LOCAL HISTORIES/GLOBAL DESIGNS

COLONIALITY, SUBALTERN KNOWLEDGES,

AND BORDER THINKING

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On Gnosis and the Imaginary of the Modern/Colonial World System

I

In the sixteenth century, Spanish missionaries judged and ranked human intelligence and civilization by whether the people were in possession of alphabetic writing. This was an initial moment in the configuration of the colonial difference and the building of the Atlantic imaginary, which will become the imaginary of the modern/colonial world. *Translation* was the special tool to absorb the colonial difference previously established. *Border thinking*, as we shall see, works toward the restitution of the colonial difference that colonial translation (unidirectional, as today's globalization) attempted to erase. In the sixteenth century, the colonial difference was located in space. Toward the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the measuring stick was history and no longer writing. "People without history" were located in a time "before" the "present." People with history could write the history of those people without. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Max Weber transformed this lack (of alphabetic writing, of history) into a celebration of the possession of true knowledge, an Occidental achievement of universal value. I have had this overall picture in mind during the process of writing this book, as I was conceiving subaltern knowledges and border thinking as the response to Weber from the end of the twentieth century. Weber never mentioned colonialism, was unaware of the colonial difference and did not reflect on the fact that he was providing such a celebratory picture at the highest moment of European expansion and capital accumulation in the history of the modern/colonial world system. I would like to remind the reader of the initial sentences of the introduction to Weber's *Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism* ([1904] 1992) that provoked the reflections evolving into the book the reader has in her hands:

> A product of modern European civilization, studying any problem of universal history, is bound to ask himself to what combination of circumstances the fact should be attributed that in Western civilization, and in Western civilization only, cultural phenomena have appeared which (as we like to think) lie in a line of development having *universal* significance and value.

Only in the West does science exist at a stage of development which we recognize to-day as valid. . . . In short, knowledge and observation of great refinement have existed elsewhere, above all in India, China, Babylonia, Egypt. But in Babylonia and elsewhere astronomy lacked—which makes its development all the more astounding—the mathematical foundation which it first received from the Greeks. The Indian geometry had no rational proof. . . . The Indian natural sciences . . . lacked the method of experiment. (Weber [1904] 1992, 13)

Weber was blind to the colonial difference and to the subalternization of knowledge built into it. It is difficult to imagine at the end of the twentieth century a book or a master thought that would continue the tradition of Spanish missionaries in the sixteenth century, French and German philosophers after the Enlightenment, and European social scientists at the beginning of the twentieth century. Sociologist and political scientist Samuel Huntington has recognized that people from "other" civilizations and with "other" forms of knowledge are claiming a *gnoseology* that they have been taught to despise (this is the particular topic of chapter 7). Weber provoked in me a reflection on coloniality and epistemology, although I had no intention, initially, of writing such a book as this on the topic. This book, however, is not just a collection of articles, even though part of the material in each chapter has already been published. Each chapter has been substantially rewritten in view of the overall argument. Looking back, the seed of the book was actually planted in a debate published by *Latin American Research Review* in 1993, on colonial discourse, postcoloniality, and Latin America, prompted by a review article authored by historian Patricia Seed (Seed 1991). I closed my response to the article with a long paragraph I would like to repeat here, this time in thematic parallel with Weber's assertion:

When Barbadian poet Edward Kamau Brathwaite recounts the story of his search for a rhythm that would match his living experience in the Caribbean, he highlights the moment when skipping a pebble on the ocean gave him a rhythm that he could not find by reading John Milton. Brathwaite also highlights a second and subsequent moment when he perceived the parallels between the pebble and Calypso music, a rhythm that he could not find in skipping of the pebble.[1] If Brathwaite found a voice and a form of knowledge at listening to Beethoven.[1] If Brathwaite found a voice and a form of knowledge at the intersection of the classical models he learned in a colonial school with his life experience in the Caribbean and consciousness of African people's history, his poetry is less a discourse of resistance than a discourse claiming its centrality. Similar claims could be found indirectly in the writings of Jamaican novelist and essayist Michelle Cliff, who states that one effect of British West Indian colonial discourse is "that you believe absolutely in the hegemony of the King's

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[1] I am referring here to Brathwaite (1992). His general position regarding poetic practices in colonial situations has been articulated in Brathwaite (1983, 1984).

English and the form in which it is meant to be expressed. Or else your writing is not literature; it is folklore and can never be art. . . . The anglican ideal—Milton, Wordsworth, Keats—was held before us with an assurance that we were unable, and would never be enabled, to compose a work of similar correctness. . . . No reggae spoken here" (Cliff 1985). While Thiong'o, Lamming, and Brathwaite simultaneously construct and theorize about alternative centers of enunciation in what have been considered the margins of colonial empires, Latinos and Black Americans in the United States are demonstrating that either the margins are also in the center or (as Thiong'o expresses it) that knowledge and aesthetic norms are not universally established by a transcendent subject but are universally established by historical subjects in diverse cultural centers. Chicano writer Gloria Anzaldúa, for instance, has articulated a powerful alternative aesthetic and political hermeneutic by placing herself at the cross-road of three traditions (Spanish-American, Nahuatl, and Anglo-American) and by creating a locus of enunciation where different ways of knowing and individual and collective expressions mingle (Anzaldúa 1987). . . . My concern is to underscore the point that "colonial and postcolonial discourse" is not just a new field of study or a gold mine for extracting new riches but the condition of possibility for constructing new loci of enunciation as well as for reflecting that academic "knowledge and understanding" should be complemented with "learning from" those who are living in and thinking from colonial and postcolonial legacies, from Rigoberta Menchú to Angel Rama. Otherwise, we run the risk of promoting mimicry, exportation of theories, and internal (cultural) colonialism rather than promoting new forms of cultural critique and intellectual and political emancipations—of making colonial and postcolonial studies a field of study instead of a liminal and critical locus of enunciation. The "native point of view" also includes intellectuals. In the apportionment of scientific labor since World War II, which has been described well by Carl Pletsch (1981), the Third World produces not only "cultures" to be studied by anthropologists and ethnohistorians but also intellectuals who generate theories and reflect on their own culture and history. (Mignolo 1993a, 129–31)

The situation is no different for natural scientists in Africa or Latin America, since intellectual achievements need material conditions, and satisfactory material conditions are related to the coloniality of power. "Thinking from" was an expression and an idea that kept on haunting me, and I discussed it in seminars and attempted to develop it in some of my published articles after that date (see, for instance, Mignolo 1994; 1996a). "Border thinking" was the second expression that began to gain a life of its own. Although "border" is an overused word (e.g., border writing, border culture, border matters), none of the discussions I read using the word dealt with knowledge and understanding, epistemology and hermeneutics, those two sides of the intellectual frontiers of European modernity. My own idea of

"border thinking," which I modeled on the Chicano/a experience, also owes much to the idea of "African *gnosis*" as it has been introduced by Valentin Mudimbe in his study on the invention of Africa (Mudimbe 1988). Border thinking, as I conceive it here, is unthinkable without understanding the colonial difference. Furthermore, it is the recognition of the colonial difference from subaltern perspectives that demands border thinking.

But let me add a few additional elements to explain what I have in mind and what this book is all about. Compare my initial quotation from Weber with the following quotation by Tu Wei-ming [1985] 1996):

> Historically, the emergence of individualism as a motivating force in Western society may have been intertwined with highly particularized political, economic, ethical, and religious traditions. It seems reasonable that one can endorse an insight into the self as a basis for equality and liberty without accepting Locke's idea of private property, Adam Smith's and Hobbes' idea of private interest, John Stuart Mill's idea of privacy, Kierkegaard's idea of loneliness, or the early Sartre's idea of freedom. ([1985] 1996, 78)

Now, Tu Wei-ming's is not just another contribution along the lines of Fritjof Capra's *Tao of Physics* (1975). *Tao of Physics* was and still is an important argument to show that the differences between "modern physics" and "Eastern mysticism" are historical and "superficial" rather than ontological. Beyond both of them we find a human capacity for logical articulation and sophisticated thinking, which failed to underline the colonial difference implied in the very naming of them. "Modern physics" retained in Capra's book the hegemonic weight of Western sciences, whereas "Eastern mysticism" retained the exotic connotations constructed by several centuries of Occidentalism. Tu Wei-ming defines himself as a Confucian practitioner, while Capra is a believer in the universality (nonhistorical) of the Western concept of reason. And what Tu Wei-ming is contributing to it is precisely to redress the balance between equal epistemological potentials that have been subordinated to each other by the coloniality of power and the articulation of the colonial epistemic difference.

The two last sentences of Tu Wei-ming's introduction to his classic *Confucian Thoughts* (1985) reveal in an elegant way the epistemological limits of Western thought and its epistemological potential, as sustainable knowledge and not as a relic of the past to be "studied" and "fixed" from the perspective of Western disciplines. As sustainable knowledge, the epistemological potential of Confucian legacy dwells in the possibility of showing the limits of modern epistemology, in both its disciplinary and its area studies dimension. As such, there is no longer the possibility of looking at "translation" or "information" from "other cultures," by which it is implied that "other cultures" are not scientific and are knowable from the scientific

approaches of Western epistemology. Tu Wei-ming is clear, in the preceding passage, in implying that a post-Occidental stage is being thought out and that such a stage is a point of no return and of the erasure of the colonial epistemic difference from the perspective of what has been a subaltern form of knowledge. On the other hand, Tu Wei-ming could be criticized from the perspective of Chinese leftist intellectuals for supporting the uses of Confucianism, in China, to counter the ideology of Western capitalism with an ideology of Eastern capitalism. Or he could also be criticized for using Weber's own logic to criticize Protestant ethics from the perspective of a Confucian ethics (Wang 1997, 64–78). Both cases, however, enter a new player into the game, albeit not the ideal player for all the coaches involved. We could imagine similar scenarios, in the future, in which subaltern religions will take the place left empty by the historical collapse of socialism. And that they could be used to justify capitalist expansion beyond the West and to counter Christianity and the Protestant ethics upon which Western capitalism built its imaginary and its ideological force. This possibility does not prevent Confucianism and other forms of subaltern knowledge from being enacted with different purposes. Once "authenticities" are no longer an issue, what remains are the marks left by the colonial difference and the coloniality of power articulating both, the struggle for new forms of domination (e.g., Confucianism and capitalism) and struggles for new forms of liberation. I accentuate "liberation" because I am arguing here from the perspective of the external borders of the modern/colonial world system. And we all know that "emancipation" is the word used for the same purpose within the internal borders of the modern/colonial world system.

In any case, the point I would like to make could be stressed by Tu Wei-ming's elegant and deadly sentence at the end of the introduction to *Confucian Thought*:

> The nine essays, written over a fairly long period of time for a variety of purposes, are in the kind words of Robert C. Neville, "attempts at transmission and interpretation, Confucius' own self-understanding." *However, these attempts, far from transmitting and interpreting the Confucian conception of selfhood, suggest ways of exploring the rich resources within the Confucian tradition so that they can be brought to bear upon the difficult task of understanding Confucian selfhood as creative transformation.* [1985] (1996, 16)

If Confucianism offers the possibility of desubalternizing knowledges and expanding the horizon of human knowledge beyond the academy and beyond the Western concept of knowledge and rationality, this possibility is also open to forms of knowledge that were hit harder by the colonial tempest, including the knowledge of Amerindians and Native Americans. Vine

Deloria Jr., as intellectual and activist has been insisting (since the 1970s) on the cracks (or the colonial difference) between Native American knowledge and the structure of power in the hands of Anglo-Americans. Deloria has been criticized for essentializing the difference by presenting it in dichotomous terms. I do not have the time here to dispel a form of criticism when it comes from a postmodern leftist position that is just blind to the colonial difference. Of course, America is not a two-sided struggle between Anglo and Native Americans. The force of the national ideology in scholarship and, as a consequence, the lack of comparative works (that will place Native Americans in the context of Amerindians in Latin America, Aborigines in New Zealand and Australia, but also in comparison with Islam and Hinduism) hide the fact that what really matters is the colonial difference. As Deloria (1978) argues, "world views in collision" have been a fact of the past five hundred years and they have been in collision in the sixteenth century and today. However, neither of the world views in collision remained the same and they were not just between Anglos and Native Americans. World views in collision have been many, at different times around the planet. That is precisely the geohistorical density of the modern/colonial world system and the diachronic contradictions of its internal (conflicts between empires within the same world view) and external borders (world views in collision).

In chapter 7 I return to this topic by a different route: the future of a diverse planetary civilization beyond the universalisation of either Western neoliberalism or Western neo-Marxism. However, I need to state now that my references to Wei-ming and Deloria were not done with the intention of proposing that Confucianism or Native American religions are alternatives to Protestantism. They were made to suggest, quite to the contrary, that Protestant ethics was not necessarily an alternative to neither Confucianism or Native American religions (Deloria, 1999; Churchill 1997), and, above all, to stress one of this book's main arguments. If nation-states are no longer conceived in their homogeneity, if production of commodity is no longer attached to one country (e.g., think of the many places involved in the car industry), then we should no longer conceive Confucian or Protestant ethics or Native American religions as homogeneous systems either. Therefore, the relationships between faith and knowledge, a distinction we owe to the modern and secular conception of epistemology, needs to be rethought. That is mainly the reason I compared Tu Wei-ming and Deloria with Weber. Although I would enroll myself among the second possibility if I had no other choice. The good news is that we have other choices, even the possibility of choosing to think in and from the borders, to engage in border thinking as a future epistemological breakthrough. Tu Wei-ming and Deloria are not interpreting, translating from the Western hegemonic perspective, or transmitting knowledge from the perspective of area studies. Their analytic and

critical reflections (rather than "religious studies") are engaged in a powerful exercise of border thinking from the perspective of epistemological subalternity. Alternatives to modern epistemology can hardly come only from modern (Western) epistemology itself.

II

Let me explain my notion of border thinking by introducing "gnosis" as a term that would take us away from the confrontation—in Western epistemology, between epistemology and hermeneutics, between nomothetic and ideographic "sciences"—and open up the notion of "knowledge" beyond cultures of scholarships. Gnosis and gnoseology are not familiar words nowadays within cultures of scholarship. The familiar words are those like epistemology and hermeneutics, which are the foundations of the "two cultures," sciences and the humanities. Indeed, hermeneutics and epistemology are more familiar because they have been articulated in the culture of scholarship since the Enlightenment. Since then, hermeneutics has been recast in secular, rather than in biblical terms, and epistemology has also been recast and displaced from its original philosophical meaning (referring to true knowledge, episteme, as distinct from opinion, doxa, and located as a reflection on scientific knowledge). Hermeneutics was assigned the domain of meaning and human understanding. Thus, the two cultures discussed by Snow (Snow 1959) came into being as a reconversion of the field of knowledge in the second phase of modernity, located in northern Europe and developed in the three main languages of knowledge since then (English, French, German). This frame is central to my discussion throughout this book. Gnosis was part of this semantic field, although it vanished from the Western configuration of knowledge once a certain idea of rationality began to be formed and distinguished from forms of knowledge that were considered dubious. Gnosis indeed was appropriated by the Gnostics (Jonas 1958), a religious and redemptive movement opposed to Christianity, from which comes the bad press received by "gnosticism" in the modern colonial world (from the Renaissance to the post–cold war). However, this is not the genealogy I am interested in.

Although the story is more complex, the following summary intends to map my use of gnosis and gnoseology. The verb gignosko (to know, to recognize) and epistemai (to know, to be acquainted with) suggest a different conceptualization of knowledge and knowing. The difference, in Plato's work, between doxa and episteme is well known, the first indicating a type of knowledge guided by common sense and the latter a more second-order knowledge, a systematic knowledge guided by explicit logical rules. Gnosis seems to have emerged as a response to the need to indicate a secret or

hidden kind of knowledge. Greek philologists, however, recommend not to establish a rigid distinction between gnosis and episteme but to look at specific uses of them by specific authors.

Now, the *Oxford Companion of Philosophy* links gnoseology with the Greek word for "knowledge" and, therefore, does not make a clear distinction with episteme. But here an important and modern distinction is introduced as far as gnoseology refers to a kind of knowledge that is not available to sense experience—knowledge either attained by mystic contemplation or by pure logical and mathematical reasoning. Interestingly enough, the *Oxford Companion of Philosophy* reveals its own location when it clarifies that gnoseology is an archaic term and has been superseded by epistemology, (in the modern, post-Cartesian sense of reason and knowledge), and by metaphysics, a form and conceptualization of knowledge that has become (in Heidegger and Gadamer, for instance) linked with meaning and hermeneutics. Thus, gnoseology in the early modern colonial world became a term to refer to knowledge in general, while epistemology became restricted to analytical philosophy and the philosophy of sciences (Rorty 1982). In German the word *Erkenntnistheori*, in French *théorie de la connaissance*, and in Spanish *teoría del conocimiento* became expressions equivalent to gnoseology. Ferrater Mora ([1944] 1969), for example, distinguished in Spanish "teoría del conocimiento" from "epistemología" by the fact that the latter refers to scientific knowledge while the former to knowledge in general.

It is interesting to note that Valentin Y. Mudimbe employed gnosis in the subtitle of his book *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge* (1988). This book emerged from a request to write a survey on African philosophy. How do you, indeed, write such a history without twisting the very concept of philosophy? Mudimbe states the discomfort he found himself in when he had to survey the history of philosophy as a disciplined kind of practice imposed by colonialism and, at the same time, to deal with other undisciplined forms of knowledge that were reduced to subaltern knowledge by colonial disciplined knowing practices called philosophy and related to epistemology. The "African traditional system of thought" was opposed to "philosophy" as the traditional was opposed to the modern: philosophy became, in other words, a tool for subalternizing forms of knowledge beyond its disciplined boundaries. Mudimbe introduced the word gnosis to capture a wide range of forms of knowledge that "philosophy" and "epistemology" contributed to cast away. To seize the complexity of knowledge about Africa, by those who lived there for centuries and by those who went to Westernize it, the knowledge produced by travelers in the past and by the media in the present, underlining at the same time the crucial relevance of the "African traditional system of thought," needed to conceptualize knowledge production beyond the two

cultures. He noted that gnosis etymologically is related to *gnosko*, which in ancient Greek means "to know." But, more specifically, Mudimbe notes, it means "seeking to know, inquiry, methods of knowing, investigation, and even acquaintance with someone. Often the word is used in a more specialized sense, that of higher and esoteric knowledge" (Mudimbe 1988, ix). Mudimbe is careful enough to specify that gnosis is not equivalent to either doxa or episteme. Episteme, Mudimbe clarifies, is understood as both science and intellectual configuration about systematic knowledge, while doxa is the kind of knowledge that the very conceptualization of episteme needs as its exterior: episteme is not only the conceptualization of systematic knowledge but is also the condition of possibility of doxa; it is not its opposite.

Following the previous configuration of the field of knowledge in Western memory, I will use gnoseology as the discourse about gnosis and I will understand by *gnosis* knowledge in general, including doxa and episteme. Border gnosis as knowledge from a subaltern perspective is knowledge conceived from the exterior borders of the modern/colonial world system, and border gnoseology as a discourse about colonial knowledge is conceived at the conflictive intersection of the knowledge produced from the perspective of modern colonialisms (rhetoric, philosophy, science) and knowledge produced from the perspective of colonial modernities in Asia, Africa, and the Americas/Caribbean. Border gnoseology is a critical reflection on knowledge production from both the interior borders of the modern/colonial world system (imperial conflicts, hegemonic languages, directionality of translations, etc.) and its exterior borders (imperial conflicts with cultures being colonized, as well as the subsequent stages of independence or decolonization). By interior borders I mean, for instance, the displacement of Spain from hegemonic position by England, in the seventeenth century, or the entry of the United States. in the concert of imperial nations in 1898. By exterior borders I mean the borders between Spain and the Islamic world, along with the Inca or Aztec people in the sixteenth century, or those between the British and the Indians in the nineteenth century, or the memories of slavery in the concert of imperial histories. Finally, border gnoseology could be contrasted with territorial gnoseology or epistemology, the philosophy of knowledge, as we know it today (from Descartes, to Kant, to Husserl and all its ramifications in analytic philosophy of languages and philosophy of science): a conception and a reflection on knowledge articulated in concert with the cohesion of national languages and the formation of the nation-state (see chapter 6).

