


Dossier

Global South as Method: Decolonial Vision in the Films of Walter Salles (Brazil) and Jia Zhangke (China)

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ABSTRACT:

Anne Garland Mahler provides a road map to studying and validating South-South dialogue through a three-tiered model consisting of the periphery; the (trans)national; and the reciprocal recognition of shared subaltern positionality and resistance under global neoliberalism, with its nodes of power in elite urban centers in all quarters of world. This paper offers a richly detailed summary of the multilayered contexts, connections, and collaborations of filmmakers Walter Moreira Salles of Brazil (and his brother João) and Jia Zhangke of China (and his closest collaborator, and cinematographer, Nelson Yu Lik-wai). Finally, through paired comparisons of three films from each filmmaker at scales of Region, Nation and the Transnational, some underlying and even uncanny commonalities are revealed. Despite hundreds of articles written about Salles, on the one hand, and Jia, on the other, these commonalities have gone completely unnoticed. Together, this work proposes a paradigmatic case for the study of lateral solidarity across many latitudes based on similar commitments to the Global South.

Keywords: Coloniality. Root-seeking. Border-thinking. Resistant solidarity. Resistant ideology

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Global South as Method and Matrix

This paper on contexts, connections, collaborations and film comparisons of Brazilian filmmaker Walter Salles and Chinese filmmaker Jia Zhangke is shaped by a framework for the Global South as a critical concept, put forward and brilliantly annotated by Anne Garland Mahler in the *Oxford Bibliographies* (2017). Mahler's first definition (of three) refers to older analogues of Global South such as the Third World, composed of economically disadvantaged and formerly colonized nation states primarily located in the southern latitudes; as well as in current usage by the UN (e.g., United Nations' Finance Center for South-South Cooperation, Climate Partnerships for the Global South). Her second definition uses the term "global" to "unhinge" the South from groups of nation states, instead referring to marginalized peripheries ("Souths") within nation states worldwide, mirroring the existence of privileged groups ("Norths") in most of these states as well. Most importantly, the third definition refers to the "resistant imaginary of a transnational political subject that results from a shared experience of subjugation under contemporary global capitalism" (2017, p. 1), for which Mahler draws on the "lateral solidarities" envisioned during the Bandung era (Asian-African Conference, 1955) and the Tricontinental Conference of 1966 (which was held in Havana and included Latin America as well). To fully grasp Mahler's vision of the Global South, a short excursion to her 2018 book *From the Tricontinental to the Global South* may be warranted here.

Mahler contends that the Tricontinentalist agenda lead to a more inclusive Global South definition, diverging from postcolonial views by the stronger inclusion of Latin American and African American intellectual traditions and a "more fluid notion of power and resistance" (2018, p. 23). "Global South as a critical model is attentive to the ideological frame- rather than the trait-based or circumstantial conditions... through which individuals imagine themselves as part of a global resistant network" (p. 244). This interpretation does lead her slightly astray, however, when she maintains that Che Guevara had an expansive "vision of a global subaltern subjectivity... which defines a new revolutionary subject- not the proletarian of Marxism" (Mahler, 2018, p. 97). This is based on two phrases from Che's 1967 "Message to the Tricontinental" (Guevara, 2003, p. 361, 353): "we the dispossessed," and "we the exploited people of the world." However, Guevara also mentions "proletarian internationalism," and being part of the "great army of the proletariat" (Guevara, 2003, p. 360, 362). I mention this for two reasons. First, I believe it sheds light on Mahler's ultimate hopeful vision for the Global South reaching into and representing all the peripheries of the world. Second, as I will suggest below, Walter Salles may project (literally) a less doctrinaire Che Guevara, and one more attuned to current values of humanity and ecology than Ernesto might have been.

It is also important for this thesis on contemporary engaged cinema to note the sea change that has taken place after the Tricontinental and into the age of neoliberalism. With the initiatives of Reagan and Thatcher in 1981, and the new austerity measures of the World Bank, the “poorer nations” (Prashad, 2014) were reeling. For Prashad, the BRICS states, including Brazil and China, only offer “Neoliberalism with Southern Characteristics” (p. 10); and the “global South... [is a] concatenation of protests against the theft of the commons, against the theft of human dignity and rights, against the undermining of democratic institutions and the promises of modernity” (p. 9). Solanas and Getino wrote their *Towards a Third Cinema* in 1970, wherein Che Guevara was celebrated as “the new man,” the projector as “a gun that can shoot 24 frames per second,” and the “film-guerilla group... [that must have] military structures and command concepts.” However, Gabriel García Márquez (2018) published *One Hundred Years of Solitude* in 1967, which has had much wider reverberations than the *Third Cinema* manifesto (including into the connections between Walter Salles and Jia Zhangke, and between Latin America and Jia, as shown below). Perhaps García Márquez created a kind of “epistemological decolonization,” (Quijano, 2007, p. 177), or a decolonization of the imagination, with different kinds of revolutionary effects.

Three sources in particular have helped me to flesh out each of the three definitions in Mahler’s framework (in revised order of 2, 1, 3) on the way to framing and validating the South-South dialogue between Walter Salles and Jia Zhangke, as envisioned by Wail Hassan “...a direct dialogue between the cultures of the Global South would decentralize Europe and strengthen historic cultural relations that have not yet received the attention they deserve” (2014, p. 324). The first source is *Cinema at the Periphery* (Iordanova; Martin-Jones; Vidal, 2010) which builds on the foundational *Unthinking Eurocentrism* (Shohat, Ella; Stam, Robert, 1994). The *Periphery* volume includes a chapter on Jia Zhangke and his film *Still Life* (2006), by preeminent Chinese film scholar Sheldon Lu (2010, p. 84-103), explaining that Jia is a filmmaker of and for the margins *within* China, not that China could still be considered a peripheral nation. It also includes a chapter by the equally distinguished Brazilian film scholar, Lucia Nagib (2010), about the layered mythologies of Walter Salles and Daniela Thomas’ film *Terra Estrangeira* (*Foreign Land*, 1995; p. 190-210), treating the situation of Brazilian refugees in Lisbon after the financial crisis initiated by President Collor on March 16, 1990. *Cinema at the Periphery* also suggests some social science approaches to cinema which lead me to consider that Manfred B. Steger’s slim book on the dimensions of globalization (2013) might be helpful in analyzing my chosen films: Walter Salles- *Central Station* (1998), *Motorcycle Diaries* (2004), and *Foreign Land* (1995); and Jia Zhangke- *Still Life* (2006), *The World* (2004), and *Mountains May Depart* (2015); pitched at scales of Region, Nation, and the Transnational (which I will attempt to justify).

