation of failed masculinity by way of heteronormative paternalism, Bảo is brought to his knees by the film's end, as he cries and asks for forgiveness from his wife. Certainly the film's conclusion punishes patriarchy for its excesses, but not before it goes to great lengths to narratively punish an overly ambitious woman.

Hired Birth is a small, low-budget film that will never achieve the same global visibility that *Paradise Now* claims; however, it is one of a series of films that has symptomatically centered on the anxieties of gender roles and the place of women in the family in the post–Đổi Mới era. The film also points to a moment in Vietnamese economic history when the country was readying itself for an even greater role in the global markets (Việt Nam became part of the WTO in 2007) and when women were rapidly becoming fixtures in the marketplace as consumers, workers, and professionals. In this way, we are far from the aesthetics and thematics of *Sister Hau*: the 1963 film features a heroine who forsakes her child for the revolution. The couple in *Hired Birth,* however, are rendered sterile in postsocialist Việt Nam, and there is little hope for reproducing the national family in the socialist mold. *Hired Birth* especially dwells on the capitalist logics of commodification, whereby the female body is not only sentimentalized but also rendered a fungible object, hirable for the purposes of creating a bourgeois familial ideal. Placed together, the two films index the moments when Việt Nam was undergoing terrific transformations at the level of family, society, and nation and when, consequently, the anxieties

and experiences of those affected by these changes were projected onto the cinematic screen.

CONCLUSION: FROM CRITICAL JUXTAPOSITION TO CRITICAL SOLIDARITIES

In the third "chapter" of the docu-short *They Do Not Exist,* a Palestinian man intently gazes into the camera's frame and charges, "Historical facts reveal that the imperialists will commit any crime to protect their interests." The word "Việt Nam" appears on the screen in both Arabic and English, followed by the word "Massacre!" with the sound of explosions in the background. This is followed by other intertitles naming a number of peoples, including American Indians as well as countries like Mozambique that have experienced genocide at the hands of a colonizing power. This brief interlude captures the historic spirit of revolt that anchored Palestine to revolutionary Việt Nam as well as to other oppressed peoples all over the world.

As the film makes clear, Việt Nam–Palestine relations were forged in anticolonial struggle and solidarity, relations that still hold cultural and historical power today. Following the Black September incidents in Amman in 1970, for example, Palestinians took to the streets chanting "Let's turn Amman into Hanoi!" As the major producer of Palestinian film during the revolutionary period, the PFU was inspired by northern Vietnamese films that had been donated to them, and Palestinian filmmakers made frequent reference to Vietnamese cinematographers who accompanied guerrillas on their military forays (Yaqub 2018, 55). In protest culture, films, political cartoons, news, revolutionary literature, and posters, Palestine and Việt Nam were co-constituted by a joint project of anti-imperialism and struggles that galvanized countries like Cuba and Algeria to overthrow colonialism and enact liberation from the ground up. With the victory of Điện Biên Phủ in 1954, which forced the French to withdraw from Việt Nam, the "loss" of France's former pearl of the Orient was followed by several decolonization movements within Asian and African colonies. At the Bandung Conference in 1955, in which representatives from twenty-nine governments across Asian and African nations gathered in Indonesia to discuss sovereignty and decolonization, these solidarities between Third World countries were further fortified. We point to these critical solidarities as an important legacy of Third World revolutionary formations. Indeed, the point of our article is to carry the "politics of solidarity and coalition" into the present moment and press the point of a global form of social justice (Harrison 2016, 7).

This essay has also addressed how Palestinian and Vietnamese women are differently located in a global regime of power at this juncture of empire. Whereas revolutionary Palestinian and Vietnamese films centered the revolution as a present imperative and future aim, using the iconicity of women and their bodies, contemporary cinematic depictions have repositioned the Palestinian and Vietnamese woman as the arbiter of domesticity in the aftermath of a failed revolution. Studying these films across time and space, as we have done here, we posit a recuperation of revolutionary feminism, one that understands the relationship between women and culture as relational, vexed, and ever evolving. We advance a reading of Vietnamese and Palestinian films that considers how revolutions are profoundly rooted in the space of the home and the maternal body. This is in keeping with the feminist, decolonial ethos of a CRS framework, which cites the home as a site not of domesticity but of revolutionary thought and action.

Within a CRS framework, the film archives further reveal a shared anticolonial history that highlights the deadly impacts of U.S. empire and Zionist ideology and the enduring problems of militarism and occupation. We believe critical juxtaposing, in its weaving together of "seemingly different memories and stories" of both subjugation and subversion, serves as a useful tactic for illuminating where we have come and where we need to be (Espiritu and Duong 2018, 595). We end this article by arguing that Việt Nam's and Palestine's cinematic "dreams of a nation"[21] continue to challenge dominant epistemologies about the Global South and their/our radical ties with one another. This challenge can be mobilized today in our troubling times to form the arsenal for a critique of present-day imperialisms, one that has been especially wrought by the Trump regime, its acceleration of colonial Zionism, branding of a successfully integrated Việt Nam, and unabashed antagonisms toward refugee epistemologies. In the form of critical juxtaposition, we posit the need for critical collaboration and political intervention. We hope that these challenges and recuperations serve as inspiration to imagine and realize the possibilities of radical political change.