"Gnosticism," said Hans Jonas (1958, 32), was the name for numerous doctrines "within and around Christianity during its critical first century." The emphasis was on *knowledge* (*gnosis*) with salvation as the final goal. As for the kind of knowledge gnostic knowledge is, Jonas observes that the

term by itself is a formal term that doesn't specify what is to be known or the subjective aspect of possessing knowledge. The difference with the gnostic context can be located in the concept of reason.

> As for *what* the knowledge is about, the associations of the term most familiar to the classically trained reader point to *rational* objects, and accordingly to natural reason as the organ for acquiring and possessing knowledge. In the gnostic context, however, "knowledge" has an emphatically religious or supranatural meaning and refers to objects which we nowadays should call those of faith rather than of reason. . . . *Gnosis* meant pre-eminently knowledge of *God*, and from what we have said about the radical transcendence of the deity it follows that "knowledge of God" is the knowledge of something naturally unknowable and therefore itself not a natural condition. . . . On the one hand it is closely bound up with revelationary experience, so that reception of the truth either through sacred and secret lore or through inner illumination replaces rational argument and theory. . . . on the other hand, being concerned with the secrets of salvation, "knowledge" is not just theoretical information about certain things but is itself, as a modification of the human condition, charged with performing a function in the bringing about of salvation. *Thus gnostic "knowledge" has an eminently practical object.* (Jonas 1958, 34)

We are obviously no longer at the beginning of the Christian era and *salvation* is not a proper term to define the practicality of knowledge, and neither is its claim to truth. But we need to open up the space that epistemology took over from gnoseology, and aim it not at God but at the uncertainties of the borders. Our goals are not salvation but decolonization, and transformations of the rigidity of epistemic and territorial *frontiers* established and controlled by the coloniality of power in the process of building the modern/colonial world system.

But since my focus is on forms of knowledge produced by modern colonialism at the intersection with colonial modernities, border gnosis/gnoseology and border thinking will be used interchangeably to characterize a powerful and emergent *gnoseology*, absorbing and displacing hegemonic forms of knowledge into the perspective of the subaltern. This is not a new form of syncretism or hybridity, but an intense battlefield in the long history of colonial subalternization of knowledge and legitimation of the colonial difference. By "subalternization of knowledge" I intend, through this book, to do justice and expand on an early insight by the Brazilian "anthropologian" (as he called himself, instead of "anthropologist") Darcy Ribeiro. "Anthropologian" was indeed a marker of subalternization of knowledge: an anthropologist in the "Third World" (Ribeiro was writing at the end of the 1960s and in the middle of the cold war and the consolidation of area studies) is not the same as an anthropologist in the First World, since the former is in the location of the object of study, not in

the location of the studying subject. It is in this precise tension that Darcy Ribeiro's observation acquires its density, a density between the situation being described and the location of the subject within the situation he or she is describing:

> In the same way that Europe carried a variety of techniques and inventions to the people included in its network of domination . . . it also introduced to them its equipment of concepts, preconcepts, and idiosyncrasy which referred at the same time to Europe itself and to the colonial people.
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> The colonial people, deprived of their riches and of the fruit of their labor under colonial regimes, suffered, furthermore, the degradation of assuming as their proper image the image that was no more than the reflection of the European vision of the world, which considered colonial people racially inferior because they were black, Amerindians, or "mestizos." Even the brighter social strata of non-European people got used to seeing themselves and their communities as an infrahumanity whose destiny was to occupy a subaltern position because of the sheer fact that theirs was inferior to the European population. (Ribeiro 1968, 63)

That colonial modernities, or "subaltern modernities" as Coronil (1997) prefers to label it, a period expanding from the late fifteenth century to the current stage of globalization, has built a frame and a conception of knowledge based on the distinction between epistemology and hermeneutics and, by so doing, has subalternized other kinds of knowledge is the main thesis of this book. That long process of subalternization of knowledge is being radically transformed by new forms of knowledge in which what has been subalternized and considered interesting only as object of study becomes articulated as new loci of enunciation. This is the second thesis of this book. The first is explored through a cultural critique of historical configurations; the second, by looking at the emergence of new loci of enunciation, by describing them as "border gnosis" and by arguing that "border gnosis" is the subaltern reason striving to bring to the foreground the force and creativity of knowledges subalternized during a long process of colonization of the planet, which was at the same time the process in which modernity and the modern Reason were constructed.

By "colonial differences" I mean, through my argument (and I should perhaps say "the colonial difference"), the classification of the planet in the modern/colonial imaginary, by enacting coloniality of power, an energy and a machinery to transform differences into values. If racism is the matrix that permeates every domain of the imaginary of the modern/colonial world system, "Occidentalism" is the overarching metaphor around which colonial differences have been articulated and rearticulated through the changing hands in the history of capitalism (Arrighi 1994) and the changing ideologies motivated by imperial conflicts. The emergence of new areas

of colonization that had to be articulated within the conflictive memory of the system (e.g., France's colonization of North Africa four hundred years after the Spanish expulsion of the Moors from the Iberian Peninsula).

In my own intellectual history, a first formulation of border gnosis/gnoseology could be found in the notion of "colonial semiosis" and "pluritopic hermeneutics," which I introduced several years ago (Mignolo 1991) and which became two key notions in the argument and analysis of my previous book on coloniality in the early modern period (Mignolo 1995a). Colonial semiosis (which some readers found to be just more jargon, although the same readers would not find "colonial history" or "colonial economy" extravagant) was needed to account for a set of complex social and historical phenomena and to avoid the notion of "transculturation." Although I do not find anything wrong with the notion of transculturation, and while I endorse Ortiz's corrective of Malinowski's "acculturation," I was trying to avoid one of the meanings (indeed, the most common) attributed to the word: transculturation when it is attached to a biological/cultural mixture of people. When Ortiz suggested the term, he described Malinowski's acculturation as follows:

> Acculturation is used to describe the process of transition from one culture to another, and its manifold social repercussions. But transculturation is a more fitting term. I have chosen the word transculturation to express the highly varied phenomena that come about in Cuba as a result of the extremely complex transmutation of culture that has taken place here, and without a knowledge of which it is impossible to understand the evolution of the Cuban folk, either in the economic or in the institutional, legal, ethical, religious, artistic, linguistic, psychological, sexual or other aspects of its life. (Ortiz [1940] 1995, 98)

Ortiz conceived the entire history of Cuba as a long process of transculturation. And he summarized this idea in the following dictum: "The whole gamut of culture run by Europe in a span of more than four millenniums took place in Cuba in less than four centuries" (Ortiz [1940] 1995, 99). Ortiz was interested in defining a national feature of Cuban history. I am more interested in critically reflecting on coloniality and thinking from such an experience, than in identifying national (or subcontinental, e.g., "Latin American") distinctive features. This is the main reason why I prefer the term colonial semiosis to transculturation, which, in the first definition provided by Ortiz, maintains the shadows of "mestizaje." Colonial semiosis emphasized, instead, the conflicts engendered by coloniality at the level of social-semiotic interactions, and by that I mean, in the sphere of signs. In the sixteenth century, the conflict of writing systems related to religion, education, and conversion was a fundamental aspect of coloniality (Gruzinsky 1988; 1990; Mignolo 1995a). Colonial semiosis attempted,

although perhaps not entirely successfully, to dispel the notion of "culture." Why? Because culture is precisely a key word of colonial discourses classifying the planet, particularly since the second wave of colonial expansion, according to sign system (language, food, dress, religion, etc.) and ethnicity (skin color, geographical locations). Culture became, from the eighteenth century until 1950 approximately, a word between "nature" and "civilization." Lately, culture has become the other end of capital and financial interests.

While Ortiz defined transculturation mainly in terms of contact between people, he suggested also that tobacco and sugar, beyond their interest for the study of Cuban economy and historical peculiarities, offer, in addition, certain curious and original instances of transculturation of the sort that are of great and current interest in contemporary sociological sciences (Ortiz [1940] 1995, 5). This kind of transculturation is closer to my own notion of colonial semiosis. Let's explore why. In the second part of the book, and after exploring in detail tobacco's features in comparison with sugar, Ortiz explores the historical aspects of both and observes:

> Tobacco reached the Christian world along with the revolutions of the Renaissance and the Reformation, when the Middle Ages were crumbling and the modern epoch, with its rationalism, was beginning. One might say that reason, starved and benumbed by theology, to revive and free itself, needed the help of some harmless stimulant that should not intoxicate it with enthusiasm and then stupefy it with illusions and bestiality, as happens with the old alcoholic drinks that lead to drunkenness. For this, to help sick reason, tobacco came from America. And with it chocolate. And from Abyssinia and Arabia, about the same time, came coffee. And tea made its appearance from the Far East.
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> The coincidental appearance of these four exotic products in the Old World, all of them stimulants of the senses as well as of the spirit, is not without interests. It is as though they had been sent to Europe from the four corners of the earth by the devil to revive Europe when "the time came," when that continent was ready to save the spirituality of reason from burning itself out and give the senses their due once more. (Ortiz [1940] 1995, 206)

I am not interested in discussing here the historical validity of Ortiz's assertion but in looking at transculturation from the realm of signs, rather than from that of people's miscegenation, and in displacing it toward the understanding of border thinking and the colonial difference. When people's blood enters in the definition of transculturation, it is difficult to avoid the temptation to understand miscegenation and biological mixtures. It is not the blood or the color of your skin but the *descriptions* of blood mixture and skin color that are devised and enacted in and by the coloniality of power that counts. Blood mixture and skin color, as far as I can ascertain, do not have inscribed in them a genetic code that becomes translated into

a cultural one. Rather, the descriptions made by those living organisms who can make descriptions of themselves and of their surroundings (Mignolo 1995a, 1–28) are the ones that establish an organization and a hierarchy of blood mixture and skin color. In this regard, the notion of transculturation is not relevant so much because it describes a given reality as it is because it changes previous descriptions made by living organisms making descriptions of themselves (and sometimes following "disciplinary" norms in order to get such descriptions "right"). Transculturation offers a different view of people interaction. It is, in other words, a principle to produce descriptions that changes the principle in which similar descriptions have been made up to the point of its introduction in cultures of scholarship's vocabulary. Instead, the encounter of exotic products coming into Europe from the four corners of the world to enter in a new social and gnoseological setting is a good image of transculturation without mestizaje. What is missing in Ortiz's analysis is coloniality and it is missing because for Ortiz the main question is nationality. Thus, colonial semiosis frames the issue within but also beyond the nation in the sense that nation-states are firmly established in the horizon of coloniality: either you find a nation-state that becomes an empire (like Spain or England) or one undergoing uprisings and rebellions to become autonomous, working toward the foundation of a nation (e.g., the Americas at the end of eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries).

Perhaps some of the resistance to colonial semiosis from people who will readily accept colonial history or economy is due to the fact that colonial semiosis goes together with pluritopic hermeneutics. And this, for sure, not only complicates the matter but also introduces more obscure jargon. Sometimes, however, jargon is necessary, for how would you change the terms, and not only the content, of the conversation without it? I needed the combination of these two notions to move away and not get trapped by the opposite danger: the platitude of colonial economy or colonial history starting from the surface of what is "seen" and avoiding the risks of looking for what Rolph-Trouillot called the "unthinkable" in the Haitian Revolution. Thus, it is not always the case that jargon is unnecessary, and often uncommon words show us the invisible. In any event, pluritopic hermeneutics was necessary to indicate that colonial semiosis "takes place" in between conflict of knowledges and structures of power. Anibal Quijano (1997) has developed the notion of "coloniality of power," a phenomenon I just described as a "conflict of knowledges and structures of power." My understanding of coloniality of power presupposes the colonial difference as its condition of possibility and as the legitimacy for the subalternization of knowledges and the subjugation of people.

III

Coloniality of power is a story that does not begin in Greece; or, if you wish, has two beginnings, one in Greece and the other in the less known memories of millions of people in the Caribbean and the Atlantic coast, and better-known memories (although not as well known as the Greek legacies) in the Andes and in Mesoamerica. The extended moment of conflict between people whose brain and skin have been formed by different memories, sensibilities, and belief between 1492 and today is the crucial historical intersection where the coloniality of power in the Americas can be located and unraveled. Quijano identifies coloniality of power with capitalism and its consolidation in Europe from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Coloniality of power implies and constitutes itself, according to Quijano, through the following:

1. The classification and reclassification of the planet population— the concept of "culture" becomes crucial in this task of classifying and reclassifying.
2. An institutional structure functional to articulate and manage such classifications (state apparatus, universities, church, etc.).
3. The definition of spaces appropriate to such goals.
4. An epistemological perspective from which to articulate the meaning and profile of the new matrix of power and from which the new production of knowledge could be channeled.

This is, in a nutshell, what for Quijano constitutes the coloniality of power by way of which the entire planet, including its continental division (Africa, America, Europe), becomes articulated in such production of knowledge and classificatory apparatus. Eurocentrism becomes, therefore, a metaphor to describe the coloniality of power from the perspective of subalternity. From the epistemological perspective, European local knowledge and histories have been projected to global designs, from the dream of an *Orbis Universalis Christianus* to Hegel's belief in a universal history that could be narrated from a European (and therefore hegemonic) perspective. Colonial semiosis attempted to identify particular moments of tension in the conflict between two local histories and knowledges, one responding to the movement forward of a global design that intended to impose itself and those local histories and knowledges that are forced to accommodate themselves to such new realities. Thus, colonial semiosis requires a pluritopic hermeneutics since in the conflict, in the cracks and fissures where the conflict originates, a description of one side of the epistemological divide won't do. But that is not all, because while the first problem was to look into the

spaces in between, the second was how to produce knowledge from such in-between spaces. Otherwise, it would not have been a pluritopic hermeneutics, but a monotopic one (i.e., a persepective of a homogenous knowing subject located in a universal no-man's-land), describing the conflict between people made of different knowledge and memories. "Border thinking" is the notion that I am introducing now with the intention of transcending hermeneutics and epistemology and the corresponding distinction between the knower and the known, in the epistemology of the second modernity. To describe in "reality" both sides of the border is not the problem. The problem is to do it from its exteriority (in Levinas's sense). The goal is to erase the distinction between the knower and the known, between a "hybrid" object (the borderland as the known) and a "pure" disciplinary or interdisciplinary subject (the knower), uncontaminated by the border matters he or she describes. To change the terms of the conversation it is necessary to overcome the distinction between subject and object, on the one hand, and between epistemology and hermeneutics on the other. Border thinking should be the space in which this new logic could be thought out. In chapter 1, I explore Abdelkebir Khatibi's concept of "an other thinking" as a response to this problem. In chapter 6 I explore the possibility of "an other tongue" following Alfred Arteaga's expression.

IV

This book came into existence when I realized that today's emergence of "border thinking" was a consequence of the modern world system, as originally described by Imannuel Wallerstein (1974), and expanded and complicated later on by Eric Wolf (1982), Janet L. Abu-Lughod (1989), Giovanni Arrighi (1996), not to mention the debates on the very idea of "world system" that took place in the past twenty years, of which the journal *Review* (published by the Ferdinand Braudel Center at Binghamton) has been a visible medium (see *Review* 15, No. 4, [1992], for instance). I began to piggyback on modern world system analysis and, in doing so, I followed the example of Edward Said on the one hand and the South Asian Subaltern Studies Group on the other. In both cases, there was piggybacking on Michel Foucault, first, and Karl Marx and Antonio Gramsci, second, whose debates on colonialism were located in a "universal" domain of discussion, promoting it from the more local and descriptive site it occupied until the 1980s. But then, why am I not piggybacking on South Asian subaltern studies, or on Said's *Orientalism*, or even on German critical theory or French post structuralism, which have more clout in cultural studies and postcolonial debates than modern world system theory? And why the modern world system model or metaphor that has been much criticized and looked at with

suspicion by many within the social sciences, and went almost unnoticed within the humanities?

One of the possible answers to this question is at the same time my justification to start with this paradigm: the modern world system model or metaphor has the sixteenth century as a crucial date of its constitution, while all the other possibilities I just mentioned (Said, Guha, critical theory, poststructuralism) have the eighteenth century and the Enlightenment as the chronological frontier of modernity. Since my feelings, education, and thinking are anchored on the colonial legacies of the Spanish and Portuguese empires in the Americas, to "begin" in the eighteenth century would be to put myself out of the game. This is also an answer to Valentin Mudimbe, who asked me once, "What do you have against the Enlightenment?" The Enlightenment comes second in my own experience of colonial histories. The second phase of modernity, the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution, was derivative in the history of Latin America and entered in the nineteenth century as the exteriority that needed to be incorporated in order to build the "republic" after independence from Spain and Portugal had been gained (see chapter 3).

Border gnosis or border thinking is in this book in dialogue with the debate on the universal/particular, on the one hand, and with Michel Foucault's notion of "insurrection of subjugated knowledges," on the other. Furthermore, border thinking/gnosis could serve as a mediator between the two interrelated issues I am introducing here: subjugated knowledges and the universal/particular dilemma. A link between Foucault's notion of subjugated knowledges and Darcy Ribeiro's subaltern knowledges allows me to reframe the dilemma of the universal/particular through the colonial difference.

In his inaugural lecture in the College of France (1976), Foucault introduced the expression "insurrection of subjugated knowledges" to describe an epistemological transformation he perceived at work in the fifteen years or so previous to his lecture. He devoted a couple of paragraphs to specify his understanding of subjugated knowledges: "By subjugated knowledges I mean two things. On the one hand, I am referring to the historical contents that have been buried and disguised in a functionalist of formal systematization" (81). By "historical content." Foucault was referring to something that has been buried "behind" the disciplines and the production of knowledge, that was neither the semiology of life nor the sociology of delinquency but the repression of the "immediate emergence of historical contents."

His second approach to subjugated knowledges was expressed in the following terms:

I believe that by subjugated knowledges one should understand something else, something which in a sense is altogether different, namely, a whole set of knowl-

edge that has been disqualified as inadequate to its tasks or insufficiently elabo-
rated: naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the re-
quired level of cognition of scientificity. I also believe that it is through the
re-emergence of these low-ranking knowledges, these unqualified knowledges
(such as that of the psychiatric patient, of the ill person, of the doctor—parallel
and marginal as they are to the knowledge of medicine—that of the delinquent,
etc.) which involve what I would call a popular knowledge [le savoir des gens]
though it is far from being a general common sense knowledge, *but on the con-
trary a particular, local, regional knowledge, a differential knowledge incapable of
unanimity and which owes its forces only to the harshness* with which it is opposed
by everything surrounding it—that is through the re-appearance of this knowl-
edge, of these local popular knowledges, these disqualified knowledges, that
criticism performs its work. (Foucault [1976] 1980, 82; emphasis added)

Foucault was certainly aware of the disparity between the kinds of knowl-
edges he was confronting, academic and disciplinary knowledge, on the one
hand, and nonacademic and popular knowledge on the other. He was also
aware that he was not attempting to oppose the "abstract unity of theory" to
the "concrete multiplicity of facts" (83). Foucault was using the distinction
between disciplinary and subjugated knowledges to question the very foun-
dation of academic/disciplinary and expert knowledge without which the
very notion of subjugated knowledge would not have sense. He called *gene-
alogy* the union of "erudite knowledge and local memories" and specified
that what *genealogy* really does is to "entertain the claims to attention of
local, discontinuous, disqualified, illegitimate knowledges against the claims
of a unitary body of theory which would filter hierarchies and order them
in the name of some true knowledge and some arbitrary idea of what consti-
tutes a science and its objects" ([1972–77] 1980, 83).