The second source of great help to me reflects Mahler's first definition of Global South, identified in terms of nations (and/or continents): *Transpacific Literary and Cultural Connections: Latin American Influence in Asia* (Lu; Camps, 2020) proves to be an analogue of *Sur/South: Poetics and Politics of Thinking Latin America/India* (Klengel; Ortiz, 2016), and *The Middle East and Brazil: Perspectives on the Global South* (Amar, 2014). Jie Lu's article, on "Representing History, Trauma and Marginality in Chinese Magical Realist Films" (2020, p. 209-230) traces the impact of Gabriel García Márquez on Chinese literature during the brief window between the economic and cultural opening under Deng Xiaoping and the sudden cultural and political constriction after Tiananmen, during which the root-seeking literary movement briefly flourished. There is also the parallel journey between the Nobel Prize for Literature for García Márquez (1982) and the first Nobel Prize for Literature by a Chinese citizen, Mo Yan (2012). Mo Yan made his hometown in Northeast Gaomi County a magical place to rival Macondo (Márquez) or Yoknapatawpha (Faulkner). Lu's insightful connection between magical realism and trauma is also powerful (see also, Arva, 2014, who argues that trauma which cannot be spoken directly may be expressed indirectly through magic realism).

The third and most unexpected source, one closer to the "mutual recognition" constituting Global South(s), derived from my wife's conference in London in June of 2020, whereby I had the good fortune to attend the first evening of the *Walter Salles Symposium* (June 30-July 1, 2020) that Lucia Nagib organized in honor of Walter Salles. Gathered there were the leading scholars on the work of Salles in many contexts, including Professor Cecilia Mello of the University of São Paulo who has written the excellent *The Cinema of Jia Zhangke* (2019), and who accompanied Walter Salles to China to make his documentary biopic of Jia called *Jia Zhangke, A Guy from Fenyang* (2014). In addition, that trip produced a book called *The World of Jia Zhangke* (2021), lead by French film critic and author Jean-Michel Frodon. What I remember most about that event was, first, watching Michelangelo Antonioni's *The Passenger* (1975) in its entirety on that first evening, since that film directly inspired Salles to take up filmmaking; and second, through Lucia Nagib's gracious consent to put the entire conference on YouTube, the ending of the conference with a short video of Bruno Pereira, a protector of the Amazon rainforest and friend of the tribes, lying in a hammock and singing an indigenous song, with responses called out from the surrounding forest. Walter offered this homage to the brave activist who had been murdered just a few weeks before. I was moved also by Walter's comment that film draws in a communal audience like storytelling around a campfire, something more deeply social and shared than the internet. (See N.W. Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind*, 1986, p. 10, for the power of storytelling in Kenya; and F. Schiwy, *Indianizing Film*, 2009, p. 163-184, for storytelling and indigenous cinema).

Contexts/Countries

The choice of Brazil and China here does not mean that it is written in sympathy with the BRICS grouping of countries. William I. Robinson states that: “By misreading the BRICS, critical scholars and the global left run the risk of becoming cheerleaders for repressive states and transnational capitalists in the South. We would be better off by... siding with ‘BRICS from below’ struggles of popular and working-class forces” (2015, p. 1). Another reputable source is even more harsh, holding that there is only one dimension the BRICS countries have in common—“they all rest upon systems that ruthlessly suppress the majority of their populations... and all have notoriously corrupt governmental systems” (Sparks, 2015, p. 61). According to the IGBE (2023), in Brazil in 2022 the percentage of people living in poverty declined to about 70 million, or almost 1 in 3 (though I believe that there has been progress under President Lula). For China, the website Statista (2015) states that in 2024, migrant workers in China numbered about 300 million, over 20% of that enormous population. According to *Contentious Politics in Brazil and China* (Green; Leuhrmann, 2016): “Whether it is China’s ‘floating population’ or Brazil’s favelados, rural dwellers have come to the cities, desperate to find opportunity...” The authors go on to compare the methods in China and Brazil of deflecting the impacts of these populations: “China attempts to staunch the flow with its formal registration system [*hukou*], and Brazil... offers precious little for the migrants and treats them as if they lack the rights of citizenry once they arrive” (p. 145). Two sources are very helpful for understanding the large internal migrations in China and Brazil: Roberts (1997) compares the Mexican undocumented migration to the United States to labor migration within China; and Jones writes of “Migration as a Response to Internal Colonialism in Brazil” (2017). The hidden labors of these vast numbers of workers often go unnoticed by those who benefit the most, while their living situations may often be dire, at best.

However, Brazil and China do have a shared cultural history. Wang (2019) traces the Latin American writers who visited Red China in the mid-1900s: Jorge Amado was a materialist Marxist early on, so his first visit (1952) was honored as a revolutionary event. By his second visit with Pablo Neruda (1957), he had soured on the hard-line dogmatic Maoism that saw several Chinese people dear to him exiled or imprisoned, but Neruda never strayed. According to Chak (2024), Amado was “the most published Latin American writer in China... up until today” (p. 10). Regarding politics, Vice President Goulart (“Jango”) was visiting China at the time of President Quadros’ resignation, and the *New York Times* blared, “Goulart Admires Mao of Red China” (8/27/1961). From that point the 1964 Brazilian coup initiating the military dictatorship was not far off, nor was Operation Condor (1975-1983), the “United States-backed campaign of political repression and state terrorism” (Wikipedia, 2025). And at last: “Latin America remembers Kissinger’s ‘profound