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NOTES

1. As Evyn Lê Espiritu (2018) recounts, "in 1968, at the height of both the Cold War and the Third World Liberation movement, Việt Nam established relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)" (354). More recently, the country also "joined countries around the world in recognizing 2014 as an International Year of Solidarity with the Palestinian People" (354).

2. Typically, the term *neoliberalism* refers to the extension of free market principles and corporate structures into global social and cultural spheres. We borrow from Lisa Duggan (2014) to define neoliberalism as a radicalized and expedited process of capitalist imperialism that is enabled and challenged by the content, conditions, accessibility, and availability of cinematic production.

3. By "film feminism," we are not necessarily focusing on films with a lead female protagonist or produced by women (although we recognize the materiality of Third World cinema as being primarily produced by men); instead, we are concerned with cinema with the declared objective of revolution in the context of both patriarchy and colonialism, in which women are seen as central, rather than peripheral, agents of transformation (Shohat 2006, 71).

4. Joseph Massad (2006, 32) uses this term to describe Palestinian cinema in particular.

5. We refer to the work by Soviet directors (Lee Kuleshov, Dziga Vertov, and Vsevolod Pudovkin) who popularized and theorized the techniques of Soviet montage. Chief among these directors is Sergei Eisenstein, who was highly influential in using a dialectical approach to filmmaking. For Eisenstein, editing was a political tool used to suture images together, which, in turn, created a revelatory experience for the viewer. For more on Eistensteinian montage, see Eisenstein (1949).

6. Third Cinema is a generative way of contextualizing Palestinian and Vietnamese revolutionary cinemas. As a subject that harnesses the vibrant political energy of many so-called Third World countries in Africa, Latin America, and Asia during the 1960s and 1970s, it deserves a more sustained analysis than what we offer here. In general, the potency (and the inspiration that Việt Nam provided) linking the calls for Cinema Novo (Brazil), Third Cinema (Argentina), and an Imperfect Cinema (Cuba) can be found in the work of Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino (1983), Glauber Rocha (1997), and Julio Garcia Espinosa (1983), who wanted to write into existence a cinema that addressed the masses and their aspirations for cultural and political sovereignty.

7. Writing on the *longue durée* of colonialism in Afghanistan, Palestine, and Iraq in conjunction with the War on Terror, Derek Gregory (2004, 7) argues that the "colonial present lives as one of many 'present pasts' in a contemporary condition that is characterized by the coexistence of multiple temporalities."

8. In using this term, Hochberg refers to how rights of visuality are allocated to Israelis but not to Palestinians.

9. One in every three refugees in the world is Palestinian, and this number is grossly underestimated due to procedural inconsistencies in defining "refugee" for Palestinians. For more on these figures, please see Al-Awda (2003).

10. The myth of a fated settlement is, of course, not unique to Israel; the ideology of developing land in the name of capitalistic productivity through colonial settlement and cultural hegemony is a common characteristic of white settler states.

11. The 1967 War, also called the Arab–Israeli War, the June War, the Naksa (meaning "setback" or "defeat"), or the Six-Day War, occurred on June 5, 1967, three weeks shy of Israel's nineteen-year anniversary. During the war, Israel violently seized the remaining Palestinian territories of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip, as well as the Syrian Golan Heights and the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula, in a matter of six days.

12. For more on the formations of Vietnamese cinema, see Duong (2012).

13. The voice of singer Oum Kalthoum and the reference to Egypt are important, since Egypt led a pan-Arab socialist movement headed by Gamal Abdel Nasser, believed to be the face of a pan-Arab revolution.

14. Palestinian terms of address are relational, wherein a woman may be identified as the mother of her firstborn son.

15. On this point, see Mark Bradley (2001), Georges Boudarel (1999), Patricia Pelley (2002), and Gina Marchetti (1991).

16. For an incisive look at Vietnamese women's roles in contemporary society, given the mythologies concerning womanhood and nationhood, see Trinh (1989) and Tai (2001).

17. For more on Vietnamese women combatants who fought in the North during the war, see Taylor (1999).

18. Phạm also codirected Việt Nam's first independently produced film, *On the Same River* (1959). For a reading of this film, see Duong (2014).

19. On the topic of the racialization of Palestinians in relation to the War on Terror, see Jamal and Naber (2008).

20. https://www.rottentomatoes.com/m/paradise_now.

21. We borrow from Hamid Dabashi's (2006) title in his edited book on Palestinian cinema.

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