My intention in this introduction and throughout the book is to move
subjugated knowledge to the limits of the colonial difference where subju-
gated become subaltern knowledges in the structure of coloniality of power.
And I conceive subaltern knowledges in tandem with Occidentalism as the
overarching imaginary of the modern/colonial world system: Occidentalism
is the visible face in the building of the modern world, whereas subaltern
knowledges are its darker side, the colonial side of modernity. This very
notion of subaltern knowledges, articulated in the late 1960s by Darcy Ri-
beiro, makes visible the colonial difference between anthropologists in the
First World "studying" the Third World and "anthropologians" in the Third
World reflecting on their own geohistorical and colonial conditions. Allow
me to repeat, with a distinct emphasis, Ribeiro's paragraph quoted already
on page 13:

In the same way that Europe carried a variety of techniques and inventions to
the people included in its network of domination . . . *it also introduced to them*

*its equipment of concepts, preconcepts, and idiosyncrasy that referred at the same
time to Europe itself and to the colonial people.* The colonial people, deprived
of their riches and of the fruit of their labor under colonial regimes, suffered,
furthermore, the degradation of assuming as their proper image the image that
was no more than the reflection of the European vision of the world, which
considered colonial people racially inferior because they were black, (Amer)
Indians, or mestizos. . . . Even the brighter social strata of non-European people
got used to seeing themselves and their communities as an *infrahumanity whose
destiny was to occupy a subaltern position* because of the sheer fact that theirs
was inferior to the European population. (Ribeiro 1968, 63; emphasis added)

Although the introduction of "subalternity" by Antonio Gramsci pointed
toward a structure of power established around class relations in the modern
(industrial) Western societies, ethnoracial relations (as I suggested) were
crucial for the establishment of class relations structured around labor, the
exploitation of the Amerindians, and the increasing slave trade from sub-
Saharan Africa. On the other hand, a hierarchical relation and consequently
a subalternization of knowledge occurred at a different level, the level of
religion. Christianity established itself as intolerant to Judaism and Islam as
well as to the "idolatry" of the Amerindians, whose extirpation became a
major goal of the church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Duviols
1971; MacCormack 1991). Christianity became, with the expulsion of Jews
and Moors and the "discovery" of America, the first global design of the
modern/colonial world system and, consequently, the anchor of Occiden-
talism and the coloniality of power drawing the external borders as the colo-
nial difference, which became reconverted and resemantized in the late eigh-
teenth and early nineteenth centuries with the expansion of Britain and
France to Asia and Africa. Global designs are the complement of universal-
ism in the making of the modern/colonial world.

Today, *a* world history or *a* universal history is an impossible task. Or
perhaps both are possible but hardly credible. Universal histories in the past
five hundred years have been embedded in global designs. Today, local his-
tories are coming to the forefront and, by the same token, revealing the local
histories from which global designs emerge in their universal drive. From
the project of the *Orbis Universalis Christianum*, through the standards of
civilization at the turn of the twentieth century, to the current one of global-
ization (global market), global designs have been the hegemonic project for
managing the planet. This project changed hands and names several times,
but the times and names are not buried in the past. On the contrary, they
are all still alive in the present, even if the most visible is the propensity
toward making the planet into a global market. However, it is not difficult
to see that behind the market as the ultimate goal of an economic project
that has become an end in itself, there is the Christian mission of the early

modern (Renaissance) colonialism , the civilizing mission of the secularized modernity, and the development and modernization projects after World War II. Neoliberalism, with its emphasis on the market and consumption, is not just a question of economy but a new form of civilization. The impossibility or lack of credibility of universal or world histories today is not advanced by some influential postmodern theory, but by the economic and social forces generally referred to as globalization and by the emergence of forms of knowledge that have been subalternized during the past five hundred years under global designs I just mentioned—that is, during the period of planetary expansion I call here modern colonialisms and colonial modernities. To simplify things, I refer to this double edge as modernity/coloniality. The coexistence and the intersection of both modern colonialisms and colonial modernities (and, obviously, the multiplication of local histories taking the place occupied by world or universal history), from the perspective of people and local histories that have to confront modern colonialism, is what I understand here as "coloniality," quite simply, the reverse and unavoidable side of "modernity"—its darker side, like the part of the moon we do not see when we observe it from earth.

The overarching, and necessary, concept of coloniality/modernity implies the need, indeed, the strong need, for building macronarratives from the perspective of coloniality. And this is one of the main goals of this book. Macronarratives from the perspective of coloniality are not the counterpart of world or universal history, but a radical departure from such global projects. They are neither (or at least not only) revisionist narratives nor narratives that intend to tell a different truth but, rather, narratives geared toward the search for a different logic. This book is intended as a contribution to changing the terms of the conversation as well as its content (persuaded by Trouillot's insistence on the issue) to displace the "abstract universalism" of modern epistemology and world history, while leaning toward an alternative to totality conceived as a network of local histories and multiple local hegemonies. Without such macronarratives told from the historical experiences of multiple local histories (the histories of modernity/coloniality), it would be impossible to break the dead end against which modern epistemology and the reconfiguration of the social sciences and the humanities since the eighteenth century have framed hegemonic forms of knowledge. Western expansion since the sixteenth century has not only been a religious and economic one, but also the expansion of hegemonic forms of knowledge that shaped the very conception of economy and religion. That is to say, it was the expansion of a "representational" concept of knowledge and cognition (Rorty 1982) that I will be attempting to displace from the perspective of emerging epistemologies/gnoseologies, which I explore and conceive as border gnosis/gnoseology and link to modernity/coloniality.

V

The book is then a series of interconnected essays on the *imaginary* of the modern/colonial world system. I use imaginary in the sense of Edouard Glissant. Following the translator of *Poétique de la rélation* ([1990] 1997), I read Glissant *not* to mean by imaginary "the now widely accepted Lacanian sense in which the Imaginary is contrasted with the Symbolic and the Real." For Glissant the imaginary is all the ways a culture has of perceiving and conceiving of the world. Hence, every human culture will have its own particular imaginary" (Wing 1997). In a terminology already introduced in the *Darker Side of the Renaissance* (Mignolo 1995a), the imaginary of the modern/colonial world is its self-description, the ways in which it described itself through the discourse of the state, intellectuals, and scholars. I also submit, and discuss throughout the book, "Occidentalism" as the overarching metaphor of the modern/colonial world system imaginary. It is fitting that an updated article published by Wallerstein in 1992 is titled "The West, Capitalism and the Modern World-System." By "border thinking" I mean the moments in which the imaginary of the modern world system cracks. "Border thinking" is still within the imaginary of the modern world system, but repressed by the dominance of hermeneutics and epistemology as keywords controlling the conceptualization of knowledge.

But let me tell you first how I do conceive of the modern/colonial world system in this book. I do not discuss whether the "world system" is five hundred or five thousand years old (Gunder Frank and Gills 1993; Dussel 1998a; 1998b). It is important for my argument to make a distinction between the "world system" Gunder Frank and Gills theorize and the "modern/colonial world system," whose imaginary is the topic of this book. This imaginary is a powerful one, not only in the sociohistorical economic structure studied by Wallerstein (1974; 1980; 1989) and what he calls "geoculture" (Wallerstein 1991a), but also in the Amerindian imaginary.

"Imaginary" shall be distinguished from "geoculture." For Wallerstein, the geoculture of the modern world system shall be located between the French Revolution and May 1968 in France (as well as around the world) is defined in terms of France's intellectual hegemony—a most interesting location of the geoculture of the modern world system, since its economic history as the history of capitalism (from Venice and Genoa, to Holland and England) (Arrighi 1994) does not include France, as a special chapter of this narrative. France, then, provided the geoculture of modernity since the French Revolution, although France's participation in the history of capitalism was marginal (Arrighi 1994). On the other hand, Wallerstein stated that there is no geoculture of the system until the French Revolution. How can we describe then the Christian global and geo-ideological perspective from

the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries? I prefer, therefore, to think in terms of the imaginary of the Atlantic commercial circuit, which is extended, and thus includes what Wallerstein calls "geoculture," to the end of the twentieth century and is resemantized in the discourse of neoliberalism as a new civilizing project driven by the market and the transnational corporations. In my argument, the imaginary of the modern/colonial world system is the overarching discourse of Occidentalism, in its geohistorical transformation in tension and conflict with the forces of subalternity that were engendered from the early responses of the Amerindian and African slaves to it, to current intellectual undoing of Occidentalism and social movements looking for new paths toward a democratic imaginary.

Laguna writer Leslie Marmon Silko includes a "five hundred year map" at the beginning of her novel, *The Almanac of the Dead* (1991); (fig. 1), and the first sentence of the Zapatista declaration from the Lacandon Forest in January 1994 reads "we are the product of 500 years of struggle" (EZLN, CG 1995). October 12 is commemorated by Spaniards and officially in the Americas as the day of the "discovery." Amerindians have recently begun to commemorate October 11, instead, as the last day of "freedom." I suppose that a similar image can be created, if it is not yet at work, among the Afro-Caribbean and Afro-American population.

Glissant's use of the concept of "imaginary" is sociohistorical rather than individual. Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, concerned with the same question of the density of collective memory, conceived every act of saying as inscribed in a triple dimension: the ground ("suelo"), the underground ("subsuelo"), and the enemy ("el enemigo") (Ortega y Gasset 1954). The underground is what is there but is not visible. The Christian T/O was invisibly inscribed since the sixteenth century in every world map where we "see" fourth continents. We may not "know" that the fourth continents are not "there" in the world map but the symbolical inscription "fourth" in the tripartite Christian division of the world in Asia/Shem, Africa/Ham, and Europe/Japeth began to be accepted in and since the sixteenth century. And we may not know that the Americas were considered the daughter and the inheritor of Europe because it was, indeed, a fourth continent but not like the others. Noah did not have four sons. Consequently, the Americas became the natural extension of Japeth, toward the West. The imaginary of the modern/colonial world system is not only what is visible and in the "ground" but what has been hidden from view in the "underground" by successive layers of mapping people and territories.

However, I'm not arguing for the "representation" of the invisible or for "studying" the subalterns. To argue in that direction would be to argue from the perspective of a "denotative" epistemic assumption that I rejected in my previous book. (1995a; 16–28) and that I continue to reject here. Denotative epistemic assumptions are presupposed in what I call here "territorial episte-
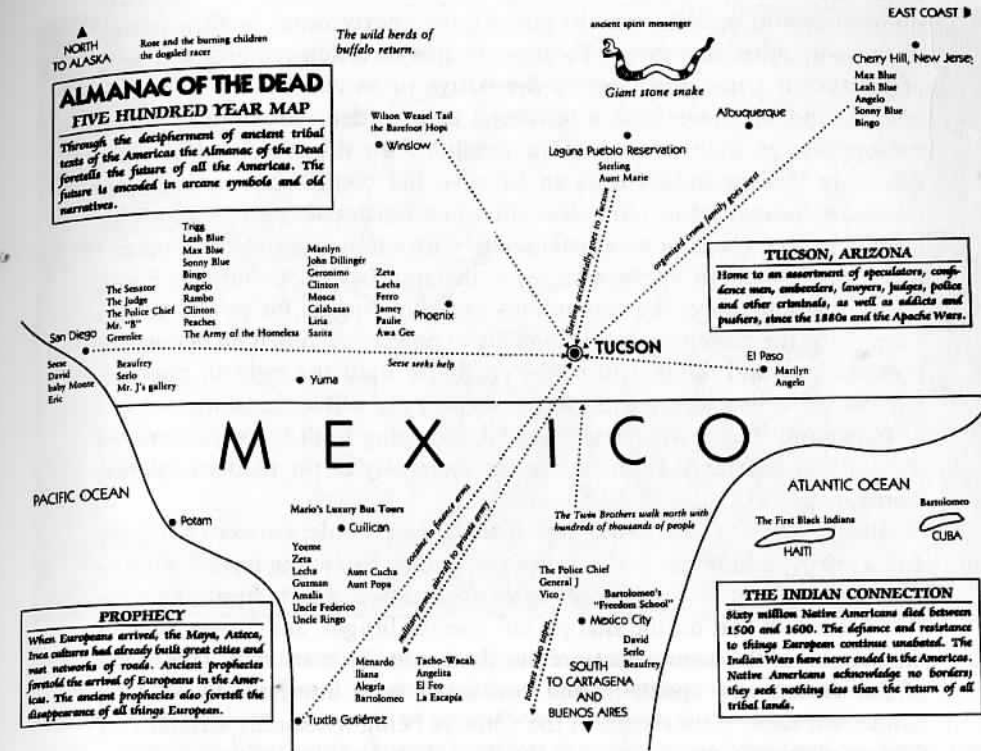
Figure 1. Leslie Marmon Silko's map reinstalled the colonial difference by introducing the temporal dimension within a spatial configuration, showing in a transnational perpective the history of the modern/colonial world system from a particular local history. As we know, Amerindians did not make a strict distinction between space and time. The "five hundred year map" joins Amerindians' and Native Americans' claim for memory, for land, for human dignity, for the desubalternization of knowledge, and for erasure of the colonial difference. (From Leslie Marmon Silko. 1982. *Almanac of the Dead.* New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc.)

mology" and which is, in terms of Ortega y Gasset, "the enemy." Ortega y Gasset assumed that every act of saying was a "saying against." In my argument this is not a necessary restriction. It would be more accurate to say that every act of saying is at the same time a "saying against" and a "saying for." This double movement will acquire a complex dimension when viewed at the intersection of local histories and global designs, and at the intersection of hegemonic and subaltern grounds and undergrounds. From this perspective, recent discussions on the "facts" and "fictions" component of Rigoberta Menchú's (1984) narrative fall within a denotative and territorial epistemology. Rigoberta Menchú's story is no less "fact and fiction" than any

other known narrative from the Bible to *The Clash of Civilizations*. The better question would be: What are the ground, the underground, and the enemy of these or other narratives? To argue in this direction requires a change of terrain: to move, first, from a denotative to an enactive epistemology, and, second, to move from a territorial to a border epistemology which presupposes an awareness of and a sensibility for the colonial difference. Rigoberta Menchú argues from an enactive and border epistemology. Her critics are located instead in a denotative and territorial epistemology. This tension between hegemonic epistemology with emphasis on denotation and truth, and subaltern epistemologies with emphasis on performance and transformation shows the contentions and the struggle for power. It also shows how the exercise of the coloniality of power (anchored on denotative epistemology and the will to truth) attributes itself the right to question alternatives whose will to truth is preceded by the will to transform—a will to transform, like in Rigoberta Menchú, emerging from the experience of the colonial difference engrained in the imaginary of the modern/colonial world since 1500.

Janet L. Abu-Lughod (1989) described the world order between A.D. 1250 and 1350 in eight dominant commercial circuits, extending from Peking to Genoa (fig. 2). At this point I am interested in two aspects from this map. One is the fact that during that period, Genoa, Bruges, and Troyes were in the margins of the commercial circuits, dominated by circuit viii. This is one of the reasons why Spaniards and Portuguese were interested in reaching China, but there is no record of the Chinese being irresistibly attracted by Christendom as it was emerging in the West after the failure of the Crusades. My second point of interest is that figure 2 completely ignores what figure 3 shows. The map shown in figure 3 includes two more commercial circuits "hidden" from Eurocentric narratives. The first commercial circuit had its center in Anahuac, in what is today Mexico, and extended toward today's Guatemala and Panama in the south and to today's New Mexico and Arizona in the north. The other had its center in Tawantinsuyu, in what is today Peru, and extended north toward present-day Ecuador and Colombia, east to present-day Bolivia and south to the northern part of today's Argentina and Chile.

Enrique Dussel (1998a) has suggested that, given the world order described in figure 2, the fact that it was the Spaniards and not the Chinese or the Portuguese who "discovered" America responds to an obvious historical logic. China was in a dominant position. Therefore, even if Chinese navigators reached the Pacific coasts of America before the Spaniards, it was not an event to be qualified as the most important since the creation of the world, as historian López de Gómara did toward 1555. The Portuguese did not need to try the Atlantic route because they had been controlling the coast of Africa, from north to south, and around to the Indian Ocean, with
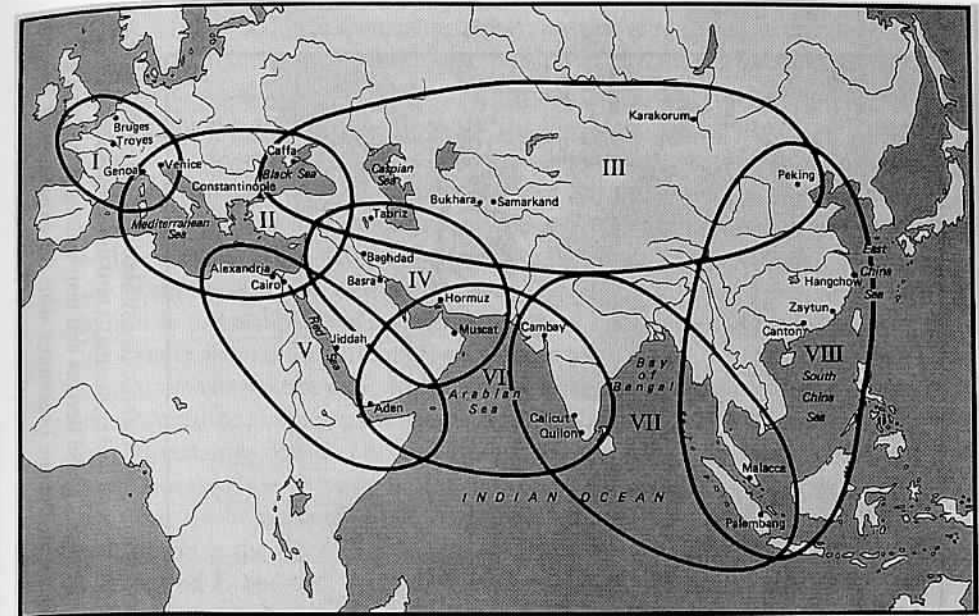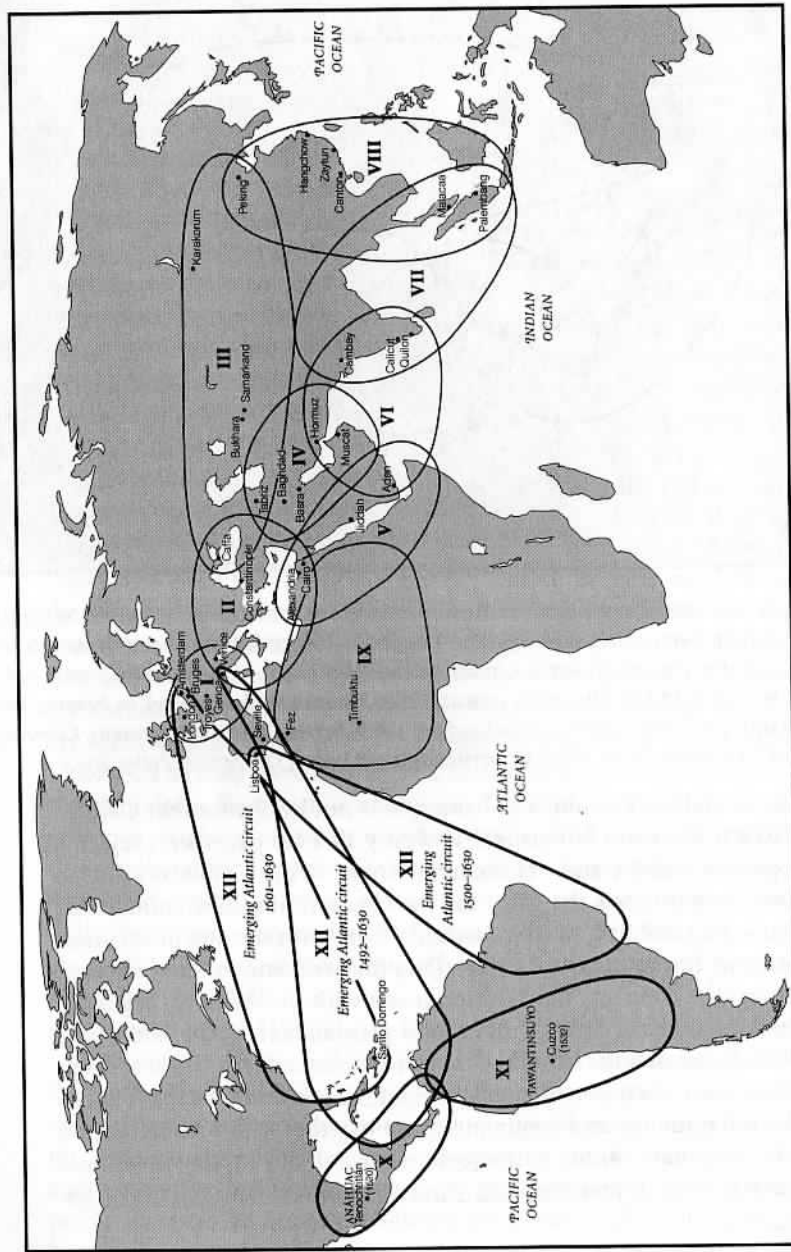
Figure 2. The eight commercial circuits in the thirteenth century in a multicentered world, according to Janet L. Abu-Lughod. Notice that although Abu-Lughod writes at the end of the twentieth century, the Atlantic and the "Americas" are not in the picture of the scholar because they were not in the picture of those living in the thirteenth century from Genova to Adend and to Peking; from Palembang to Karakorum. (From Janet L. Abu-Lughod. 1989. *Before European Hegemony*. Copyright © 1989 by Oxford University Press. Used by permission of Oxford University Press, Inc.)

easy access to Malaca, Canton, and Peking. It is not by chance that Columbus went first to the court of Portugal, and only after his plans were rejected did he approach Isabelle and Ferdinand of Spain. What Columbus did, in this context, was to open the gates for the creation of a new commercial circuit connecting circuit I, in Abu-Lughod's map, with the one in Anahuac and the other in Tawantinsuyu. I am retelling this well-known story because it is the story that connects the Mediterranean with the Atlantic, begins to displace the commercial forces (mines and plantations) to the latter, and lays the foundation of what is today conceived as the modern world system. Now the inception of a new commercial circuit, which would be the foundation of Western economy and dominance, goes together with a rearticulation of the racial imaginary, whose consequences are still alive today. Two ideas became central in such rearticulation: "purity of blood" and "rights of the people."