moral wretchedness” (Bartlett, *et al.*, 11/30/2023). However, on 11 April 2023, the headline (*Brasil de Fato*) reads “Lula goes to China for the 3rd time as president and may sign over 20 agreements.” (Schmidt, 2023). Culturally, however, the greatest-ever export from Brazil to China must be the immensely popular 100-episode TV series *Escrava Isaura* (1976). Introduced into China in 1984, “many Chinese people still express nostalgia for the drama... [and] fondly remember their childhood days, sitting by black-and-white TV sets with their parents, anxiously following Isaura’s fate. Neighbors often gathered to discuss the drama, creating a shared cultural experience” (Wei, 6/5/2024; and, Mello, 2024). By 1990 China would finally make their own first soap opera, “inspired by those imported from Latin America and Taiwan” (Rofel, 2007, p. 44), among which *Escrava Isaura* was certainly the most successful. The Chinese production, *Kewang* (which translates to “*saudade*” in Portuguese), had an estimated viewership of 550 million, or 98% of market share (Koetse (2015), and according to Rofel (2007, p. 62) was a project for reimagining “the nation” (as per Benedict Anderson, 1983).

Connections/Networks

I trace here two lines of connection between Walter Salles (and Latin American writing, more broadly) and Jia Zhangke. One line goes through the Salles family: mother Elisa Margarida Gonçalves Moreira Salles, or Elizinha; younger brother João Moreira Salles (Walter’s partner in VideoFilmes); and finally Walter Moreira Salles Jr. (Husband and father Walter Salles Sr. was a successful banker and diplomat and philanthropist, who founded the *Instituto Moreira Salles* for promoting Brazilian culture; and Walter Salles Jr., the filmmaker, founded the *Instituto Ibirapitanga*, funding grants for safe food systems and racial equity). The other line goes from magical realism in Latin America, to China, to Jia Zhangke (and his cinematographer and partner in Xstream Pictures, Yu Lik-wai.) Both lines could be said to begin in 1967. Elizinha published impressions of her journey to China during the height of the Cultural Revolution, in *Vogue Magazine* (1967); and Alejo Carpentier published *The Marvelous Real in America*, the new Preface to his foundational text of magic realism, *The Kingdom of this World* (1949), with notes from his China journey- perhaps with an earlier delegation from Cuba. Both writers hugely admired the large Chinese oddly shaped rocks used as outdoor art, called *taihu*. Elizinha traveled with a group of art connoisseurs, but her observations of the Red Guards and the constant obeisance to Chairman Mao are fresh and engaged. She compared a procession in his honor to the *Semana Santa* in Brazil. Meanwhile she took lovely amateur footage of the trip, which her younger son João only discovered 40 years later. João’s 2017 film *No Intenso Agora* (*The Intense Now*) about student and worker uprisings in Paris, Prague and Rio de Janeiro in 1968, begins with Elizinha’s clips from China. Furthermore, when older brother Walter was asked by the Chinese government to make a documentary about Chinese modernization and

the glories of their ancient civilization, (Tai Chi, acupuncture, modern cities), Walter handed it off to João, thus beginning João's brilliant career as a documentary filmmaker with *China, o Império do Centro* (*China, Empire of the Center*; 1987). The film also documents the desire of the Islamic Uighur people of the northwest to hold on to their roots, with poignant resonance today. Jia Zhangke's closest collaborator Yu Lik-wai made a magical trauma movie about Chinese migrants to São Paulo, *Plastic City* (2008), in which Asian immigrants run the large street market but are forced out by government thugs. The hero, Kirin, declares, "we can sell \$10 dollar sneakers here because 2 billion Chinese and Vietnamese work like slaves."

The mid-1980s in China were a time of opening to the world under Deng Xiaoping and were marked in literature by a return to folk roots and heterogeneous Chinese cultures in tension with modernity, called the root-seeking movement, or *Xúngēn*. The root-seeking movement was directly inspired by Latin American Magical Realism, in particular the spectacle of (Southerner) Gabriel García Márquez winning the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1982. A much-simplified genealogy of magical realism may go from the marvelous real of Alejo Carpentier, to the mystical mythical of Miguel Ángel Asturias (Nobel Prize in Literature, 1967), to the magical real (as in the deadpan flights of fancy told him by his grandmother) of García Márquez. The root-seeking movement in China also inspired cinema, with the epic *Yellow Earth* (*Huáng tǔdì*, 1984) by Chen Kaige. This tale of a Communist party soldier collecting folk songs in an isolated village in the middle of unforgiving giant rolling yellow mountains of loess revolves around a young girl who tries to escape her arranged marriage and flee to the Communist army. The film challenges the simplistic Communist epistemology of the soldier with the desperate magical rites of the hill people, dancing for the rains.

Jia Zhangke recalled his choice of career in an interview (Frieze, 2007): "I was 21 years old when I saw *Huang tu di* (*Yellow Earth*, 1984) by Chen Kaige. It turned out to be a defining moment for me; the point at which I decided to become a filmmaker. [The film is about] the 'yellow earth' region of northern China... where I grew up." In a profound way, *Yellow Earth* resembles the film *The Passenger* (1975) by Italian director Michelangelo Antonioni, which begins with a British journalist who is trying to track some African rebels, lost in the huge tan sand mountains of Chad, with a similar challenge to the presumptive superiority of Western (Northern) epistemology. This epiphany of receiving a vocation in cinema, is mirrored, even intensified, in the experience of Walter Salles: "I'd love to talk about Antonioni's *The Passenger* because this is the film that took me to cinema. I saw it when I was 15 [or] 16 years old. I saw it in a cinema that was full... At the end of the session, everybody left [but] I couldn't leave. I was crying..." (Salles, 2025).

Superficially opposites, director Salles is a scion of one of Brazil's most formidable and wealthy families, while Jia Zhangke is

himself considered a “film industry migrant worker” and an “organic intellectual” in the Gramscian sense (Cheah, 2012, p. 149). Jia’s first three films were blocked by state censors. (Ironically, migrant workers themselves would probably rather watch movies with a ‘feel-good effect’ or comic relief... and a happy ending; (Sun, 2012, p. 6), rather than Jia’s films about the travails of living poor and outcast). In the most candid interview available of the two directors (Courage, 2015), Jia states that his film *Touch of Sin* (2013) was in reaction to the “ruling power”(i.e., the Chinese Communist Party, CCP; and duly blocked by the censors); while his later film *Mountains May Depart* (2015) was in response to “another power controlling us”: “It’s the consumerism and worshipping of money as a collective value in society that has caused many problems, conflicts, and misconceptions in China... in the past, people’s relationships with one another was a rich one. [So, I made] a film about human emotions and relationships” (Courage, 2015, p. 7).

Salles responds by referring to Jia’s earlier film *Platform* (2000) which follows a group of young people in a small city in China trying to keep up with headlong Westernization and modernization under Deng Xiaoping (Jia himself was a break-dancer in his youth), only to fall behind and lapse into dull domesticity. Jia shows the change from the collective “we” to the desires of a yearning “I” through the popular music of the times. Salles: “It was shot in a latitude that was so distant from where I live, yet the characters felt the same desires or angst that we felt at our end of the world. I was struck by the universality... yet it was also about the identity of a country” (Courage, 2015, p. 7). And, at the New York Film Festival 53 (2015), Salles averred that “I think he [Jia] may be the director who better understands the complexities of the times that we live in... also because he’s at the heart of the tornado;” registering, as Salles says, the transformation of a country- China- from one orthodoxy (lockstep Maoism), to another, “the orthodoxy of globalization- with so much poetry and sensibility, and with so much respect for his characters” (NYFF Live, YouTube, Walter Salles).

This exchange occurred during a film festival discussion about the biopic documentary that Walter Salles directed about Jia Zhangke, in various locations of Jia’s old movies and life in China. In this biopic, *Jia Zhangke: A Guy from Fenyang* (2014, discussed further below), Jia visits with old friends, relatives, and cast members of his films and touches the thick ancient walls of his hometown, in danger of demolition (Mello, 2022). In the interview with *Eastern Kicks* (Courage, 2015, p. 9). Jia marvels that, “It was during the film festival in Rome this year that I met a director who said ‘do you realize that this documentary is a meeting of two third world country filmmakers’ and I thought that was quite hilarious. Of course, he was right.”

Differences/Collaborations

It is instructive to compare the classic study of Brazilian character in *Roots of Brazil* (Buarque de Holanda, 1936; English trans. 2012) with its Chinese analogue, *From the Soil: The Foundation of Chinese Society* (Fei, 1948; English trans. 1992), particularly in their treatment of emotion. For de Holanda, “The rejection of any form of relationship not based on an ethos of emotion is an aspect of Brazilian life that few foreigners can easily understand” (p. 119). An example is the frequent affectionate use of diminutives (like *Elizinha*, for *Elisa*), a way to make people “more accessible to our feelings and closer to our hearts” (p. 118). In contrast, Fei Xiaotong wrote that “Emotion among the Chinese, especially between the sexes, is characterized by reserve and restraint, and cannot be displayed openly as it can in the West” (p. 86). Related to these patterns of social interaction are the Brazilian “*jeito*” (an appeal to affect for the bending of rules), and the Chinese “*guanxi*” (maintenance and use of networks of extended family, social, and business ties).

While these are grand and perhaps exaggerated generalizations in a time of globalization, there is some truth to this in comparing the films of Walter Salles to Jia Zhangke. Jia’s characters seldom express great emotion; and therefore facial closeups are almost nonexistent, and there is no use of shot-reverse-shot (shifting from one character’s point of view to another, for example in a conversation). Although Jia and Salles share certain cinematic influences, such as de Sica and Italian Neorealism and Michelangelo Antonioni, Jia is also very much indebted to Yasujiro Ozu (Japan), and Hou Hsiao-Hsien (Taiwan), in a slow and deliberate filming style David Borwell has called “Asian minimalism” (Tuttle, 2012). By contrast, Salles’ characters are usually emotionally warm and captured by facial close-ups and interactive dialogue. (I read, however, that Salles’ latest and most serious film (*I’m Still Here*) has only two closeups).

On the other hand, one powerful trait that the two filmmakers have in common is that they are equally at home with documentary and fiction films, to the point that these often merge (Salles’ documentary *Socorro Nobre* inspired *Central Station*, *Dong* lead to Jia’s *Still Life*). For example, a fiction film might incorporate whatever weather conditions are happening, as well as people passing by, sometimes turning chance meetings into grist for the film. Both filmmakers strive for a fundamental honesty and sincerity as they explore the impact of historical and global forces on characters near the bottom of society, respecting their struggles with empathy but without pity, giving Salles’ road movies depth, and Jia’s meditations, heart. Salles’ appreciation of Jia in this regard is so great that he determined to make a documentary film about this Chinese director, going to interior China and shooting Jia’s reflections on the locations of many of Jia’s films, expertly interwoven with clips from those films. The resulting biopic documentary is titled *Jia Zhangke: A Guy from Fenyang* (2014), capturing Jia’s modesty and authenticity, and his

hypersensitivity to the power of place. This film was an extraordinarily successful collaboration, leading to a series of shared interviews over the years, even though they have no common language. They also collaborated on a BRICS film (directed by Jia with short films from each of the five BRICS countries: *Where Has Time Gone*, 2017), and Salles was on the artistic board for Jia's Pingyao Film Festival. I suggest that they might have influenced one another (without proof). Salles' documentary on Jia may have been so powerful for Jia (he even choked up on camera, speaking of his father's fear for his safety), that he ventured to make a documentary about four Chinese writers, called *Swimming Out Until the Sea Turns Blue* (2020). And, in reverse, Jia's film about the immense destruction involved in the Three Gorges Dam (*Still Life*, 2006) might have influenced Walter Salles just a little to make his segment of the BRICS film a powerful fictional treatment of the real-life Mariana dam disaster in Brazil in 2015. Jia's courage in filming in China might have helped to prepare Walter Salles' to decide to make *I'm Still Here* (2025), the powerful semi-documentary account of the (until recently) officially unacknowledged disappearance, under the dictatorship, of the father of a family that Salles himself was very close to in his youth. This film and its leading actress have been nominated for the Oscar Awards for Best Picture, Best International Film, and Best Actress- Fernanda Torres, also the star of Salles' and Thomas' *Foreign Land* (1995). She is the daughter of Fernanda Montenegro, who starred in Salles' *Central Station* (1998); and who was also nominated for Best Actress, and that film for Best International Film.