The "purity of blood" principle was formalized at the beginning of the sixteenth century, in Spain, and established the final "cut" between Chris-

Figure 3. The emergence of the Atlantic commercial circuit connected two existing ones: Anahuac (today Mexico, Guatemala, Yucatan, Nicaragua) and Tawantisuyu (today Bolivia, Peru, north of Chile and Argentina, Ecuador and Columbia). Until the middle of the fifteenth century, the Atlantic commercial circuit was not yet hegemonic, although Christians' global designs and map making provided a global conception of the world not available until then. The Atlantic commercial circuit became hegemonic with the expansion of England and France to Asia and Africa, after the Dutch transitional period in the second half of the seventeenth century. This moment corresponded also with the tracing of the imperial (internal) borders and the making of the European South.

tians, Jews and Moors (Sicroff 1960; Netanyahu 1995, 975–80, 1041–47; Harvey 1990, 307–40; Constable 1997). At the same time, it created the concept of "converso." While the expulsion of the Moors demarcated the exterior of what would be a new commercial circuit and the Mediterranean became that frontier, the expulsion of the Jews determined one of the inner borders of the emerging system. The converso instead opened up the borderland, the place in which neither the exterior nor the interior frontiers apply, although they were the necessary conditions for borderlands. The converso will never be at peace with himself or herself, nor will he or she be trustworthy from the point of view of the state. The converso was not so much a hybrid as it was a place of fear and passing, of lying and terror. The reasons for conversion could as easily be deep conviction or sheer social convenience. Whatever the case, he or she would know that the officers of the state would be suspicious of the authenticity of such a conversion. To be considered or to consider oneself a Jew, a Moor, or a Christian was clear. To be a converso was to navigate the ambiguous waters of the undecided. At the time, the borderland was not a comfortable position to be in. Today, the borderland is the place of a desired epistemological potential (see chapters 1, 5, 6, and 7) and the "discomfort" generated by Rigoberta Menchú.

While "purity of blood" rearticulated the three religions of the book and the field of force in the Mediterranean, later it was adapted to the Spanish colonies in the Americas too, and it was carried over the republican period. My interest here in underlining "purity of blood" is due to the fact that in the Iberian Peninsula in the sixteenth century the Atlantic was organized according to a different and opposed principle: the "rights of the people," which emerged from the Valladolid early debates between Gines de Sepúlveda and Bartolomé de las Casas on the humanity of the Amerindians and was followed by the long debates in the School of Salamanca on cosmopolitanism and international relations (Höffner 1957; Ramos et al., 1984). Contrary to "purity of blood," which was a punitive principle, "rights of the people" was the first legal attempt (theological in nature) to write down a canon of international law, that was reformulated in a secular discourse in the eighteenth-century as the "rights of men and of the citizen" (Ishay 1997, 73–173). One of the important differences between the two ("rights of the people" and "rights of men and of the citizen") is that the first is at the heart of the colonial, hidden side of modernity and looks for the articulation of a new frontier, which was similar neither to the Moors nor to the Jews. The second, instead, is the imaginary working within the system itself, looking at the "universality" of man as seen in an already consolidated Europe, made possible because of the riches from the colonial world flowing west to east, through the Atlantic.

The "Rights of the People" had another important consequence in build-
ing the imaginary of the modern world system, which would be revealed
after the declaration of the "rights of men and of the citizen." "Rights of
the People" was a discussion about Amerindians, and not African slaves.
Amerindians were considered vassals of the king and servants of God; as
such they, theoretically, could not be enslaved. They were supposed to be
educated and converted to Christianity. African slaves were not in the same
category: they were part of the Atlantic "commerce" (Manning 1990, 23–
37) rather than natives of a New World where complex social organizations
have been achieved, as in Anahuac and Tawantinsuyu. However, and per-
haps because of the difference in status, Amerindians failed in their revolu-
tionary attempt. The most well known revolt, that of Tupac Amaru, in the
eighteenth century was unsuccessful. The Haitian Revolution, which antici-
pated the movements of independence in Spanish America, was successful
but "silent" in the self-description of the modern world system (Trouillot
1995) for which only the independence of New Englanders from England
and the French Revolution counted.

The extension of the Spanish domain in the Americas, as can be seen in
figure 4 (Wolf 1982, 132) significantly changed during the nineteenth cen-
tury. Its shape was transformed first with the independence of Spanish
American countries and, second, with the displacement of the frontier be-
tween the United States and Mexico when Mexico lost its northern territo-
ries in 1848 and then Cuba and Puerto Rico in 1898. The modern/colonial
world system was profoundly altered at the end of the nineteenth century.
The United States (a former British colony) became a leading power, and
Japan detached itself from China and was admitted to the family of nations
abiding by the standards of civilizations. By the beginning of the twentieth
century (as shown in fig. 5; Huntington 1996), the imaginary of the "mod-
ern" world system reduced the "West" to practically just English-speaking
countries. On the other hand, a complementary perspective from the hidden
side of "coloniality" (fig. 6, Osterhammel 1997) underlines the colonized
areas of the world, instead of underlining the "West." These two maps (figs.
5 and 6), suggest once more that modernity and coloniality are looked at
separately, as two different phenomena. There could be no other reason why
Wallerstein conceived a "modern" and not a "modern/colonial" world sys-
tem, and why all his more recent analyses are done from within the history
of the "modern" (Wallerstein 1991a), which he locates in the French Revo-
lution.

At this point, a new and crucial turn in the imaginary of the modern/
colonial world system shall be mentioned. If the sixteenth and the seven-
teenth centuries were dominated by the Christian imaginary (whose mission
extended from the Catholics and Protestants in the Americas, to the Jesuits
in China), the end of the nineteenth century witnessed a radical change.
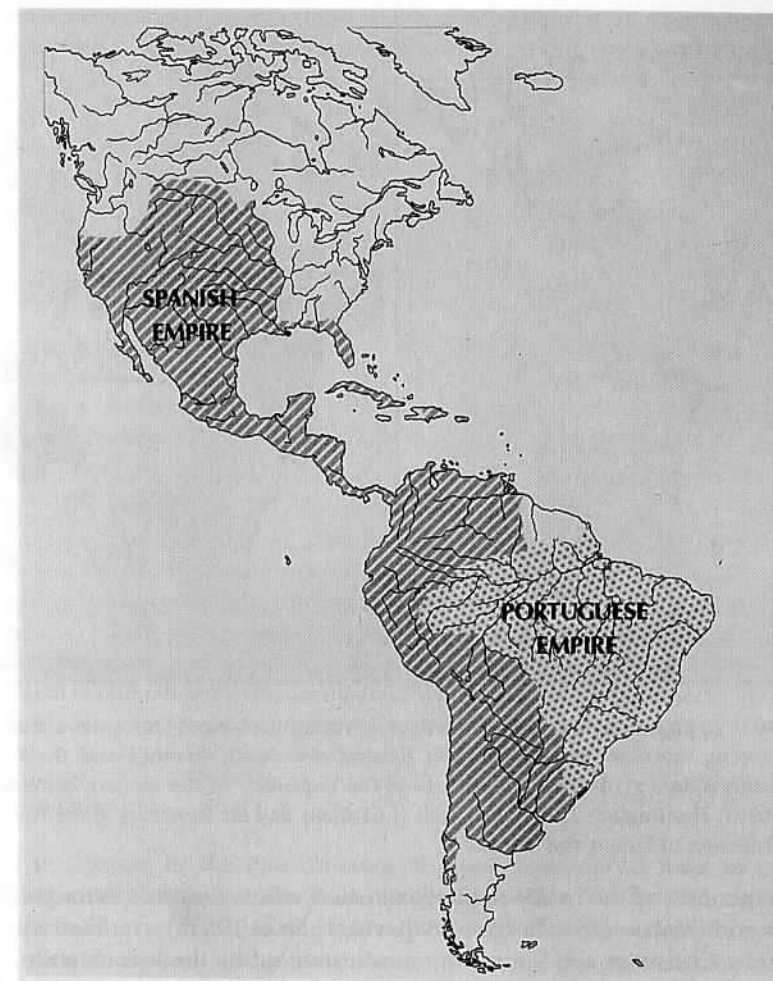
Figure 4. The Spanish Empire, until 1848, extended through almost all the Ameri-
cas. (From Eric R. Woolf. 1982. *Europe and the People without History.* Berkeley: The
University of California Press. Used by permission of The University of California
Press.)

"Purity of blood" was no longer measured in terms of religion but of the
color of people's skin, and began to be used to distinguish the Aryan "race"
from other "races" and, more and more, to justify the superiority of the
Anglo-Saxon "race" above all the rest (de Gobineau 1853–55; Arendt [1948]
1968, 173–80). I submit that the turning point took place in 1898 when the
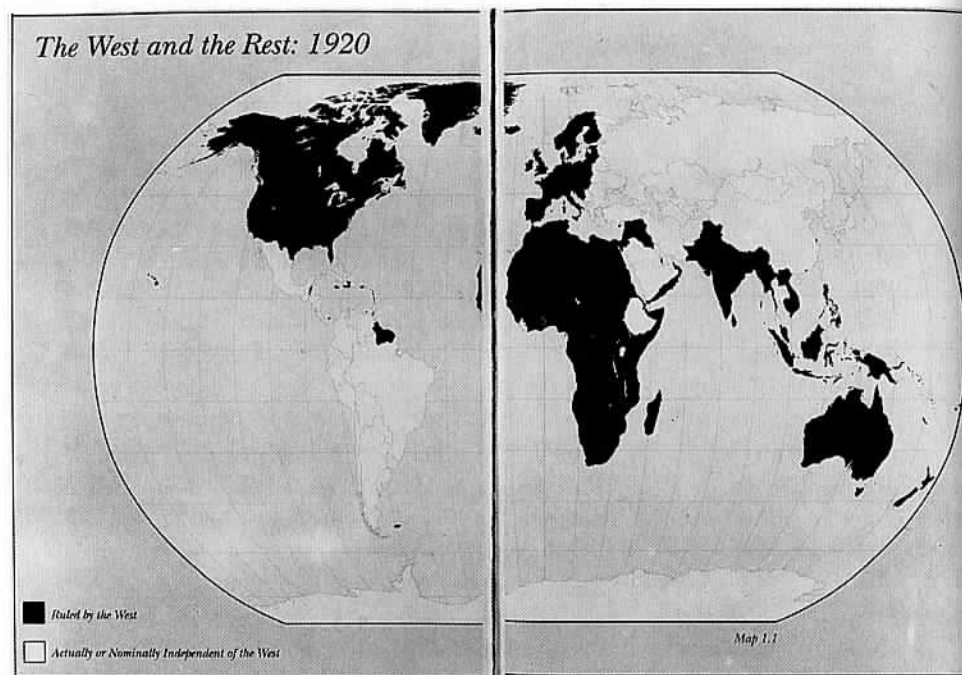U.S.-Spanish War was justified, from the U.S. perspective, with reference to

Figure 5. By 1920 hegemony has moved North and West as the United States was already on the way to becoming the new imperial country. Central and South America and the Caribbean (roughly "Latin America") became "marginal" in the imaginary of the modern/colonial world. (From Samuel P. Huntington. 1996. *The Clash of Civilians and the Remaking of the World Order.* Used by permission of Simon and Schuster.)

the superiority of the "white Anglo-Saxon race" whose destiny was to civilize the world (Mahan 1890; Burgess 1890, vol. 1; Fiske 1902b) over the "white Catholic Christians and Latins," a term introduced by the French political intelligentsia and used at that time to trace the frontiers in Europe as well as in the Americas between Anglo-Saxons and Latins. A significant turn of events took place whose consequences for today's racial and multicultural discourse in the United States cannot be overlooked. Not only did W.E.B. Du Bois write *The Souls of the Black Folk* ([1905] 1990) in the initial years of the twentieth century when racial discourse on white supremacy was justifying U.S. imperial expansion, but also the year 1898 became the anchor for the U.S. perspective on "Latinos" continuing until today. I have argued elsewhere (Mignolo, forthcoming) that 1898 provided the ideological and historical justification to recast 1848 and the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo between the United States and Mexico in an ideological discourse that was still not available at the time (Oboler 1997).
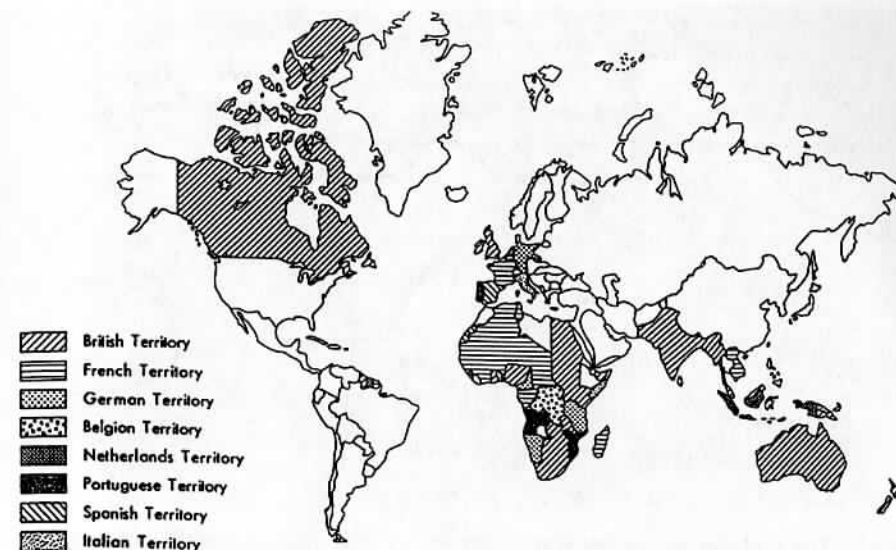

Figure 6. By the same years (beginning of the twentieth century), a look from the colonial perspective helps also in understanding the colonial difference. In contrast with figure 4, Spanish territory has been reduced to Spain itself. British and French territories reversed the sixteeth to mid-nineteenth century modern/colonial map: territorial possessions are now located in Africa and Asia, not in America. "British" territory in the Americas, as drawn on the map, is no longer British at the time but independent United States. (From Jürgen Osterhammel. 1997. *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview,* used by permission of Markus Wiener Publishers.)

The changes in the modern/colonial world imaginary I have in mind throughout this book are illustrated in figures 7, 8, and 9. The reader should make an effort to "see" beyond the maps the colonial differences, framed in the sixteenth century and reframed ever since until the current scenario of global coloniality.

VI

There are, finally, several differences I would like to underline between the terminology and assumptions of the modern world system model or metaphor and my own conception of the modern/colonial world system. In the first place, I conceive of the system in terms of internal and external borders rather than centers, semiperipheries, and peripheries. Internal and external borders are not discrete entities but rather moments of a continuun in colonial expansion and in changes of national imperial hegemonies. The emer-
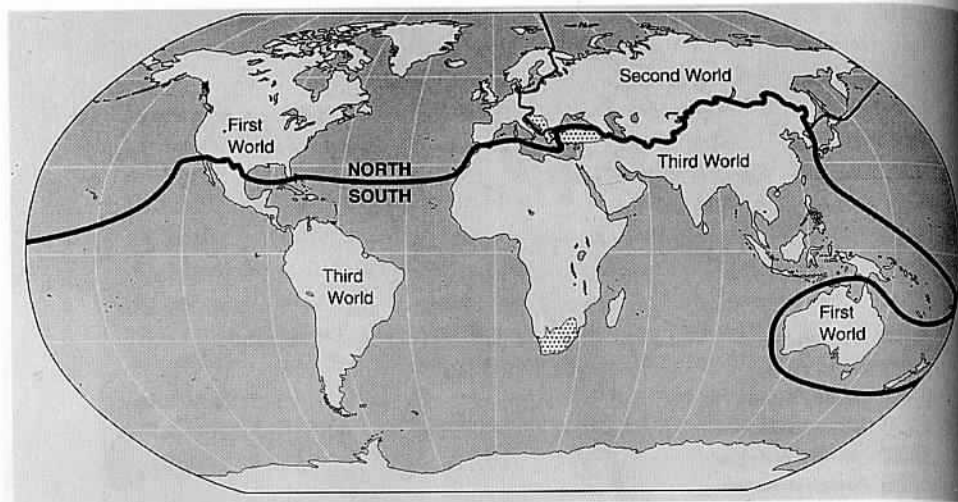
Figure 7. The cold war redrew the map of the early modern/colonial world and displaced the colonial difference from the dichotomy between Occident and Orient to North and South. The North-South geopolitical distinction is curious since Australia and Argentina are so far South as you can get, but the colonial difference has been located, this time, in First and Third Worlds. These developments explain again why "Latin America" began to fade away in the 1920s (see fig. 5). (From Martin W. Lewis and Karen E. Wigen. 1997. *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography.* Berkeley: The University of California Press. Used by permission of The University of California Press.)

gence of a new commercial circuit centered in the Atlantic and inclusive of both Spain and its domain in the Americas and the Philippines is one of the basic changes triggering a new imaginary. If Islam was situated in the exteriority of the commercial circuit, the Americas were located halfway between the otherness of the Amerindian and the African slaves, on the one hand, and the Spanish and Creole (born in America from Spanish descent) population, on the other. In the sixteenth century, Russia and Spain were two powerful Christian centers. Soon, they became its margin. Leopoldo Zea (1957) described how Russia and Spain became borders (his expression) of the West: "border countries where Western habits and customs are blurred and mingle with non-Western ones" ([1957] 1992, 103). For Zea, the increasing secularization of the hegemonic Western imaginary relegated Russia and Spain to the fringes of the West:

> Russia because of her Byzantine orthodoxy and Spain because of her Catholicism did not take the path pursued by the West, when she began to follow a new trend, renouncing her Christian past as an experience she had undergone but had no desire to repeat. During this phase Russia had to readjust to the new
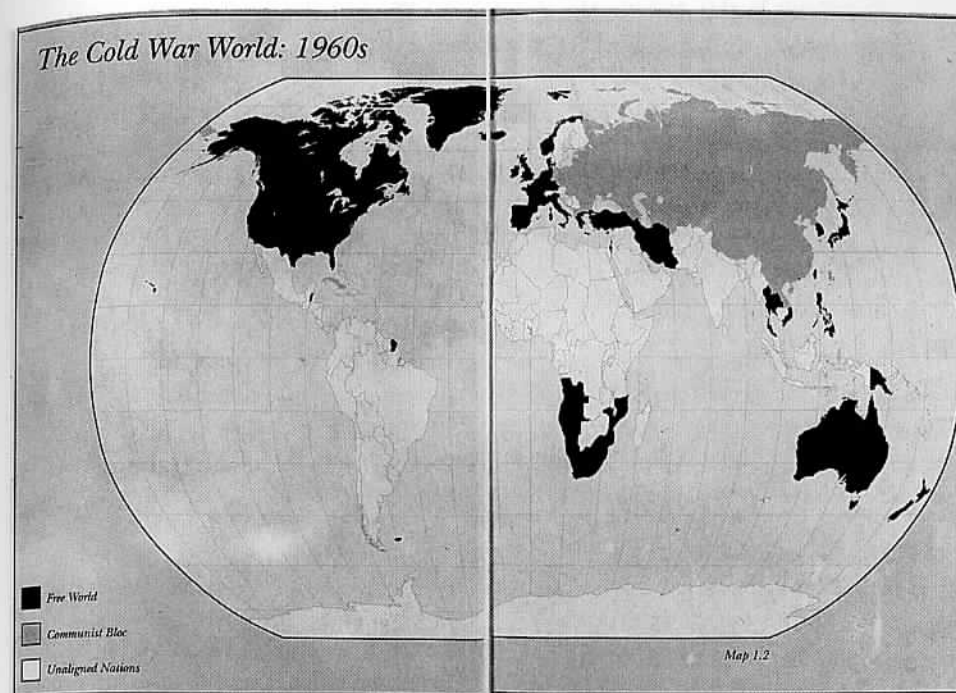
Figure 8. The cold war also witnessed massive decolonization that radically transformed the face of the world as depicted in figures 5 and 6. A new form of colonialism, nonterritorial, arose in the West (or "free world"), in wich power was no longer visible and measured in territorial possessions. A new form of colonialism arose in the East (or "Communist bloc"), leaving a zone of nations in between (or "unaligned nations"). (From Samuel P. Huntington. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order.* Used by permission of Simon and Schuster.)