Film Comparisons/Commonalities

Perhaps hundreds of articles have been written about the films of Walter Salles and Jia Zhangke, but nothing in the way of direct comparisons of their work (to my knowledge). However, I discover that it is quite challenging to find a serious method of film comparison in the context of the Global South and globalization that is condensed and makes key points, while doing justice to the lives and predicaments of the characters. I used Manfred Steger's (2013) *Very Short Introduction to Globalization* to generate a simple set of 5 dimensions for comparative purposes, which I parse as ideology, governmentality, economy, culture, and ecology, to systematically apply to six films. But it quickly became clear that the story itself would be totally lost in such an abstract format. Instead, I have also tried to balance the filmic plot with specifically relevant parameters that point to what are the "externalities" or unintended negative effects the characters experience from marginality, dispossession, and governmental neglect; what are the resistant ideologies and solidarities in response; what are the effects of money and the "neoliberal self" (a life lived for money, not humanity, in my interpretation) on the characters; and what are the "minor resistant solidarities and shared humanity, versus neoliberal globalization"

assayed by the characters. (See McGuigan, 2014, for the “Neoliberal self;” and Oliven, 1998 for an anthropologist’s take, *Looking at Money in America*). Even these more limited and targeted parameters must be dealt with briskly, due to time and space limitations. I will not be able to discuss, *e.g.*, modes of transport as vehicles (literally) for entering and observing environments; or intermediality, the integration of various arts (music, painting, literature, photograph, *anime*, touches of magic) to evoke the fullness of the filmic plasticity at play and at work in the films of Walter Salles and Jia Zhangke (Intermediality is a rich area of current work in Brazilian cinema, lead by Lúcia Nagib and Samuel Paiva).

Nevertheless, I provide the following introduction to the method as it could be. A key work for putting the proposed parameters in a coherent framework is anthropologist Anna Tsing’s important book *Friction* (2005), with her diagram on p. 59, and explanation on p. 60: “Finance capital is a program for *global* hegemony; franchise cronyism is one particular *nation*-making project; frontier culture is an articulation of the *region*. Each is a scale-making project with its sights set on a different scale; global, national, and regional” (*italics in original*). In my project about the peripheries of Brazil and China, governments (*especially* Southern) are at the mercy of neoliberal economics, and culture and ecology must respond with solidarity or suffer consequences. For this paper I have chosen 6 films, one each by Salles and Jia at scales (roughly) of Region, Nation, and Transnational (although you might say that they all critique the “Global South nation under neoliberal globalization,” albeit from different angles). For the Region scale, I have *Central Station* (1998; CS) directed by Walter Salles, paired with *Still Life* (2006; SL) directed by Jia Zhangke. For the Nation scale, *Motorcycle Diaries* (Salles, 2004; MD) paired with *The World* (Jia, also 2004; TW). And, for the Transnational scale, *Foreign Land* (1995; FL) co- directed by Walter Salles and Daniela Thomas, paired with *Mountains May Depart* (2005; MM), by Jia Zhangke. As for the dimension of ideology, I find one quote to be oracular, if a bit mystifying: “In cinema, magical realism is politically ambiguous when looked at as a whole... however the most sophisticated magical realist films have an oppositional ideology buried within their aesthetics.” (Lang, 2020, p. 13); the films at hand seem to uphold this observation, magical or not.

Region, Film Comparisons. *Central Station/Still Life*.

Internal Colonialism, Neglect.

“Mountains are tall, the Emperor is far away” Chinese proverb about corrupt local officials.

Nation vs. Region

CS, Brazil: Corruption in hired security force (*segurança*): station master Pedrão at Rio Central Station chases down and shoots a petty thief; lets letter-writer Dora serving the illiterate population rent a table

from him (and, in bad faith, she does not mail the letters); and steers Dora to taking newly orphaned Josué to an “adoption agency”- a front for human organ trafficking (for money; Dora happily goes to buy a new TV. Abandoned street kids are many in Brazil, but sale of children is unproven). The government-planned town where they find Josué’s brothers in semi-arid northeast Sertão lacks jobs and services and has minimal transportation. Dispossessed caravans of peasants’ carts drawn by donkeys haunt the roads.

SL, China: The Three Gorges Dam is coming, the town of Fengjie must be demolished. Rival gangs battle for demolition money, ordinary folks must leave en masse, a tycoon lights up a fancy bridge (a pet project) at his whim. Many articles point to local official corruption in the massive resettlement of over 1.2 million people, with the loss of 1,500 cities, towns, and villages and 1,300 archaeological sites. This dam lacks forested land upriver, so siltation and landslides are a threat (unlike the Itaipu Dam, Brazil and Paraguay). Top leaders pushed the dam for years, despite costs to the region. Han Sanming is here to search for his wife, whom he had bought here years ago; bride-sale was a direct result of the brutal one-child policy.

Resistant ideologies and solidarities

In CS, Pedrão is at the bad pole of good and evil; while the good Padre Cicero (1887-1968) still draws huge pilgrimages to the Sertão every year. It is in such a pilgrimage, at night, that Dora faints in the House of Miracles and awakens (in Josué’s lap, a reverse Pietà) transformed.

In SL, the bad pole is the top leaders (shown in a brief TV spot, followed by scenes of anguish), while good is represented by equally brief citations of older solidarities: Chow Yun-fat in *A Better Tomorrow* (1986) lighting a cigarette with a \$100 bill (on TV) harkens back to the Chinese classic of male solidarity, *Outlaws of the Marsh*; and a quick apparition of three Chinese opera figures looking sadly at their cell phones cites the Peach Garden Oath of lasting solidarity in another Chinese classic, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (Bertozzi, 2012, p. 167).