> trend, become Westernized, and abandon that part of the past which no longer had any meaning for Western man. (Zea 1992, 104)

The Marxist-Leninist revolution in 1918 redrew the borders and the place of the Soviet Union in the modern world system and began a colonialism of its own. Although I do not pursue this line of thought in this book, it is important to mention it not only as an explanation of my understanding of "borders of the modern/colonial world system" but also because in 1959 Cuba entered into the reconfiguration initiated by the Russian Revolution and forced a redrawing of the geopolitical map of the Americas. It is also important to keep in mind that the Russian Revolution brought the emerging Soviet Union into a new relation with western Europe through the incorporation of Marxism, all the while maintaining its memory and its "difference" with the secular imaginary of the core countries of western Europe
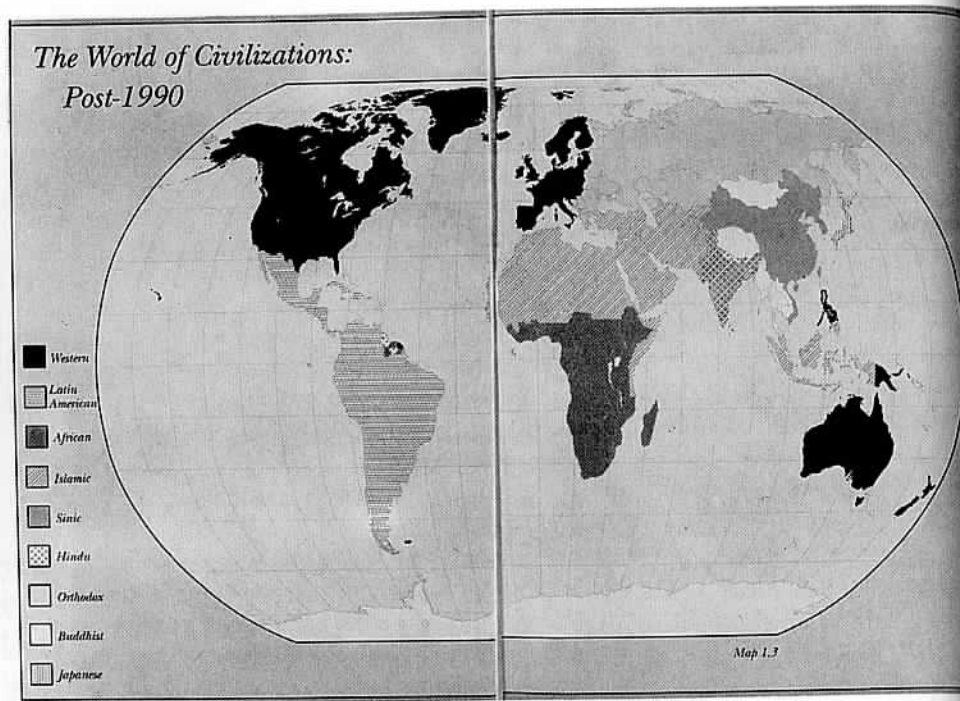
Figure 9. The end of the cold war made more visible what is still graphically invisible: the global colonialism enacted by the transnational corporations. The colonial difference is no longer located in the geographic arena. The colonial difference is displaced here to "civilizations," not to cardinal points in map. "Latin America" suddenly became a "civilization" whose configuration can hardly be understood without understanding the colonial difference as was played out in the complex spatial history of the modern/colonial world. (From Samuel P. Huntington. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order.* Used by permission of Simon and Schuster.)

(Wallerstein 1991a, 84–97). The "speed with which Russia was assimilated into European international society increased at the end of the seventeenth century" (Gong 1984, 101), but by the end of the nineteenth century, two positions (Westerners and Slavophiles) disputed Russia's relation to Europe. Westerners considered Russia European, whereas to Slavophiles it was both European and Eastern, "with native principles of life which had to be worked out without influence from Western Europe" (Gong 1984, 106). Similar considerations could and should be pursued in other borders, like the Ottoman Empire, Japan, China, and Islamic countries. Borders install in the imaginary of the modern/colonial world system an other logic, a logic that is not territorial, based on center, semiperipheries, and peripheries.

The decision to frame my argument in the modern/colonial world model rather than in the linear chronology ascending from the early modern, to

the modern, to the late modern (as I did in *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*) was prompted by the need to think beyond the linearity of history and beyond Western geohistorical mapping. The geohistorical density of the modern/colonial world system, its interior (conflicts between empires) and exterior (conflicts between cosmologies) borders, cannot be perceived and theorized from a perspective inside modernity itself (as is the case for world system analysis, deconstruction, and different postmodern perspectives). On the other hand, the current and available production under the name of "postcolonial" studies or theories or criticism starts from the eighteenth century, leaving aside the crucial and constitutive moment of modernity/coloniality that was the sixteenth century.

Starting from the premises of world system analysis, I move toward a perspective that, for pedagogical purposes, I specify as modern/colonial world system analysis. If we bring to the foreground subaltern studies also as a perspective, as Veena Das suggests (Das 1989), then modern/colonial world system analysis introduces the subaltern perspective articulated on the basis of memories and legacies of the colonial experience, that is, the colonial experiences in their historical diversity. At this point the concept "coloniality of power," introduced by Anibal Quijano (1992, 1997, 1998) is displaced, shifting from a "modern world" to a "modern/colonial world." Once coloniality of power is introduced into the analysis, the "colonial difference" becomes visible, and the epistemological fractures between the Eurocentric critique of Eurocentrism is distinguished from the critique of Eurocentrism, anchored in the colonial difference—being articulated as postcolonialism—and which I prefer (because of the singularity of each colonial history and experience) to conceive and argue as post-Occidentalism (see chapter 2). Thus, the geopolitic of knowledge becomes a powerful concept to avoid the Eurocentric critique of Eurocentrism and to legitimize border epistemologies emerging from the wounds of colonial histories, memories, and experiences. Modernity, let me repeat, carries on its shoulders the heavy weight and responsibility of coloniality. The modern criticism of modernity (postmodernity) is a necessary practice, but one that stops where the colonial differences begin. The colonial differences, around the planet, are the house where border epistemology dwells.

There is, finally, another clarification to be made. Within the discussion among theoreticians and historians adhering to modern world system, the "origins" of capitalism and the "origins" of the modern world system constitute a point in question. Giovanni Arrighi's discussion of the non-debate between Ferdinand Braudel and Immanuel Wallerstein (Arrighi 1998, 113–29) is about the origin of capitalism that Braudel locates in thirteenth-century Italy. When Wallerstein takes 1500 as a reference point, it is not clear whether he is referring to the origin of capitalism or to the origin of the modern world system, which implies, but goes beyond, capitalism.

My own emphasis is on the emergence of a new commercial circuit that had, in the foundation of it's imaginary, the formalization of "purity of blood" and the "rights of the people." These two principles were contradictory in their goals: the first was repressive, the second was expansive (in the sense that a new logic and new legal principles were necessary to incorporate unknown people to the imaginary). The principles of "purity of blood" and the "rights of the people" connected the Mediterranean with the Atlantic. A new imaginary configuration was coalescing, one that complemented the transformation of the geopolitical world order brought about by the "discovery" of America: the imaginary of the emerging modern/colonial world system.

VII

Finally, a note on local histories and global designs, which are so crucial to understanding border thinking, at the intersection of both, but from the perspective of local histories, and above all, to understanding the limits of world system analysis, the variety of postmodern perspectives, and deconstruction confronted with the colonial difference and the emergence of border thinking. I suggested before that world system analysis, postmodern theories, and deconstructive strategies (even if there are differences between them) are all valuable critical enterprises of and within the imaginary of the modern world, but that they are blind to the colonial difference. They are blind not to colonialism, of course, as an object of study, but to the epistemic colonial difference and the emergence of border thinking as a new epistemological (or gnoseological) dimension. Let me offer some preliminary highlights of an emerging conceptualization from the experience of the colonial difference.

Hélé Béji, a writer and philosopher who divides her life between Paris and Tunisia, and who wrote a disenchanted book about the failures of nation-building after decolonization (Béji 1982), in her latest book makes a strong distinction between civilization and culture. Civilization, like for Norbert Elias (Elias 1937), is for Béji linked to modernity, progress, technology. Culture, on the other hand, is conceived as the domain of tradition, the domain and spheres of life against which civilizing designs attempt to tame. Culture is also linked with passion, whereas civilization is portrayed in terms of reason:

Le triomphe des passions culturelles en dit long sur la désaffection des individus pour les promesses de la civilization . . . L'Occident est aujourd'hui confronté a cette nostalgie d'une identité qui se présente comme l'enjeu essential de notre humanité. De plus en plus, le mot *culture* recouvre une acception de l'humain où chaque identité, pour échapper à sa dissolution mondiale, se resserre dans

une tradition, une religion, une croyance, une origine, jusqu'à se réduire à une figure rudimentaire de la memorie que la civilization continue d'éffacer inéluctablement. (Béji 1997, 46)

The triumph of cultural passions is very revealing of the disappointments that people experience when confronted with the promises made in the name of civilization. The West is today confronted with the nostalgic revival of identity that presents itself as the true face of humanity. The word *culture* discloses, more and more, a sense of being human where each identity, to avoid being dissolved by globalization, closes itself on a given tradition, a given religion, a belief, an origin, to the point of reducing itself, as identity, to a rudimentary figure of memory that civilization continues to erase relentlessly. (1997, 46)

The notion of "culture mondiale" introduced by Béji (1997, 47) has to be translated as "worldly culture" and not as "global culture," which will be a translation complicit with Béji's notion of civilization, technology, progress, and homogeneity. "Worldly culture," which for Béji is a new form of civilization (and I would say a post-Occidental notion of civilization), distinguishes itself from the concept of civilization associated with modernity in that "worldly culture" does not imply a "universal reason." "Worldly culture" would be, in my own argument, the outcome of border thinking rearticulating, from the subaltern perspective of "cultural reason," the "universal reason of civilization." In a previous article I have attempted to express a similar idea under the concept of the "postcolonial reason" (1994, 1996a, 1997a) and, in chapter 2 of this book, as "post-Occidental reason," that I also explore under the heading of border thinking/gnoseology.

The tensions between culture and civilization staged by Béji, parallel my own concept of subaltern knowledge in the constitution of the modern/colonial world system. Her concept of "worldly culture" parallels my own of border thinking as, precisely, the multiplication of epistemic energies in diverse local histories (different spaces and moments in the history of capitalism; Arrighi 1994) and its unavoidable obscure companion, the history of colonialism (still to be written from the perspective I am displaying here). In the obscurity of the company, in the cracks between modernity and coloniality, dwells the colonial difference(s). Béji's "culture" parallels my own "local histories" and, therefore, "worldly culture" could be translated to my vocabulary as the rearticulation and appropiation of global designs by and from the perspective of local histories. Let me offer you another quotation from Béji where my own notion of border thinking from the subaltern perspective becomes the epistemic potential that remaps colonial difference(s) toward a future "culture mondiale" (worldly culture). Here the hegemony (face) of civilization and the subalternity of cultures would become the multiple diversity of local histories (without faces) but no longer subaltern to global designs.

La *culture mondiale*, qui est une nouvelle forme de civilisation, se distingue de celle-ci en ce qu'elle n'a plus de raison universelle. La civilisation avait un visage, tandis qu'elle n'en a pas. Elle est une entité anonyme où l'Orient et l'Occident, tout en s'affrontant, développent de mystérieux traits communs. Les retombées de la civilization son entrées dans le métamorphorses sans nom, sans lieu, sans époque, de la culture mondiale. (Béji, 1997, 47; see my chapter 7 for an exploration of this last idea)

"Worldly culture" is a new form of civilization that distinguishes itself from the former in that "worldly culture" does not claim a universal reason. Civilization was provided with a face, while "worldly culture" doesn't have one. "Worldly culture" is an anonymous entity where the East and the West in confrontation cultivate [*developpent*] intriguing common traits. The periodic rise and fall of civilization are entering now in a metamorphosis of a worldly culture without name, without place, without epoch.

In a similar line of thinking, Martinican writer and philosopher, Edouard Glissant ([1990] 1997, 1998), distinguished between "globalization" (Béji's civilization, my global designs) and "mondialization" (Béji's culture, my local histories). A similar distinction in terms of vocabulary has been advanced, independent from Béji and Glissant, by Brazilian sociologist Renato Ortiz. Let me offer an example of each that will help in understanding the double articulation and the subsequent the epistemic potential of border thinking (from a subaltern perspective) emerging from the cracks between civilization and culture, between globalization and "mondialization" (worldness), between global designs and local histories. Here is Glissant on "globalization" and "worldness":

Worldness is exactly what we all have in common today: the dimension I find myself inhabiting and the relation we may well lose ouselves in. The wretched other side of worldness is what is called globalization or the global market: reduction to the bare basics, the rush to the bottom, standardization, the imposition of multinational corporations with their ethos of bestial (or all too human) profit, circles whose circumference is everywhere and whose center is nowhere. (Glissant 1998, 2)

From the clash between the worldness and the global, Glissant extracts the positive fact of "plural, multiplying, fragment identities" that is no longer perceived as a lack or a problem but as a "huge opening and as a new opportunity of breaking open closed gates" (1998, 2). The opening up of new and diverse worldness identities emerging from the clash between current global designs (the market civilization) is for Glissant the becoming of a "world in Creolization," to which I return in chapter 5. Glissant has been criticized for using "Créolization," a local Caribbean concept, and giving it a planetary (not universal) scope. However, the concept has also been used by anthro-

pologist Ulf Hannerz (1987a) thinking precisely of globalization from the perspective of "peripheral cultures" (Hannerz 1991) and, furthermore, it has been the "normal" procedure in modern epistemology to delocalize concepts and to detach them from their local histories (e.g., "logocentrism," "archaeology," "capitalism," "cogito," etc.). By a different route, Glissant arrives at an image and description of the future similar to that of Hélé Béji, a perspective of a worldly culture as a new civilization without hegemony:

What will historical consciousness be then, if not the chaotic pulsing towards these meetings of all histories, none of which can claim (thanks to the inherent qualities of chaos) to have an absolute legitimacy?. . . I call creolization the meeting, interference, shock, harmonies and disharmonies between the cultures of the world, in the realized totality of the earth-world. . . . Creolization has the following characteristics: the lightning speed of interaction among its elements; the "awareness of awareness" thus provoked in us; the reevaluation of the various elements brought into contact (for creolization has no presupposed scale of values); unforeseeable results. Creolization is not a simple cross breeding that would produce easily anticipated results. (Glissant 1998, 4)

If Creolization is not a "cross breeding," it is because it is conceived not as hybrid but, once again, as a rearticulation of global designs from the perspective of local histories. The local history Glissant is talking about and from is the colonization of the Caribbean. He is thinking from the colonial difference. And from the colonial difference hybridity is the visible outcome that does not reveal the coloniality of power inscribed in the modern/colonial world imaginary.

I conclude this discussion with Renato Ortiz because while Ortiz's distinction between "globalization" and "worldness" is similar to Glissant's (and also close to Béji's distinction between culture and civilization), he does not foresee a future in Creolization—a future of a "wordly culture" without one face, but with many of them. I explore this difference in more detail in chapter 3. I would like to note here, however, the differences between decolonization in Tunisia in the late 1950s, the fact that Martinique is, still a French "protectorate" after the wave of decolonization after World War II, and that Brazil's complex decolonization and subsequent nation-building took place during the nineteenth century. Ortiz, contrary to Béji, is thinking almost a century after decolonization in Brazil. His own approach to globalization has been shaped by both a local history and a colonial language (Portuguese) distinct from Béji's.

But Ortiz has another aspect in common with my argument. His is a critic of the limits of the notion of world system, particularly when it comes to the notion of "culture." Ortiz ([1994] 1997, 23–98) is correct in pointing out that the notion on "geoculture" introduced later by Wallerstein (1991a) is restricted to the geoculture of the system. That is, it leaves in the dark

other cultural manifestations or dimension. Wallerstein himself will agree with Ortiz's appraisal that this is precisely the meaning Wallerstein attributes to geoculture: the geoculture of the modern world system and not as the culture of the world. But in any case, Ortiz's debate with Wallerstein from Brazil and in Portuguse (and translated into Spanish) is more a process of building his own argument than engaging in a dialogue with Wallerstein. What his argument amounts to is the need to distinguish between "globalizaçao" and "mondialiçaçao" (globalization and worldness).

From here Ortiz moves to differentiating, on the one hand, economic and technologic globalization from cultural worldness and, on the other, to distinguish between the restricted meaning of geoculture, in Wallerstein, and a world cultural diversity beyond and betwixt the geoculture of the modern world system. The establishing of these different levels allows Ortiz to disentangle, when thinking about capitalism in China and Japan, the level of globalization (economic, technologic) from the level of worldness. The Confucian intellectual legacy offered, for instance, a model for the adaptation of local culture to the global economy different from the training of workers in England after the industrial revolution. In this respect, the "traditional" European societies were less prepared for the advent of capitalism than the "traditional" societies in China or Japan. This comparison allows Ortiz to remap the concept of modernity and apply it to the multiplication of modernity as illustrated by the displacement of capitalism to East Asia. This move, in Ortiz's argument, is crucial since it represents the view of an intellectual in the "Third World" sensitized and attentive to the fractures of the geoculture of the modern/colonial world system when it enters in conflict with the diverse geocultures of the world. This is Ortiz's strength. His weakness is his blindness to the colonial difference. Ortiz's criticisms of Wallerstein's notion of geoculture have been argued from the very perspective of modernity itself, not of coloniality. Coloniality doesn't enter in his argument. Like in Wallerstein, modernity is the center and coloniality is relegated to the periphery of the history of capitalism. But coloniality is not a protagonist. Ortiz is more concerned with the transformation of life-style by what he calls "world modernity." "World modernity" (Ortiz [1994] 1997, 99–144), much like Béji "worldly culture," is not a European or North Atlantic modernity but is precisely worldly.

But contrary to the views of Béji and Glissant, Ortiz's worldly modernity is deprived of the memory of colonial differences and the forces, still at work today in the mass media, of the coloniality of power. Ortiz focuses his attention on examples such as airports or malls around the world and, from this vantage point, attempts to dismantle the easy opposition between global homogeneity and local heterogeneity (as well as other common oppositions). The argument—and sometimes the celebration of "world modernity"—is indeed against the defense of national values and cultures. The fact

that Ortiz overlooks the colonial difference leads him to draw his "world" examples mainly from the United States, Japan, and Europe. Argentina and Brazil may enter the picture, but as a point of comparison, not as the location of the coloniality of power. For that reason, Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean are largely absent from his examples and statistics. For the same reason, when capitalism is considered, Ortiz's main examples are China and Japan, but not Algeria, Indochina, India, or even the Caribbean. Finally, and with the purpose of locating the different arguments, I would like to add that Ortiz's concern with epistemology is located in his departure from world system analysis. His is a signal contribution on the limitations of the social sciences when transposed from their place of "origin" to the colonial world. But Ortiz does not reflect critically on this issue (see my chapters 4 and 6), as other sociologists do (Quijano 1998; Lander 1998a; 1998b). In Latin American intellectual and academic production, this is a significant difference between intellectuals caught in the net of European legacies (like Ortiz himself) and intellectuals like Quijano, Dussel, and Rivera Cusicanqui for whom coloniality is a starting point of their intellectual production.

From this perspective, let's go back to the question of modernity. If, as Quijano and Dussel claim, modernity is not a European phenomenon, then modern colonialism has different rhythms and engery according to its spatial and historical location within the modern/colonial world system. Global designs thought out and implemented from the local history of Europe, first, and then the North Atlantic in the twentieth century were influential in the making of colonial modernities in different localities and temporalities of the modern/colonial world system. This book is not a new history of the modern/colonial world system but a series of reflections on the question of knowledge in the colonial horizon of modernity. My main aim is to make an epistemological point rather than to tell the story anew.

VIII

The book's architectonic is the following: by starting with and departing from the modern world system metaphor and introducing parallel expressions such as modernity/coloniality, modern/colonial world system, coloniality at large I intend to stress that there is no modernity without coloniality, that the coloniality of power underlines nation building in both local histories of nations that devised and enacted global designs as well as in those local histories of nations that had to accommodate themselves to global designs devised with them in mind but without their direct participation. Thus, two pervasive and simultaneous topics that run through the book are subaltern knowledges and border thinking, in their complex and diverse intersections at different stages of the modern/colonial world

system. The Americas, for example, were part of the system from its very inception; the Islamic world, on the contrary, was cast out at the very inception of the system, while India came into the picture in the late eighteenth century; China and Japan, for their part, were never colonized in the way the Americas and India were, and their very existence and tardy entrance into the picture not only make the picture more complex, but also create new possibilities for thinking from and about the exterior borders of the system. President Clinton's 1998 visit to China was a preview of such possibilities.

Chapter 1 is devoted to developing in more detail the basic concepts and scenarios I have introduced thus far. The three chapters in Part Two revolve around the ratio between geopolitical configurations and knowledge production. Chapter 3 starts a dialogue with postcolonial theorizing, bringing "Occidentalism" and "post-Occidentalism" into the picture, post-Occidentalism serving as a local and overarching concept in the imaginary of the modern/colonial world system on which postcolonialism and post-Orientalism depend. Chapter 4 brings the overall discussion of chapter 2 to the Americas and their place in the modern/colonial world system, articulated by overlapping imperial conflicts and their relations with Amerindians and with African slavery and its legacy. It attempts to remap the Americas in the modern/colonial world system, rather than to reproduce it in the national imaginary, be it in Bolivar or the early version of the Monroe Doctrine. Chapter 4 brings the previous discussion to an epistemological terrain and explores, on the basis of subaltern studies, the tensions between local histories and global designs at the epistemological level. While in Part One the argument is underlined by the ratio between geopolitical configurations, knowledge, and the coloniality of power, Part Two focuses on language, knowledge, and literature (as a transdisciplinary site of knowledge production). In chapter 5 I focus on the crisis of national languages and literatures in a transnational world. Chapter 6 expands the same argument in the domain of epistemology and discusses the complicity between the hegemonic languages of the modern/colonial world system and the social sciences. Both chapters constantly bring to the foreground the dialectics between subaltern knowledges and border thinking. In chapter 7 I reconstruct the larger picture in which the issues discussed in chapters 5 and 6 take place. In it I discuss the role of "civilization" and "civilizing mission" in the modern/colonial world system. I consider border thinking at the intersection of the "barbarian" and the "civilized," as the subaltern perspective appropriates and rethinks the double articulation of "barbarian" and "civilized" knowledge.

All in all, this is an extended meditation that started from the recognition of any critique of modernity from inside modernity itself (e.g., postmodernity, deconstruction, world system analysis) and, above all, of its limits. That

is why I start and depart from world system analysis (as well as from postmodernity and deconstruction). The internal variability of "differe/a/nce" cannot transcend the colonial difference, where deconstruction has to be subsumed and transformed by decolonization. In other words, the transcending of the colonial difference can only be done from a perspective of subalternity, from decolonization, and, therefore, from a new epistemological terrain where border thinking works (see the end of chapter 1, where I explore this idea through the work of Khatibi and Derrida). Border thinking can only be such from a subaltern perspective, never from a territorial (e.g., from inside modernity) one. Border thinking from a territorial perspective becomes a machine of appropriation of the colonial differe/a/nces; the colonial difference as an object of study rather than as an epistemic potential. Border thinking from the perspective of subalternity is a machine for intellectual deconolonization.

IN SEARCH OF AN OTHER LOGIC

Border Thinking and the Colonial Difference

In March 1998, I participated in a workshop jointly organized by the University of Tunisia and the Mediterranean Studies Group, from Duke University. The subject of my talk, which is a recurrent theme of this book, was the mapping of the racial foundation of modernity/coloniality. Basically, I explored the reconversion and formalization of the "purity of blood" principle in sixteenth-century Spain (and, therefore, in the Mediterranean), which locked a long-lasting history of conflicts between the three religions of the Book and, parallel to it, the legal-theological debates, in the School of Salamanca, of the "rights of the people"—debates that turned around the vexing question of the location of Amerindians in the natural order of things and, therefore, in the Atlantic. The joint exploration of "purity of blood" with the "rights of the people" allowed me to put my finger on a crucial moment in the construction of the imaginary of the modern world system (e.g., the moment of emergence of a new commercial and financial circuit linking the Mediterranean with the Atlantic) and, at the same time, to look at it not only from the interiority of its formation and expansion but also from its exteriority and its margins. I was assuming, with Quijano and Wallerstein (1992) and Dussel ([1992] 1995; 1998a), that the particular moment I was looking at marked at the same time the emergence of a new world system and also of modernity/coloniality. In other words, the historical coexistence between the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors from Spain and the "discovery" of America was at the same time a landmark for both modern colonialism and colonial modernities—that is, of modernity/coloniality.

This historical logic was so obvious to me (as it would be to those working within world system theory or on the history of Spain and of Latin America) that I did not pay attention to the fact that most of my audience was from North Africa, and the history of Maghreb is significantly different from the history of Spain and (Latin) America. At the end of my talk I was asked a question, by Rashida Triki, art historian from the University of Tunisia, about precisely this coupling of modernity/coloniality. I did not understand the question very well and, obviously, I did not answer it, even if I did spend a few minutes talking around the question I did not fully understand. After the session was over, I approached Rashida and asked her to formulate the question and, finally, I understood! The misunderstanding was in our respective presuppositions: Rashida was thinking the history of colonialism,

from the perspective of French (and modern, post-Enlightenment European) history, while I was looking at the "same" scenario from the perspective of Spain and (Latin) American history—that is, from the perspective of a national history marginalized from post-Enlightenment Europe (Spain) and a colonial moment (Indias Occidentales, later on Latin America), which was also erased from the construction of the idea of colonialism and the modern world (post-Enlightenment). From my perspective it was "natural" that modernity and coloniality are two sides of the same coin. For Rashida, coloniality not only came "after" modernity, but it was not easy for her to understand that for me they are two sides of the same coin—that is, to understand that from the perspective of the Americas, coloniality is constitutive of modernity. The colonial difference is here at work, revealing at the same time the difference between French colonialism in Canada and the Caribbean before the French Revolution and Napoleon era, and French colonialism thereafter. The colonial difference, in other words, works in two directions: rearticulating the interior borders linked to imperial conflicts and rearticulating the exterior borders by giving new meanings to the colonial difference.

Several years before, I had a somewhat similar conversation with the Mexican-based Argentinean anthropologist, Nestor García-Canclini, about colonialism and modernity in Latin America. For García-Canclini, colonialism is linked to the colonial period, roughly from early sixteenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Since this time, what we have is the beginning of modernity, the nation-building process after several countries attained independence from Spain or autonomy from Portugal. In this linear fashion, colonialism structured the *past* of Latin America. Once again, from that perspective, the "colonial period" is perceived before "modernity," not as its hidden face. I found a different view articulated by Andean intellectuals (sociologist Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui in Bolivia; sociologist Aníbal Quijano in Peru) as well as in the Argentinean philosopher Enrique Dussel. Basically, for Rivera Cusicanqui, the history of Bolivia could be divided in three periods: the colonial period, roughly until mid-nineteenth century; the period of the republic, until 1952; and the period of modernization (which coincides with U.S. politics of progress and modernization in Latin America), until today. However, Rivera Cusicanqui (1992) does not conceive of these periods as successive, but as simultaneous: they all coexist today in diachronic contradictions, and what coexists is the colonial remora of Bolivian history, the different articulations of colonizing forces and colonized victims. Quijano (1992; 1997) talks, instead, of the coloniality of power. And Dussel ([1992] 1995) writes of a planetary and a European modernity whose inception coincides with, and is a consequence of, the "discovery" of America and the making of the Atlantic commercial and financial circuit.

COLONIALITY OF POWER: THE MODERN WORLD SYSTEM FROM THE COLONIAL PERSPECTIVE

As I explain in the introduction, I start and depart from the modern world system model or metaphor. As a starting point it simplifies my argument: the connection of the Mediterranean with the Atlantic through a new commercial circuit, in the sixteenth century, lays the foundation for both modernity and coloniality. The new commercial circuit also creates the condition for a new global imaginary built around the fact that the new "discovered" lands were baptized "Indias Occidentales." The Occident, the West, was no longer European Christendom (as distinguished from Eastern Christians in and around Jerusalem) but Spain (and by extension the rest of Europe) and the new colonial possessions. "Occidentalism" was the geopolitical figure that ties together the imaginary of the modern/colonial world system. As such, it was also the condition of emergence of Orientalism: there cannot be an Orient, as the other, without the Occident as the same. For this very reason, the Americas, contrary to Asia and Africa, are not Europe's difference but its extension. This motif did not change when French and German naturalists, historians, and philosophers in the eighteenth century replaced the early descriptions of America provided by missionaries, soldiers, and men of letters with their own impressions: from Buffon to Hegel, America was conceived as the daughter of Europe and its promised future. Asia and Africa were the past, America the future. This motif lasted until the second half of the nineteenth century when "America" (Anglo-America) had really "grown up" and began to take over the leadership of the world order. One can say that Spain was the beginning of modernity in Europe and the beginning of coloniality outside of Europe. This view remains the canonical view today: there are books about colonialism and about modernity, but they do not interact—their genealogies are different. The reason for such a division is either the belief (contested by Quijano and Dussel) that modernity is only a European business and coloniality something that happens outside of Europe (provided that Ireland is not considered Europe), or the conception that coloniality is from the national perspective of the colonizing country. Algeria, for example, will seldom be included as part of French national history, although a history of Algeria, as a nation, cannot avoid France.

In this chapter I explore theoretical responses to and departures from the modern world system. I make an effort to connect and draw a genealogy of thinking from local histories subsuming global designs. First, I look into Anibal Quijano's concept of "coloniality of power" and Enrique Dussel's "transmodernity" as responses to global designs from colonial histories and legacies in Latin America. The second part is devoted to Abdelkhebir Khatibi's "double critique" and "une pensée autre" (an other thinking) as a re-

sponse from colonial histories and legacies in Maghreb. I also examine
Edouard Glissant's notion of "Créolization," proposed to account for the
colonial experience of the Caribbean in the horizon of modernity and as a
new epistemological principle. These perspectives, from Spanish America,
Maghreb, and the Caribbean, contribute today to rethinking, critically, the
limits of the modern world system—the need to conceive it as a modern/
colonial world system and to tell stories not only from inside the "modern"
world but from its borders. These are not only counter or different stories;
they are forgotten stories that bring forward, at the same time, a new episte-
mological dimension: an epistemology of and from the border of the mod-
ern/colonial world system.

I close the chapter by discussing two indirect criticisms of the type of
argument I am proposing. One, indirectly related, is by a sociologist of Marx-
ist persuasion and Arabic/Muslim descent, Aziz Al-Azmeh, whose attach-
ment to disciplinary principles would make it difficult for him to understand
or accept positions and proposals as those advanced by Quijano, Dussel,
Khatibi, and Glissant. Al-Azmeh doesn't engage personally any of the think-
ers I have discussed. I am interested, however, in Al-Azmeh's rejection of the
possibility of cross-cultural understanding that reestablishes the monotopic
principle of modern epistemology and, therefore, casts a doubt about trans-
disciplinary perspectives of those introduced by Glissant or Dussel. The sec-
ond is Jacques Derrida's critique of Khatibi's concept of bilingualism and,
consequently, of double critique. In closing the chapter, I open it up to a
new dimension of thinking from the border of the modern/colonial world
system by bringing into the discussion Du Bois's "double consciousness"
and Gloria Anzaldúa's "new mestiza consciousness" grounded in the experi-
ence of the borderlands.

The "hidden" aspect of the "modern" world system was recently brought
to light by the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano and by the Argentinian
philosopher of liberation, Enrique Dussel. Quijano came up with the
concept of coloniality, while Enrique Dussel originated the different
but complementary idea of transmodernity. What both concepts share,
however, is a sense that the modern world system or modernity, for that
matter, is being thought out and through from the "other end," that is,
from "colonial modernities." Quijano insists on the fact that, in Latin
America, the "colonial period" should not be confused with "coloniality,"
and that the nation building that followed it during the nineteenth
century in most Latin American countries (with the exception of Cuba
and Puerto Rico) cannot be understood without thinking through coloni-
ality of power. And this is so, precisely, because modernity and coloni-
ality are the two sides of the modern world system, although in Wallerstein's
version this double side was not clearly articulated. It was only
recently, when Quijano and Wallerstein cosigned an article ("Americanity

as a Concept, or the Americas in the Modern World-System," 1992), that
coloniality made its appearance and brought to light the articulation of mo-
dernity/coloniality and the relevance of the Americas, and the sixteenth cen-
tury in it.

> The modern world-system was born in the long sixteenth century. The Americas
> as a geosocial construct were born in the long sixteenth century. The creation
> of this geosocial entity, the Americas, was the constitutive act of the modern
> world system. The Americas were not incorporated into an already existing capi-
> talist world-economy. There could not have been a capitalist world-economy
> without the Americas. (Quijano and Wallerstein, 1992, 549)

This emendation applies to two of the three basic items that Wallerstein
originally singled out as constitutive of a capitalist world economy: an
expansion of the geographical size of the world, the development of varie-
gated methods of labor control for different products and different zones,
and the creation of the relatively strong state machinery in the core states
of the world economy (Wallerstein 1974, 38). The variegated methods of
labor control were tied to the first racial mapping of the modern world sys-
tem. The well-known debate of Valladolid—between Bartolomé de las Casas
and Juan de Sepúlveda and, later on, the legal-theological scholarship in the
School of Salamanca devoted to finding the place of the Amerindians in
the chain of being and in the social order of an emerging colonial state—
culminated in the enunciation of the "rights of the people" (a forerunner of
the "rights of man and of the citizen") as vassals of the king and servants of
God. Labor was needed for two reasons: first, to facilitate the massive death
of Amerindians and, second, for the partial implementation of the crown
legislation, helped by the church vigilance over the liberties taken by the
conquistadores with Amerindians under their tutelage.

In what sense is coloniality of power helpful in understanding the current
reconfiguration of the world economy and world imaginary in the
history of Spanish control over the Indias Occidentales and the emergence
of Latin America as a group of countries whose common denominators are
the Spanish and Portuguese colonial legacies? In his 1997 article, Quijano
presents the following argument. "Coloniality of power" and "historico-
structural dependency" are two interrelated key words tracing the particular,
local history of Latin America, not so much as an existing entity where
events "happened" and "happen," but as a series of particular events whose
location in the coloniality of power and in the historicostructural depen-
dency has made Latin America, what Latin America has been and is today,
from the colonial period in Peru to Fujimori as the paradigmatic articulation
of neoliberalism. Coloniality of power underlines the geo-economic organi-
zation of the planet which articulates the modern/colonial world system and
manages the colonial difference. That distinction allows Quijano to link

capitalism, through coloniality, to labor and race (and not only class) as well as to knowledge:

> La colonialidad del poder y la dependencia histórico-estructural, implican ambas la hegemonía del eurocentrismo como perspectiva de conocimiento. . . . En el contexto de la colonialidad del poder, las poblaciones dominadas de todas las nuevas identidades fueron tambien sometidas a la hegemonía del eurocentrismo como manera de conocer, sobre todo en la medida que algunos de sus sectores pudieron aprender la letra de los dominadores. (Quijano 1997, 117)

Coloniality of power and historico-structural dependency: both imply the hegemony of eurocentrism as epistemological perspective. . . . In the context of coloniality of power, the dominated population, in their new, assigned identities, were also subjected to the Eurocentric hegemony as a way of knowing ([Quijano explains how "Indian" and "Black" were homogenizing identities established by the coloniality of power, erasing the diversity of "Indian" and "black" identities]).

A note on "dependency theory" and its mark in the imaginary of the modern/colonial world system is here necessary for two reasons. One, is the fact that dependency theory was one of the responses, from Latin America, to a changing world order that in Asia and in Africa took the form of "decolonization." In the Americas, independence from colonial powers (Spain and England) was obtained long before in what can be labeled the first wave of decolonization (U.S. and Haitian revolutions; Spanish American independence). Dependency theory "preceded"—on the one hand—by a few years Wallerstein's "modern world system" metaphor as an account from the perspective of modernity. It was "followed"—on the other hand and in Latin America—by a series of reflexions (in philosophy and the social sciences) as an account from the perspective of coloniality. Both Quijano and Dussel are indebted to the impact of dependency theory in its critique to "development" as the new format taken by global designs once the "civilizing mission" was winding down with the increasing process of decolonization. Although dependency theory has been under attack from several fronts (Cardoso 1977), it is important not to lose sight of the fact that from the perspective of Latin America, it clearly and forcefully put in the agenda the problems involved in "developing" Third World countries. The impact of dependency theory in Latin American philosophy was remarkable too. Peruvian philosopher A. Salazar Bondy saw in dependency theory an epistemological provocation and a model to put an end to a long "imitative" tradition and dependency of Latin America over European philosophy (Salazar Bondy 1969). It was a crucial moment of self-discovery, of understanding philosophy in Latin America and the Third World as part of a global system of domination. In this regard, dependency theory was for philosophy, in Latin

America, what Father Placide Tempels's *Bantu Philosophy* (1945) was for the self-discovery of African philosophy (Mudimbe 1988; Eze 1997, 10–14; Serequeberhan 1994).

In the preceding pages, I hope to have suggested that the modern world system looks different from its exteriority as Quijano, following Juan Carlos Mariátegui, tries to show.[1] At the same time, underlining particular local histories that have been constructed around the density of "Indias Occidentales" and "Latin America" (constructions that could be explained through coloniality of power and as historicostructural dependency), I hope to have suggested and it will be clear as my argument proceeds, that Occidentalism was a planetary rearticulation during the sixteenth century, which continued as the overarching imaginary of the modern/colonial world system and of modernity/coloniality. "Indias Occidentales" and "Latin America" became crucial pieces in that redistribution and, indeed, made Orientalism possible. However, and paradoxically enough, the emergence of Orientalism (in Said's analysis; see Said 1978) coincided with the second stage of modernity as an interimperial transformation of capitalism and the modern/colonial world system with England and France expanding toward Asia and Africa. This is also the moment in which "modernity" and "modernization" began to make a difference in an emerging Latin America composed by several nations gaining independence from Spain and Portugal. A few years after the United States of North America gained independence from England, the French Revolution took place and the Haitian Revolution followed suit. However, at this moment of transition in the modern world system, U.S. independence and the French Revolution became the standards of modernity and modernization, and set the economic, political, and epistemological standards. Thus, it was clear that "Latin America" was not the Orient but the "extreme Occident," and its own intellectuals, like Domingo Faustino Sarmiento of Argentina, appointed themselves as the leaders of a civilizing mission in their own country, thus opening up the gates for a long history of intellectual internal colonialism, which began to break apart in 1898 when the system reaches a turning point. The United States entered the planetary scene as the new imperial power, and, in Latin America, a tradition of "peripheric intellectuals" contesting imperialism and the civilizing mission made its appearance (José Martí in Cuba, at the end of the nineteenth century; Juan Carlos Mariátegui in Peru, in the 1920s—see chapter 3). The emergence of "civilizing mission" displacing the "Christian mission" of early colonalism summarizes this switch in the modern world sys-

[1] The reader not familiar with Juan Carlos Mariátegui and the work of Aníbal Quijano since the late 1960s, should think in terms of something equivalent to the South Asian Subaltern Studies Group, although its focus was not the subaltern but colonialism and ethnicity in Mariátegui, from a Marxist perspective, Nietzsche and Sorel (for more details, see chapter 3).

tem and establishes the first articulation of internal borders, the borders between two empires in decay (Spain and Portugal), the raising of the British Empire and French colonialism, and the consolidation of Germany as a third powerful nation in western Europe. The standards of knowledge and its exportation were established mainly in these three countries and in these three languages (see chapter 7).