Money and the neoliberal self (a human-being domesticated by the neoliberal economy)

CS: Dora’s role at the beginning of the film is to portray the jaded, self-centered, and cynical neoliberal self, which corrodes social bonds and atomizes society. She seems to take Josué under her wing after his mother Ana is run over in the street outside the station, but under the evil influence of station master Pedrão she then sells him to the “adoption agency.” With her new TV, she watches a show called “*Anything for Money*” (copied from American show of the same name).

SL: When Han Sanming (in real life, coal miner and Jia’s cousin) arrives in Fengjie he is collared at the dock by a scam involving a magic trick turning Chinese yuan into Euros, then charged for his “education.”

This portrays the actual dynamics of globalization/oligarchy. Later, he and his new workmates proudly compare Chinese banknotes bearing pictures of their respective regions: Hukou Falls, Qutang Gorge. It is ironic that the ever-present Chairman Mao represents nation/hubris on other sides of the bills. The neoliberal self is represented by a separate storyline: the shallow and selfish Shen Hong searches for her wayward husband, who has been seduced by money and power. When she finally finds him, they agree to divorce, in the shadow of the dam. As she sails alone down the Yangtse towards Shanghai, the boat announces lines from the poet Li Bai in 757 AD: “The cry of monkeys from both banks behind me, carries over ten thousand peaks to my little boat,” adding to a sense of irreversible ecological loss.

Minor resistant solidarities and shared humanity, versus neoliberal globalization

Reconciliations become possible for the lead couples in both films. In CS, Josué inspires Dora to start writing letters for the pilgrims in Juazeiro and buys her a pretty dress with the proceeds (see Slater, 1986, for the Juazeiro pilgrimage). In SL, Han’s wife returns to him, and they celebrate by sharing a piece of toffee (Chinese *White Rabbit* brand) on a high floor of a damaged, abandoned building; at that moment, a giant tower collapses in the distance, making their moment alive together seem more precious.

When the starving Dora and Josué arrive at a gaudy rural grocery in the desolate backlands, courtesy of a strait-laced Evangelical truck-driver who has given them a ride, they secretly stuff their pockets. The shop owner is suspicious, but his friend the truck-driver covers for them and helps them avoid an embarrassing reckoning. Back in the truck, the three of them (Dora, Josué, and Cesar the driver) happily share a small feast. This is an example of the Brazilian *jeito*, or “small way,” which helps to grease the wheels of sociality (but could be problematic at the national level). As for the somewhat similar Chinese analogue, Han Sanming gives his wife’s relatives bottles of liquor to appeal to kinship bonds of *guanxi* to find out her location. But the entire movie is organized with four intertitles of liquor, cigarettes, tea, and toffee, which represent the importance of these items in maintaining Chinese solidarities. *Guanxi* could also be corrupting in business/politics.

Technologies can also be vehicles of solidarity, as we all know. In CS, Dora and Josué memorialize their friendship by having their photograph taken together in front of the life size portrait of Padre Cicero. They are each given a small eyepiece with the photograph embedded, so that they can remember each other (as Dora does, sobbing on the bus, when she must leave the young boy in the care of his kin). These lo-tech devices were called “Monóculos (de fotografias)” (de Luca, 2022). The analogue in SL is the sharing of cellphone ringtones, which cement the friendship of Han Sanming and the cocky young demolition gangster Brother

Mark. *The Ringtone Dialectic* (Gopinath, 2013, p. 226-239) goes into this interaction in some detail; Han's tone is the old-fashioned *Bless the Good People*, (theme song of the Chinese soap opera *Kewang*, see above) and Brother Mark's is edgy: *Shanghai Bund*, from a TV series starring Chow Yun-Fat as a gangster.

Finally, each of these movies features an improvised and very personal memorial to a lost beloved person. For me, this calls to mind the notion of out of (national) time in *Out of Time: Resisting the Nation in One Hundred Years of Solitude* (Pérez, 2020). Pérez argues that "as the history of the Global South reminds us, nations are distinctly Western political and economic formations, and their imposition on the rest of the globe resulted in world-devouring violences" (p. 466). A similar position from the Chinese root-seeking perspective is *Heterogeneous Time and Space: Han Shaogong's Rethinking of Chinese Modernity* (Wang, 2015). As for ringtones... Han Sanming hears his friend's from underneath a pile of rubble (right after the scene with three sad Chinese opera heroes on their cellphones; they were a premonition). Brother Mark has been killed by a competing gang. "Han Sanming conducts a solitary wake ceremony for the body of his deceased friend... with three cigarettes in place of the traditional incense... Soon afterwards, Mark's corpse is sent out into the water" (Gopinath, 2013, p. 237). In a similar scene at a kind of sacred hill in the vastness of the Sertão, where Dora and Josué find a small religious shrine, Dora asks the boy to tie his deceased mother's handkerchief (which Dora has carried all the way from Rio de Janeiro) to a tall pole, like a Tibetan prayer flag.

Nation, Film Comparisons. *Motorcycle Diaries/The World*.

Shrinking the Nation: Continental Gaze, Xenophilic Gaze

MD. For Aníbal Quijano, the brutal colonization of Latin America is the key to the colonality of the current world system: "globalization is the culmination of a process that began with the constitution of America and colonial/modern Eurocentered capitalism as a new global power... [and] the idea of race pervades the more important dimensions of global power... including its specific rationality: Eurocentrism" (2000, p. 533). In the film, Ernesto Guevara and his older friend Alberto Granado set out on their motorcycle *La Poderosa* to explore Latin America, keeping detailed diaries. When they visit Ernesto's girlfriend and family at their rich villa, they shudder at her brother's bragging about studying law in Cambridge, UK. Though the movie begins as a light-hearted picaresque *bildungsroman*, it darkens the night they meet a Communist couple shivering in the cold. The husband is on his way to Chuquicamata mine for dangerous work, because no one else will hire Communists. The next day at the mine, they see thirsty and battered men lined up to be chosen. "Get out of here," the boss yells, "this is Anaconda Company property." Yankees. As they hitch hike up into the Andes Mountains they see more and more

beaten and dispossessed peasants on the roads. They're discovering and recording the ongoing coloniality of Latin America.