Whereas Quijano began his intellectual production in the late 1960s in sociology, Enrique Dussel began writing during the same years but in philosophy. Coming from their respective disciplines and trajectories and working independently of each other, they arrived after 1990 at similar conclusions and perspectives, as is often the case in Latin America where genealogies are regularly broken by a new wave of ideas and intellectual production from the center of the world system (in German, French, and English). In 1992, Quijano published "Colonialidad y modernidad-racionalidad" (Quijano 1992) and Dussel came out with "Eurocentrism and Modernity" (Dussel [1993] 1995). In his article, Dussel insists that what is today Latin America was the first periphery of modern Europe and that the concept of modernity that was framed after the Enlightenment occluded the role of Europe's own Iberian periphery, and particularly Spain, in its formation (Dussel [1993] 1995, 67). This occlusion was such that even Wallerstein, who clearly states that the modern world system began to be articulated in 1500 developing new economic areas (mines and plantations), is blind to the Spanish contribution to the epistemological imaginary of the modern world system:

> Geo-cultures come into existence at one moment and, at a later moment, may cease to hold sway. In the case of the modern world-system, it seems to me that its geo-culture emerged with the French Revolution and then began to lose its widespread acceptance with the world revolution of 1968. The capitalist world-economy has been operating since the long sixteenth century. *It functioned for three centuries, however, without any firmly established geo-culture. That is to say, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, no one set of values and basic rules prevailed within the capitalism world-economy, actively endorsed by the majority of the cadres and passively accepted by the majority of the ordinary people. The French Revolution, lato senso, changed that.* It established two new principles: (1) the normality of political change, and (2) the sovereignty of the people. . . . The key point to note about these two principles is that they were, in and of themselves, quite revolutionary in their implications for the world-system. . . . It is in this sense that I have argued elsewhere that the French Revolution represented the first of the antisystemic revolutions of the capitalist world-economy, in a small part a success, in larger part a failure. (Wallerstein 1995, 1163; emphasis added)

Wallerstein is here also blind to the colonial difference and prisoner of the very self-imaginary constructed by the intellectuals of the second stage of

modernization, once France, Germany, and England displaced Spain and Portugal from the economic and intellectual arena. He is missing the point of the constitutive character of the Americas for the imaginary of the modern/colonial world, as Quijano will make clear in an article coauthored with Wallerstein (Quijano and Wallerstein 1992). Said, with all his contributions to the politics of cultures of scholarship, fell into the same trap at the very inception of his definition and contextualization of Orientalism:

> Americans will not feel quite the same about the Orient [!], which for *them* is much more likely to be associated very differently with the Far East (China and Japan, mainly). Unlike the Americans, the French and the British—less so the Germans, Russians, Spanish, Portuguese, Italians, and Swiss—have had a long tradition of what I shall be calling *Orientalism*, a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience. *The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other.* (Said 1978, 1; emphasis added)

I have no intention of ignoring the tremendous impact and the scholarly transformation Said's book has made possible. Nor do I intend to join Aijaz Ahmad (1992) and engage in a devastating critique of Said because the book doesn't do exactly what I want it to. However, I have no intention of reproducing the enormous silence that Said's book enforces: without Occidentalism there is no Orientalism, and Europe's "greatest and richest and oldest colonies" are not the "Oriental" but the "Occidental": the Indias Occidentales and then the Americas. "Orientalism" is the hegemonic cultural imaginary of the modern world system in the second modernity when the image of the "heart of Europe" (England, France, Germany) replaces the "Christian Europe" of the fifteenth to mid-seventeenth century (Italy, Spain, Portugal). It was from the "Indias Occidentales" that the great flow of riches, in gold and silver, reached Spain and the rest of Europe. One example suffices to sustain the argument: between 1531 and 1660 a minimum of 155,000 kilograms of gold and 16,985,000 of silver entered Spain legally; the illegal amount, of course, cannot be calculated (Céspedes del Castillo 1985, 133). These amounts transformed the economic relations between Spain and the rest of Europe and also the commerce with the "extreme" Orient. Céspedes del Castillo observes:

> De este modo América hizo posible el rápido crecimiento del comercio mundial y determinó su volúmen. Los grandes beneficiarios de ese tráfico fueron los intermediarios europeos: mercaderes, banqueros, la construcción naval y otras industrias. Además, una parte de los metales preciosos permaneció en Europa, bien atesorada para usos no económicos (haciendo posible el esplendor del arte barroco en escultura, orfebrería y vestido), bien acuñada, aumentando así la

circulación monetaria, lo que influyó considerablemente en el desarrollo eco-
nómico Europeo. (Céspedes del Castillo 1985, 133)

For this reason, America made the rapid growth of world trade possible, and
determined its volume. The great beneficiaries of such intense trading were the
European intermediaries: merchants, bankers, naval constructions, and other
industries. Furthermore, a great deal of gold and silver remained in Europe and
was directed toward noncommercial uses (which made the splendor of sculp-
ture and baroque art possible), although it was contributed to increase the circu-
lation of money, which, as it turns out, was influential in the subsequent Euro-
pean economic development.

The situation began to change around 1630. Europe went through a pe-
riod of depression between 1620 and 1680, and at the beginning of this
period devastating religious wars ravaged the area. Castilian colonial mo-
nopoly began to crumble and with it the power and prestige of Seville as a
commercial center of the new Atlantic commercial circuit. During the seven-
teenth century, Holland emerged as a new hegemonic power (Arrighi 1994)/
Amsterdam, in the seventeenth century at the periphery of the new commer-
cial circuit and under the control of Spain, replaced Seville as the world trade
center (Wallerstein 1980, 36–73). Whereas until this period the Atlantic was
the main focus of attention, as was piracy, on the part of the British, the
French, and the Dutch, in the seventeenth century Europeans under Dutch
leadership began to establish themselves in the East Indies. The interest of
the period for my argument, which I expand in chapter 7, is that colonial
mercantile economy was somewhat detached from the hegemonic Christian
ideology still dominant in its Puritan and Catholic conflicts. It was, in other
words, a colonial mercantile economy that would be linked to secularization
and the civilizing mission 150 years later.

It is true, as Said states, that the Orient became one of the recurring images
of Europe's Other after the eighteenth century. The Occident, however, was
never Europe's Other but the difference within sameness: Indias Occiden-
tales (as you can see in the very name) and later America (in Buffon, Hegel,
etc.), was the extreme West, not its alterity. America, contrary to Asia and
Africa, was included as part of Europe's extension and not as its difference.
That is why, once more, without Occidentalism there is no Orientalism.
Occidentalism was a transatlantic construction precisely in the sense that
the Americas became conceptualized as the expansion of Europe, the land
occupied by the descendants of Japheth whose name has inscribed his own
destiny: "breath," "enlargement," and, as such, they will rule over Shem
(located in Asia) and Ham ("hot not in wisdom but in willfulness," located
in Africa) (Hay 1957, 12). During the sixteenth century, when "America"
became conceptualized as such not by the Spanish crown but by intellectuals
of the North (Italy and France, Mignolo 1982; 1995a, chap. 6), it was im-

plicit that America was neither the land of Shem (the Orient) nor the land
of Ham (Africa), but the enlargement of the land of Japheth. There was no
other reason than the geopolitical distribution of the planet implemented
by the Christian T/O map to perceive the planet as divided into four conti-
nents; and there was no other place in the Christian T/O map for "America"
than its inclusion in the domain of Japheth, that is, in the West (Occident).
Occidentalism, in other words, is the overarching geopolitical imaginary of
the modern/colonial world system, to which Orientalism was appended in
its first radical transformation, when the center of the system moved from
the Iberian Peninsula to the North Sea, between Holland and Britain.

Quijano and Dussel, as well as Brazilian "anthropologian" Darcy Ribeiro
(1968; [1969] 1978), have been at pains to find a location "beyond euro-
centrism" (Dussel 1998a) or "beyond occidentalism" as Coronil (1996) has
recently restated the issue. One of the main concerns of these scholars is
knowledge: Occidentalism—as I said—as the overarching imaginary of the
modern world system was, at the same time, a powerful machine for subal-
ternizing knowledge (from the early missionaries of the Renaissance to the
philosophers of the Enlightenment), and the setting up of a planetary episte-
mological standard. Quijano addresses this issue explicitly in his article "Co-
lonialidad y modernidad-racionalidad" (Quijano 1992) and Dussel does so
in his "Eurocentrism and Modernity" ([1993] 1995) as well as in his book
The Underside of Modernity (1996a). The basic argument in Dussel reads as
follows:

> Kant's answer to the question posed by the title of his essay "What Is Enlighten-
> ment?" is now more than two centuries old: "Enlightenment is the exodus of
> humanity by its own effort from the state of guilty immaturity. . . . Laziness
> and cowardice are the reasons why the greater part of the humanity remains
> pleasurably in state of immaturity. . . . Today we would ask him: an African in
> Africa or as a slave in the United State in the eighteenth century; and an Indian
> in Mexico or a Latin American *mestizo*, should all of these subjects be consid-
> ered to reside in a state of guilty immaturity? (Dussel [1993] 1995, 68)

Of course the answer will be no in most cases, although the fact remains
that today Kant's dictum has all its force in its spirit, and not necessarily in
Kant's precise words. There is no question that Quijano, Dussel, and I are
reacting not only to the force of a historical imaginary but also to the actual-
ity of this imaginary today. Quijano has a similar perspective on the subal-
ternization of knowledge when he writes: "At the same time that the colonial
domination was asserting itself, a cultural complex under the name of ratio-
nality was being put in place and established as the universal paradigm of
knowledge and of hierarchical relations between the 'rational humanity'
(Europe) and the rest of the world" (1992, 440). As a sociologist, Quijano
assigns himself the task of analyzing the epistemological crises that he lo-

cates in the epistemological principle splitting the knowing subject from the
known object. He concerns himself with this paradigm where the accent is
placed on the individual character of the knowing subject, thus suppressing
the intersubjective dimension in the production of knowledge. Quijano es-
tablishes a link between the epistemological relation between a subject and
an object, and the economical relation between a subject and its private
property. But what is really relevant in Quijano's analysis of the subalterniza-
tion of knowledge is not so much the complicity with modern economic
ideology (either private property in Renaissance mercantilism or in Enlight-
enment capitalism), but the fact that once a correlation between subject and
object was postulated, it became unthinkable to accept the idea that a knowing
subject was possible beyond the subject of knowledge postulated by the very
concept of rationality put in place by modern epistemology (Quijano 1992,
442). That is the reason Orientalism was possible, as well as area studies
after World War II (see chapters 2 and 7).

THE LOCAL HISTORIES OF GLOBAL DESIGNS

This epistemological configuration, regularly located in Descartes, was a
turning point in relation to the epistemology of the Renaissance, signifi-
cantly alien to the subject-object distinction. As a matter of fact, the domi-
nant tendency in the Renaissance was expressed in the *Studia Humanitatis*
and its concerns with education, the nature of Man and ethics. Thus, gram-
mar, rhetoric, poetry, and history (as rhetorical and ethical enterprise) were
the dominant disciplines (Cassirer, Kristeller, and Randall 1948; Kristeller
1965). In general, Aristotle was not a major figure because of his emphasis
on logic and science (as with the Italian Aristotelian Pietro Pomponazzi
[1462–1525], the Renaissance concept of science was far from the idea that
was to be introduced at a later date by Galileo and, philosophically, by Des-
cartes). It was, so to speak, a humanistic conceptualization of science and
philosophy, based in logic rather than in observation and experimentation.
Furthermore, the perception of the Arab world at this time was not a percep-
tion that we can call "Orientalism" and not even the perception of the
"Other," but rather the perception of an enemy whose knowledge had the
same foundation: Greek thought. In a letter of November 17, 1370, Petrarch
pronounces to his physician and friend, Giovanni de Dondi, a strong judg-
ment against the Arabs:

> Before I close this letter, I implore you to keep these Arabs from giving me
> advice about my personal condition. Let them stay in exile. . . . I know that
> the Greeks were once most ingenious and eloquent men. Many very excellent
> philosophers and poets; outstanding orators and mathematicians have come

> from Greece. That part of the world has brought forth princes of medicine. You
> know what kind of physicians the Arabs are. I know what kinds of poets they
> are. . . . The minds of men are inclined to act differently; but, as you used to
> say, every man radiates his own peculiar mental disposition. To sum up: I will
> not be persuaded that any good can come from Arabia. (Cassirer et al. 1948,
> 142)

In the fourteenth century the Arabs were not the subaltern "Other" they
would become, relocated from the sixteenth century on with the victory of
Christianity over Islam and the conflation of Arabs with Islam. Padua was
a peripheral place in a world order whose commercial circuits (Abu-Lughod
1989, 34; see fig. 2 on page 27) extended from Genoa to Peking with Bagh-
dad, Alexandria, and Cairo as more "central" locations. It was only the tri-
umph of Christian Spain at the inception of a new circuit, the Atlantic cir-
cuit, that will place the "Arabs" in a subaltern position, making them the
Other and contributing to the configuration of the object of study in the
eighteenth century that prompts what Said named Orientalism.

Orientalism, in other words, was a particular rearticulation of the modern/
colonial world system imaginary in its second phase, when Occidentalism,
structured and implemented in the imaginary of Spanish and Portuguese
empires, began to fade away. But to say it was fading away does not mean
that it vanished. Occidentalism lost the imaginary hegemonic power. How-
ever, in Petrarch's dictum, the value ascribed to Arab knowledge, from a
Christian perspective, became a yardstick to judge and subalternize forms
of knowledge that cannot be justified within the Greco-Roman and Christian
epistemological configuration. The so-called discovery of the New World
was a foundational moment in this respect: while the *Studia Humanitatis*
was producing and establishing the rule of knowledge, chiefly in theology,
ethics, and education in an emerging Christian western Europe, the emer-
gence of a "new world" forced a rearticulation of the principle of knowledge
in the realm of ethics and in the "scientific" (e.g., Aristotelian) aspect of the
Renaissance.

In the domains of ethics, I underline one of Dussel's basic observa-
tions:

> The first Hispanic, Renaissance, and humanist modernity produced a theoretical
> and philosophical reflection of the highest importance, which has gone unno-
> ticed by so-called modern philosophy (which is only the philosophy of the sec-
> ond modernity). The theoretical-philosophical thought of the sixteenth century
> has contemporary relevance because it is the first, and only, that lived and ex-
> pressed the originary experience during the period of the constitution of the
> first world-system. Thus, out of the theoretical "recourses" that were available
> . . . , the central philosophical ethical question that obtained was the following:

what right has the European to occupy, dominate and manage the recently discovered cultures, conquered by the military, and in the process of being colonized? (Dussel 1998a, 15)

Dussel is referring here to the discussions in the School of Salamanca on the "rights of the people," a legal-theological debate forgotten, in the eighteenth century, when the declaration on the "rights of men and of the citizen" came into existence. The enormous difference between the two ethical moments in the imaginary of the modern world system is that in the declaration of the "rights of men and of the citizen" the colonial question has vanished; consequently, the concept of man and of the citizen universalized a regional issue and erased the colonial question. It was precisely at that intersection, and due to the erasure of the colonial conflict, that the Haitian Revolution, which was enacted as an implementation of the rights of man and of the citizen, was unthinkable, as Trouillot eloquently argued (Trouillot 1995). And it was unthinkable, I would submit—and suggest that Quijano and Dussel have been making a similar point from a different perspective—because the eighteenth century redefined the imaginary of the modern/colonial world system in a way that was consistent with the new imperial power (Holland, Britain, France). It was self-conceived as a new beginning that erased—for the future generation—the crucial importance of the Renaissance and the Reformation. D'Alembert made this point very clear at the beginning of his "Élements de philosophie" (1759):

> If one examines carefully the mid-point of the century in which we live, the events which excite us or at any rate occupy our minds, our customs, our achievements, and even our diversions, it is difficult not to see that in some respects a very remarkable change in our ideas is taking place, a change whose rapidity seems to promise an even greater transformation to come. . . . Our century is called . . . the century of philosophy par excellence. . . . *The fruit or sequel of this general effervescence of minds has been to cast new light on some matters and new shadows on others, just as the effect of the ebb and flow of the tides is to leave something on the shore and to wash others away.* (Quoted in Cassirer 1951, 4; emphasis added)

The turning point was, for D'Alembert, the *"mid-point of the century in which we live"* and he was right. The entire theologicolegal debate on colonization and the "rights of the people" has vanished from sight and, today, postcolonial thinking has promoted an imaginary that "begins" also in the eighteenth century. This is one of the reasons why it is not obvious for Said that "Occidentalism" is the condition of possibility of "Orientalism" and "Orientalism" accepted as an emerging field without preconditions. In the same vein, we could explain that the South Asian Subaltern Studies Group attempted to bring Marx into the rewriting of colonial history at the same

time—and for very understandable historical reasons—to locate the limits of colonialism in the British colonization of India, toward the end of the eighteenth century. This is why, once again, Kant's reflections on the Enlightenment is so important to the group leader, Ranajit Guha (Guha 1996). My first intention here in piggybacking my own analysis on world system theory is precisely to bring back to the shore memories that have been washed away and that are so "fundamental" in today's global imaginary. My second intention is to take advantage of the modern/colonial world system to locate the emergence of "border thinking" from the colonial difference as a revolution equivalent to the one described by D'Alambert but happening in several locations at the same time, responding to an amazing diversity of local histories and inverting the post-Enlightenment tendency to refer all kinds of knowledge to "the century of philosophy par excellence" convincingly described by D'Alembert.

My observations on Quijano and Dussel could be complemented by a significant amount of work being done in African philosophy during the past three decades, mainly by a new generation of philosophers who assigned to themselves the task of reading major figures of Western thought (Kant, Hegel, Marx, Heidegger, Foucault) from the point of view of coloniality. Eze (1997b) and Serequeberhan (1997), for example, provide a revealing reading of what is "behind" Kant's "What Is Enlightenment" as well as his theory of pure and practical reason and the sublime. Eze shows a double movement in Kant's theoretical reflections: on the one hand, the spatial organization of people by the color of their skin and their planetary location in the four continents that Kant developed in his lectures on *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* (delivered between 1756 and 1797); and, on the other, Newton's theories of the natural world applied to the history and morality. The end result is a search for the transcendental as the ultimate grounding of reason, knowledge, and philosophy. Kant was able to classify and describe four races: white (Europeans), yellow (Asians), black (Africans), and red (American Indians). In the American Indians, the Negroes, and the Hindus (in which he included Persians, Chinese, and Turks), he also found the potential for reason, passion, and sensibility that he found in the white Europeans. (It is notorious, incidentally, that when Kant talks about the Americans he talks about North America, as South America undeniably slides out of the picture.) Serequeberhan, for his part, discovers the same prejudice in Kant's "What Is Enlightenment" and in "Idea of a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View," both pieces published in 1784. The task African philosophers assign to African philosophy is complemented by the new task Continental philosophers assign to Continental philosophy in dialogue with Africans (i.e., Bernasconi 1997), showing the limits of Derrida's deconstruction from the perspective of African philosophy.

While this geopolitical distribution of intellectual tasks and disciplinary projects may look suspect, it is unavoidable precisely because of the constitution of the imaginary of the modern/colonial world system. "Philosophy" has to be appropriated as a word and as an activity from Africa or Latin America (Salazar Bondy 1966; 1969) in order to interrogate Europe and European philosophy as the local history in which such global designs were conceived and imposed by force or by seduction. But there is still another level in which African philosophy must reorganize its task beyond rereading the key figures of Western philosophers in their blindness to the colonial difference and to the coloniality of power. This task is to mediate between philosophical practices within colonial modern histories (e.g., the practice of philosophy in Africa, Latin America, North America, as we will see in chapter 2) and "traditional" forms of thoughts—that is, forms of thought coexisting with the institutional definition of philosophy but not considered as such from the institutional perspective that defines philosophy. "Tradition" here doesn't mean something "before" modernity but rather the persistence of memory. In that regard, there is no difference between African and European "traditions." Both Africa and Europe have them, and both have "modernities" and "colonialities," although in different configurations. While the first concern could be conceived as intellectual decolonization, the second concern leads to "border thinking," as has been clearly argued by Wiredu (1997, 303–12), Eze (1997c), and Makang (1997).

In the next section I explore both decolonization as a form of deconstruction and border thinking in the works of Moroccan philosopher, essayist, and novelist Abdelkebir Khatibi, and Martinican writer and thinker Edouard Glissant.