TW: Rural migrants Zhao Tao and her boyfriend Taisheng at *The World Park* in Beijing may be fortunate to have jobs, but the pageantry and faux cosmopolitanism they work to portray pays little and they are forced to live in squalor. Many of the workers come from the same small inland towns, have no passports, and have never traveled. The movie was also shot at another similar park, *Window of the World* in Shenzhen, where "the 108 metre (354 ft) tall Eiffel Tower dominates the skyline with the sight of the Pyramids and the Taj Mahal all in proximity to each other" (Wikipedia, 2025). A monorail which endlessly circles the park is also there, which is reminiscent of the play *No Exit* (1944, Jean-Paul Sartre). The first shots of the film are of a scrap picker with a large haul of rubbish on his back, the giant Eiffel Tower looming in the distance. (Note: The Machu Picchu Maze City roller coaster opened at *Window of the World* in 2022. Reverse Orientalism?).

Resistant ideologies and solidarities

MD: The evil pole of the film is the Anglo world of Cambridge and Chuquicamata, and the good pole is found at Machu Picchu, home of the largest indigenous civilization in the Americas; as well as the warm welcome of the leper colony on the Amazon River. Machu Picchu inspires the revelation that surfaces in Ernesto's birthday party speech at the leper colony: "We believe, and after this journey more than ever, that the division of [Latin] America into unstable and illusory nations is completely fictional. We constitute a single mestizo race..." (Guevara, 2021, p. 156). In Lima they met Dr. Hugo Pesce, who had joined the Peruvian Communist Party founded in 1928 by José Carlos Mariátegui. In the film, Ernesto is shown reading the from the Seven Essays by Mariátegui (1928): "the problem of the Indian is the problem of land." Mariátegui's statement that "the concept of inferior races was useful to the white man's West for purposes of expansion and conquest" (Mariátegui, 1928, Essay 2) clearly anticipates Quijano (above). Although the 2003 Preface to Granado's diary states that Dr. Pesce introduced Mariátegui to the two travelers (Granado, 2004, p. XV), Guevara never mentions him, speaking only of "the proletariat the world over" (Guevara, 2021, p. 77) and the "silent and wary Indians" (Guevara, 2021, p. 108). But his enemy is clear: "the monopolistic government of the United States of America" (Guevara, 2021, p. 180). Interestingly, José Carlos Mariátegui wrote: "Quechua religion was a moral code rather than a metaphysical concept, which brings us much closer to China than to India. State and church were absolutely inseparable" (Mariátegui, 1928, Essay 5).

TW: The negative pole in the ideology of *The World* is France; more specifically, Paris, as the city that defines their own world as cheap and inauthentic. Taisheng uses their "Eiffel Tower" as a Foucauldian Panopticon to keep an eye on his girlfriend; his hidden mistress makes

and sells knock-off Louis Vuitton clothing in her sweatshop, at least until she leaves to join her husband in Belleville, Paris. The positive pole, drawing from more authentic roots, is Mongolia, and by extension, the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) founded by Genghis Khan. Tao's best friend Ana (who is Russian) is always pining for Ulan Bator, capital of Mongolia (Ulan Bataar in the film), because her sister lives there. A whole segment of the movie has the intertitle "Ulan Bataar Night," wherein the only strong solidarity in the movie (between Tao and Ana, although they do not share a language) is celebrated with a carriage ride to a quietly uplifting soundtrack through the park. Taisheng later appears doing his night rounds in the park on a magnificent white horse. This is unmotivated and inexplicable in the context, but I believe it refers to a famous pop song from the 1980s called "Genghis Khan" (*Dschinghis Khan*, 1979) which appears as a timestamp in Jia Zhangke's film *Platform* (2000): "They rode the fastest horses... and one man led the way." This may symbolize Taisheng's repressed sense of manhood, as he is unable to provide much for Tao and their relationship is at a standstill. Because of this he turns to illegally making fake documents on the side, and furthermore he is always jealous of Tao's previous boyfriend, who passed through and visited on his way to: Mongolia.

Money and the "neoliberal self"

MD: Money and the "neoliberal self" do not play a strong role in *Motorcycle Diaries*, since Guevara and Granado are the antithesis of that lifestyle and money is conspicuous by its absence. However, Ernesto's girlfriend does give him \$15 to carry with him to buy her a bathing suit in Miami. Buddy Alberto is always trying to get his hands on it, but in the end, it goes to the Communist couple at the campfire the night before they reach the mine. Alberto does win big at the gambling table on the Amazon cruise, which earns him a night with the resident beauty on the boat. Perhaps *La Poderosa* (a valiant motorcycle, but no match for *that* journey) is the analogue to Taisheng's white horse.

TW: Money and the "neoliberal self" are also mainly unfilled desires in *The World*. However, Tao is shocked and appalled when a businessman tries to buy her companionship for a trip to Hong Kong. One character (Taisheng's young relative) dies at a construction site by trying to work two shifts. The mournful, wounded but inexpressive countryside parents come to collect their son; the company gives them a wad of cash and it's over. Before he dies, he gives Taisheng a list of his petty debts; he is dirt poor but honest to the end.

Minor resistant solidarities and shared humanity, versus neoliberal globalization

MD: Ernesto swims from north to south across the Amazon, from the clinic side to the lepers' dwelling side, after his birthday party. He and Granado astonish the lepers by being physically close and unafraid,

and by playing lively games of soccer together. In return they are given a heartfelt farewell. Granado went back and saw some of them 50 years later (Granado, 2004, p. XV).

TW: There is a wedding party at the end of *The World*, which features a sort of women's chanting song praising the four "great beauties of the world": Yang Guefei (Tang Dynasty), Pan Jin Lian (from a Ming Dynasty novel), Marilyn Monroe, and Madonna; a form of women's solidarity.

Are there "Out of Time" (Pérez, 2020) moments in these two films? In *Motorcycle Diaries*, their visit to Cuzco and magical Machu Picchu (where Salles *et al.* simply incorporated a local boy who volunteered himself as a guide, and several Quechua women, into the plot of the movie), was a moment where both the filmmaking and the characters ascended out of the national and the proscribed to a broader level of consciousness. In *The World*, it must simply be the end, where the two leads are carried out of a small flat and laid on the icy ground due to gas poisoning. Yet we hear Taisheng's voice: "Are we dead yet?" And Tao... "No, it's just beginning."

Transnational, Film Comparisons. *Foreign Land/Mountains May Depart. Forever Foreigners*

FL. Paco and his aging mother live in a small flat in São Paulo, and Manuela saves her money for a trip back to San Sebastián, in the Basque country, to show her son his roots. However, the newly elected president of Brazil, bringing the blessings of the neoliberal Washington Consensus, wastes no time: "Collor decreed his plan March 16, one day after taking office. It set an 18-month freeze on savings accounts of more than \$1,200" (Silverstein, 1990). In shock, Manuela passes away; and Paco, an aspiring actor with no other skills, is left with nothing but his lines from Faust: "I must rise, I must rise... Carry me off, take me to a new and varied life; Let them carry me to foreign lands." Wandering the streets in a haze, he falls under the influence of the mad diamond smuggler Igor, who mocks the Basque language as trivial, with no history. Soon Paco is on his way to Lisbon with a violin (carrying diamonds). He is supposed to give it to Miguel the musician, but Miguel has tried to rob the gang, and he is now dead. Alex, Miguel's girlfriend, thinks that Paco is responsible, so she gives the violin to a blind street musician out of spite. Soon Alex and Paco are together on the run to Boa Vista on the Spanish border to cross "into Europe."

MMD. The film begins with a dance line lead by Tao (again the leading lady), to the Pet Shop Boys' *Go West* (1993): "Together we will fly so high, together tell all our friends goodbye; There where the air is free, we'll be, what we want to be." It is ironic that both films begin with similar passages about lust for life as travel, and both protagonists end up stranded, or worse. Two men are competing for Tao's affection, though she is curiously detached. Jinsheng likes German cars and American money; he will do whatever it takes to succeed. By contrast, Liangzi is sweet and

modest. The movie is set in three time periods: 1999, 2015, and 2025, with aspect-ratios to match and contextual historic footage by Jia Zhangke. Jinsheng is violent, but Tao cannot stop his advances. They are married, with a very sad Liangzi off to the coal mines. In 2015, Tao's young son becomes the primary protagonist, but his father and stepmother have named him "Dollar" (Daole) for good fortune and have moved him to a fancy school in Shanghai with all the perks.

Resistant Ideologies and Solidarities, and "Out of Time"

In these films, evil **is** money and the "neoliberal self;" *e.g.*, the crooked Jinsheng. For Paco, evil is money/diamonds and he **is** the "neoliberal serf." Tao brings Daole home for the funeral when her father dies, but she is very angry that he cannot speak Chinese or conduct himself properly. (Tao, the actress, persuaded Jia that her role called for her to get very emotional at this breach). However, she does give Daole a key to her home ("our home"). It is not until the third segment, when Jinsheng has divorced again and moved himself and Daole to Bunbury, west Australia, that Daole forms a very close relationship with his sweet, mature Chinese teacher, Mia. Meanwhile, Liangzi the spurned suitor contracted a severe illness from coal mining and gets help from the kindly Tao.

Now the two movies are running parallel. Jinsheng complains in Chinese that in China he could not have guns, but now that he has guns, he cannot shoot them; and communicating with his son by Google Translate is not working. Daole leaves with the much older Mia on a sunny exploration of the Bunbury region, and they experience an idyllic helicopter ride over the 12 Apostles: famous sea stacks slowly dwindling in number. Paco is with the somewhat older Alex, and they have bonded over memories of the Minhocão elevated highway in São Paulo. Alex and Paco end up at the idyllic real Boa Vista (Boa Vista, Cape Verde, Africa, has a famous shipwreck off the coast). These are two iconic "Out of Time" moments of transcendental transnational time (Perez, 2020). They belie the real endings: Paco is shot by the diamond smugglers at the Spanish border and probably dying. Daole can only whisper to his mother across the sea... which, she seems to hear?

Conclusion

I hope that this has not been a soul-less and reductive exercise in deconstruction; but rather, a revelation of the deep humanitarian passion which motivates Walter Salles and Jia Zhangke in their vocations as activist, widely influential filmmakers. Their productive discussions and collaboration embody the Global South as a shared reciprocal awareness of the oppression and marginalization imposed by both national governments and neoliberal globalization on mostly defenseless peripheral populations. My analysis suggests that governmental and economic forces are both independent and intertwined, engendering

suffering in, and resistance from, those they govern and ignore. I would like to think that Salles and Jia are also root-seeking and border- thinking filmmakers, bricoleurs who bring to life solidarities both inherited and creatively improvised; and genuine spokespersons for the Global South. I thank João for an interview at Videofilmes (6/4/2019), and Walter for suggesting that I watch *Portrait of Jennie*. I understand.

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Sul Global como método: visão decolonial nos filmes de Walter Salles (Brasil) e Jia Zhangke (China)

RESUMO:

Anne Garland Mahler fornece um roteiro para estudar e validar o diálogo Sul-Sul através de um modelo consistindo em três níveis: na periferia; o (trans)nacional; e o reconhecimento recíproco da posicionalidade e resistência subalternas partilhadas sob o neoliberalismo global, com os seus nós de poder nos centros urbanos de elite em todos os cantos do mundo. Este artigo oferece um resumo ricamente detalhado dos contextos, conexões e colaborações multifacetadas dos cineastas Walter Moreira Salles do Brasil (e seu irmão João) e Jia Zhangke da China (e seu colaborador mais próximo e diretor de fotografia, Yu Lik-wai). Finalmente, através de comparações pareadas de três filmes de cada cineasta em escalas de Região, Nação e Transnacional, são reveladas algumas semelhanças subjacentes e até estranhas. Apesar de centenas de artigos escritos sobre Salles, por um lado, e Jia, por outro, pontos em comum passaram completamente despercebidos. Juntos, este trabalho propõe um caso paradigmático para o estudo da solidariedade lateral através de muitas latitudes, com base em compromissos semelhantes com o Sul Global.

Palavras-chave: Colonialidade. Busca de raízes. Pensamento de fronteira. Solidariedade resistente. Ideologia resistente Ideologia resistente