THE LOCAL HISTORIES OF BORDER THINKING

I turn now to the emergence and epistemological potential of "border thinking," whose planetary and local historical conditions have been outlined in the first section and linked to the colonial difference as articulated in its variance along the spacial history of the modern/colonial world. By planetary and local historical conditions I mean a double movement: on the one hand, the expansion of the modern world system since the end of the fifteenth century; on the other, the parallel construction of its imaginary both from inside and from outside of the system. By local historical conditions I refer also to both the local histories "within" the modern world system (e.g., the local histories of the "metropolitan centers," the local histories of Europe and the United States, the local histories of Spain and England) and the local histories of its margins (e.g., the Andes under colonial rule, the independence of Latin American countries from Spain and nation building under a

new global order, the local history of India under British rule or of Algeria and Tunisia under French colonialism). I am not, therefore, setting a stage in which local histories are those of the colonized countries, or the Third World, and global designs are located in the colonizer countries of the First World. Global designs, in other words, are brewed, so to speak, in the local histories of the metropolitan countries; they are implemented, exported, and enacted differently in particular places (e.g., in France and Martinique, for instance, in the nineteenth century).

This description corresponds to the canonical moment of the modern world system. After the 1970s and more so after the 1990s, however, it becomes more difficult to locate global designs in particular "countries" since transnational corporations are, precisely, undermining the power of the state (even of the state of developed countries) to produce and "export" global designs. To the extent that global designs are no longer situated in one territory (e.g., those of British colonialism), local histories are correspondingly affected. In this regard, countries that had colonial possessions until the 1960s (like Britain and France) are becoming subject to the transformation of their own local histories in relation to their previous location in the coloniality of power. This scenario also applies to the United States today. The U.S. position in the world order is radically different from the position that, for instance, Spain occupied in the sixteenth or England in the nineteenth century, due mainly to the power of transnational corporations and its consequences: the expansion of capitalist economy to those regions of the planet that have been identified, from the local histories where capitalism emerged, as "Oriental" and, therefore, not likely to become capitalist. That was, precisely, the entire point made through the "Orientalist" imaginary. Capitalism was linked to the "Occidental" imagination, not to the "Oriental" one. But, of course, it was linked to a certain dimension of Occidentalism: an Occidentalism located in northern and western Europe (France, England, Germany) and the United States, but not to southwestern Europe (Italy, Spain, Portugal) and their legacy in Latin America.

I needed the preceding geopolitical map to point out the external and internal borders of the modern world system in order to locate, in both, the emergence of border thinking. Now I can consider some of the central ideas advanced by Abdelhebir Khatibi (Khatibi 1983, [1983] 1990), a Moroccan philosopher, along with those of Carribean writer and essayist, Edouard Glissant (Glissant [1981] 1989; [1990] 1997). The main reasons to select Khatibi in relation to my previous argument are several. First, Khatibi's arguments bring to the foreground the early history of the modern world system and the conflict between the Christians and the Moors in the sixteenth century in the ideology of the Renaissance, which Khatibi refers to as "Occidentalism." Second, he rearticulates this conflict with the second, post-Enlightenment moment of the modern world system: the French colonization of

Maghreb. Third, Khatibi has a critical perspective on "Orientalism" independent of Said's : his article "L'orientalisme désorienté" was originally published in 1974. Fourth, Khatibi's essay on "La decolonization de la sociologie," written in 1981, advances important perspectives on the decolonization of knowledge that have been brought out to a larger audience, more recently (although not necessarily with the same critical force) by the report of the Gulbenkian Foundation, *Open the Social Sciences* (Wallerstein et al., 1996). I will expand on these issues one at a time. Finally, although Khatibi is piggybacking on Derrida's deconstruction and on Foucault's archaeology, because he does not have the same concern with opposing one to the other, he is also clearly detaching himself from both of them. Khatibi procedes in the same manner with Nietzsche and Heidegger, embracing their proposal to a certain point: the point where an internal critique of modernity is blind to the critical perspectives from the Arabic language, knowledge, and memory and the Islamic world. It is precisely here that border thinking emerges in full and plain force. Edouard Glissant, for his part, will provide a multilayered, comparative perspective: the Afro-Caribbean experience of French colonialism, with the repressed memory of Spanish early colonization; and the memory of African slavery contrasted with the Arabic-Islamic density of Maghreb.

An Other Thinking

The general ideal of decolonization of knowledge, in Khatibi, is grounded in two of his crucial concepts: "double critique" and "une pensée autre" ("an other thinking"). In the course of exploring these concepts I will be defining my own conceptualization of border thinking (border gnosis, or border epistemology). By so doing, I am not attempting to find the only and correct concept that captures the "thing," the (master) empty signifier that will house the entire diversity of particulars. To do so would go against my own conception of border thinking, changing the content, but not the terms, of the conversation (as I learned from Rolph-Trouillot's "Global Flows, Open Cultures," a paper presented at Stanford University in May 1998). I would be falling into a modern, universal view of knowledge and epistemology, where concepts are not related to local histories but to global designs, and global designs are always controlled by *certain* kinds of local histories. My conception of border thinking emerges not from a universal conceptual genealogy that can be traced to Plato (or Aristotle, for that matter), or linked to some enlightened philosopher in the eighteenth century and back to some influential thinker of the present (who more certainly will be linked to a national genealogy and write in French, German, or English), but from the local histories of Spanish legacies in America. More specifically, my concep-

tualization emerges from the imperial conflict between Spain and the United States, in the nineteenth century, which has generated the physical borderland between Mexico and the United States, but also the metaphorical borders as enacted in the histories of Cuba/United States, Puerto Rico/United States that basically define the configuration of Latino/as or Hispanics in this country. However, Spain is also the missing link between Khatibi's double critique, an other thinking and my own border gnosis. The early expulsion of the Moors out of the Iberian Peninsula, where they lived for several centuries, and across the Mediterranean (Harvey 1990) was in keeping with the need to find a place for the Amerindians in the planetary, and Christian order of being, and with the exportation of African slaves to take up the jobs that Amerindians—as vassals of the king—were not legally allowed to do.

In Khatibi's local history, the West (l'*Occident*) is defined in opposition to "notre patrimoine" (l'*Islam*). However, he is quick to get out of the dichotomy necessary to set the stage for an other thinking ("une pensée autre") since, and curiously enough, an other thinking is a way of thinking without the Other. Since the conflict between Europe and the Arab world goes back many centuries, Khatibi argues, this conflict becomes a machine of mutual misunderstanding (1983, 15)—thus, the necessity of a double critique to both Occidental and Islamic fundamentalism. A double critique becomes at this intersection a border thinking, since to be critical of both, of Western and Islamic fundamentalism, implies to think from both traditions and, at the same time, from neither of them. This border thinking and double critique are the necessary conditions for "an other thinking," a thinking that is no longer conceivable in Hegel's dialectics, but located at the border of coloniality of power in the modern world system. Why? Because Hegel's dialectics presuppose a linear conception of historical development, whereas "an other thinking" is based on the spatial confrontations between different concepts of history. Or, shall I say, "an other thinking" is possible when different local histories and their particular power relations are taken into consideration. In this case, Arabic philosopher Ibn Khaldun becomes canonical in his difference from German philosophers. Linear progress and progression are not within the scope of a double critique, and a dialectical synthesis is no longer recommended once "an other thinking" becomes available. The epistemological potential of border thinking, of "an other thinking," has the possibility of overcoming the limitation of territorial thinking (e.g., the monotopic epistemology of modernity), whose victory was possible because of its power in the subalternization of knowledge located outside the parameters of modern conceptions of reason and rationality. A double critique releases knowledges that have been subalternized, and the release of those knowledges makes possible "an other thinking." In the case of Khatibi, we are at the intersection of French and Arabic, at the inter-

section of Western and Arabic knowledge, but not in a happy synthesis that will lead us to a natural reproduction of Western epistemology.

The second opposition Khatibi attempts to undo (after the opposition between the Christian West and the Islamic East), and I would say the very foundation of his need for a double critique, is the postcolonial situation in the Maghreb. "What did we do," asks Khatibi, reflecting on Maghrebian intellectuals' attitude in the process of decolonization, "other than reproduce a rather simplistic version of Marx's thought, on the one hand, and the ideological theology of Arabic nationalism, on the other?" (1983, 16). A way out of these dichotomies presupposes a double critique and the search for "an other thinking" that will go beyond certain limitations of Marxist thinking, which maintains a geopolitics of knowledge according to the knowing subject in the First World (the Occident) and the known subject in the dogmatism and Arabic nationalism: "An other thinking is formulated as a response to the large questions and issues that are shaking the world today, to the questions emerging from the places where the planetarization of science, of technique and of strategies are being disclosed" (13). What emerges from this formulation is that "an other thinking" is no longer located in either of the two alternatives into which Orientalism, and later area studies, organized the distribution of scholarly labor from the eighteenth century to the cold war. "An other thinking" implies a redistribution of the geopolitics of knowledge as organized by both Occidentalism (as the overarching imaginary and self-definition of the modern world system) and Orientalism (one particular instance in which the difference from the same was located), along with area studies and the triumph of the social sciences in the geopolitics of knowledge. It also entails an effort to escape the domain of Western metaphysics and its equivalent, the theological realm of Islamic thought. "An other thinking" locates itself in all of these, and in none, in their borderland (as Gloria Anzaldúa frames it).

The potential of "an other thinking" is epistemological and also ethical: *epistemological* because it is constructed on a critique of the limitations of two metaphysical traditions—the Christian/secular Western and the Islamic. Two historical moments are relevant here: one, the sixteenth century and the rearticulation of the conflict between Christianity and Islam, through the "purity of blood" principle (see the introduction); two, the eighteenth century and the secularization of philosophy and knowledge, the formation of capitalism, and the rise of French colonialism. Thus, a consequent description of "an other thinking" is the following: a way of thinking that is not inspired in its own limitations and is not intended to dominate and to humiliate; a way of thinking that is universally marginal, fragmentary, and unachieved; and, as such, a way of thinking that, because universally marginal and fragmentary, is not ethnocidal (Khatibi 1983, 19). Thus, the *ethical* potential of an other thinking. Dussel, independently of Khatibi, has charac-

terized modern, instrumental reason by its genocidal bent. He tries to reveal this in his concept of the "myth of modernity": "Modernity includes a rational "concept" of emancipation that we affirm and subsume. But, at the same time, it develops an irrational myth, a justification for genocidal violence. The postmodernists criticize modern reason as a reason of terror; we criticize modern reason because of the irrational myth it conceals" (Dussel [1993] 1995, 67). Interestingly, Khatibi and Dussel not only coincide in their critique of modernity without knowing each other, but both define their enterprise in relation to modernity and to European philosophers (Nietzsche, Heidegger, Foucault, Derrida for Khatibi; Apple, Marx, Habermas, Levinas for Dussel). The consequences of coloniality of power and subalternization of knowledge can be perceived at work from the colonial difference nourishing Khatibi's and Dussel's ethical and epistemic reflections. And this is the situation that "an other thinking" addresses at the same time that it opens a new perspective for a geopolitical order of knowledge production.

Khatibi's double critique of two kinds of "metaphysics" (Western and Islamic) has a geohistorical locus of enunciation called "Maghreb." But what does he mean by this claim to a location and a true being ("tel qu'il est") of the Maghreb? The Maghreb, far from being constructed as an ontological site, similar to the idea of the nation, is, on the contrary, thought out as the location of what I will elaborate as an epistemic irreducible difference. I want to indicate a geohistorical location that is constructed as a crossing instead of as a grounding (e.g., the nation). Located between Orient, Occident, and Africa, the Maghreb is a crossing of the global in itself. On the other hand, in order to think of the Maghreb as the difference that cannot be told, and not as an "area" to be studied, we need a kind of thinking beyond the social sciences and positivistic philosophy, a kind of thinking that moves along the diversity of the historical process itself. Such a way of thinking should first be attentive, "listening to Maghreb in its plurality (linguistic, cultural, political)"; and, second, it should be attentive to "Maghreb exteriority." This is an exteriority that shall be decentered from its dominant determinations in such a way that would make it possible to think beyond the ontologization of an area to be studied and move to a reflection of the historicity of differences. In this sense, a double critique is the criticism of the imperial discourses (the exteriority from which the Maghreb was constituted as an area) as well as of national discourses asserting identity and differences articulated in and by imperial discourses (Khatibi 1983, 39).

At this point, double critique is a crucial strategy to build macronarratives from the perspective of coloniality. As such, these macronarratives are not predestined to tell the truth that colonial discourses did not tell. That step is already implied in double critique. Macronarratives from the perspective of coloniality are precisely the places in which "an other thinking" could be implemented, not in order to tell the truth over lies, but to think otherwise,

to move toward "an other logic"—in sum, to change the terms, not just the content of the conversation. Such narratives make it possible to think coloniality, and not only modernity, at large. The epistemological implications of these possibilities are enormous. I explore some of them here, specifically those that allow Khatibi to position himself in relation to the social sciences (e.g., his claim for the decolonization of sociology) and those that allow him to distance himself from his own allies (e.g., internal criticism of Western metaphysics, as represented by Nietzsche, Heidegger, Derrida, or Foucault).

With respect to sociology, Khatibi underlines the fact that sociohistorical decolonization (with all its difficulties) did not produce a critical way of thinking. It did not result in, as Khatibi puts it, a decolonization that would have been, at the same time, a deconstruction. By playing decolonization together with deconstruction, and underlining that his is a perspective from the Third World (1983, 47), Khatibi is indeed making a move of boundless significance. On the one hand, he distinguishes a critique of modernity from the perspective of modernity itself; on the other, he enacts a critique of modernity from the perspective of coloniality. Thus, he marks his alliance with Foucault or Derrida at the same time as his detachment. With sociology, however, Khatibi's position is one-sided: "We have still a lot to think about the structural solidarity linking imperialism, in all its dimensions (political, cultural, military), to the expansion of what is called 'social sciences'" (1983, 48). The implications for double critique are these: (1) a decolonizing deconstruction (e.g., from a Third World perspective) of Western logo- and ethnocentrism that has been exported all over the planet, and that will complement a postmodern deconstruction à la Derrida or in the form of Foucault's archaeology or Nietzsche's genealogy; and (2) a criticism, from the same perspective (e.g., a decolonizing deconstruction from the Third World) of the knowledges and discourses produced by the different societies of the Arab world. A decolonizing deconstruction could be better understood, perhaps, from Khatibi's positioning in relation to Nietzsche's criticism of Christianity. At the same time that Khatibi finds in Nietzsche an ally for his criticism of Christianity (from inside Nietzsche's own history, I would add), Khatibi realizes he has to depart from him. While he places Nietzsche in the enormous fight that the German thinker developed against Christianity, he also locates himself as a Arab/Islamic thinker against Christianity, a position that cannot be subsumed under the presumable universal location of Nietzsche's criticism: "Mais nous sommes *aussi* musulmans par tradition; ce qui fait changer la position stratégique de notre critique" (1983, 21: We are *also* Muslims by tradition; a fact that changes the strategic position of our critique).

Knowledge becomes, in Khatibi's argument, entrenched in language, and, therefore, translation acquires a signal importance both for double critique

and for "an other thinking." Khatibi's departure from Derrida and Foucault takes place, precisely, when language and translation are brought into the realm of knowledge and epistemology, into the realm of coloniality and the double critique and away from the linguistic translation within the same overarching metaphysics that ignores what is at stake in translating knowledge (in this case, from Greek to Arabic, from Arabic to Spanish, or from French to Arabic). Translation allows Khatibi to explore his idea of an other thinking as "thinking in languages." Khatibi explores the discontinuity of knowledge in Arabic language since Ibn Khaldum (fifteenth century) (Khatibi 1983, 63–111) and from there moves to the intersection, in the realm of knowledge, in the French language in which the canon and the tradition (from Greece to Rome to France) silenced knowledge production in Arabic. Here, Khatibi introduces a powerful metaphor to describe this situation: parallel to "underdeveloped societies" there are "silenced societies." Silenced societies are, of course, societies in which talking and writing take place but which are not heard in the planetary production of knowledge managed from the local histories and local languages of the "silencing" (e.g., developed) societies. In the case of the Maghreb, a language like Arabic, with a longer history than French, with a greater number of speakers (French speakers represent 2.1 percent of the population of the world while Arabic speakers constitute 3.5 percent), and with a legacy of knowledge linking Arabic to Greek philosophy, became epistemologically marginal in the coloniality of power. Until the eighteenth century, Latin and Spanish eclipsed it; since the eighteenth century, French took a leading position and, recently, English is overcoming French. "Silenced societies" even when they speak, says Khatibi, are not listened to in their difference ("Même quand elles parlent, elles ne sont pas entendues dans leur différence" [1983, 59]). The sentence may resonate in a later formulation ("Can the subaltern speak?") of great currency. If Khatibi was not listened to, it may be due to the very fact that he was denouncing in French at the same moment in which English was taking the place that French occupied in relation to Arabic. Or perhaps it was also due to the fact that knowledge in the French language that has been heard has in recent history been knowledge recognized as global (or universal). So knowledge from local histories where intellectual projects are produced at the intersection of silenced and silencing languages, as in Khatibi and Glissant, did not receive the same attention. This situation is not trivial. It opens up a space for the multiplication of interconnected projects at the intersection of local histories and global designs, both at the "center" and the "periphery." This means that the dichotomy is no longer sustainable since "an other thinking," as Khatibi proposes it, could be enacted both in the Maghreb as well as in France, as Khatibi himself and other Maghrebien intellectuals bear witness.

Epistemic Decolonization and the Colonial Difference

Since on two occasions I have been asked why I don't mention nomadism (à la Deleuze and Guattari) when speaking about this subject, and, as I understood it, the question presupposed that I was not paying attention to the universal or, at least, more "cogent" conceptual solution to the problem, I pause to address this issue. In addition, this issue is important in understanding the differences between deconstruction and intellectual decolonization as articulated by Khatibi. Winifred Woodhull (1993) describes different kinds of exile in Britain and France, particularly since the 1970s, that is to say, since the years of decolonization of French and British colonies and also since the emergence of the transnational corporation. He links migrants with nomads, whereas Deleuze and Guattari make a clear distinction between the two. Let's initially accept the more simple conception of nomad and say that expatriates, immigrants, and refugees are nomads with different "local histories," some from situations of violence internal to the world systems, others, generated in the places once exterior to it and now becoming a conflictive part of it (e.g., the problem of citizenship for a Maghrebian in France, for Mexicans in the United States, or for South Asians in Britain). And let's take advantage of Woodhull's distinction and exemplification of different kinds of exiles in France in the past thirty or so years:

> It is essential to draw distinctions within and between groups of expatriate intellectuals who have come to France at different times and in various circumstances: Those from other Western European countries, or from the United States and Canada, who have come mainly for reasons of intellectual or cultural affinity (such as Nancy Huston), and those for whom oppression in their native land is a central factor (as for James Baldwin); those who have come from Eastern European countries as political and intellectual dissidents (Julia Kristeva, Tzvetan Todorov), and those who have come from third world countries, particularly former colonies (Abdelkebir Khatibi, Nabile Fares), to take up residence in France permanently or intermittently for political, cultural, or intellectual reasons. *Exile means something different in each case, and figures in the work of these individuals and groups in very different ways.* (Woodhull 1993, 89; emphasis added)

In this book I am mainly concerned with border thinking produced by the last kind of intellectuals, either living in the former colonizing or the former colonized countries and moving between the two, as is the case for Khatibi. But I am also concerned with those who did not move, but around whom the world moved. Amerindian intellectuals in Latin America or Native Americans in the United States are in a border position not because they moved but because the world moved to them. On the other hand,

the Chicano/a intellectuals are in between both possibilities: in the nineteenth century, the United States frontier moved south and circled a large Mexican population within U.S. territory. In the twentieth century, particularly in the past thirty years, massive migration from Mexico is generating, within the United States, a type of intellectual who thinks in the border, although his or her situation is different from that of a migrant intellectual such as Khatibi. This is another type of situation (somewhere in between that of the Amerindians and Native Americans and that of Khatibi), since the Chicano/a are such in part because of migration but also in part because the world moved around them (the southern frontier in the nineteenth century) or because they descend from immigrants but they are not immigrants themselves (e.g., Gloria Anzaldúa, Cherrie Moraga).

Let's move now to the more complex definition of nomadism and nomadology in Deleuze and Guattari ([1987] 1996, 351–423), which is related to science and to thinking beyond science. I understood that the question I was asked a couple of times could be summarized as follows: "What is the difference, after all, between border thinking or border gnosis and nomadology? And if there is no difference, as I suspect, why not just go ahead and talk about (or 'apply') nomadology to the issue you are dealing with?" I felt myself in the same situation as Khatibi when he articulated his relation to Nietzsche, who criticized Christianity while inhabiting it. For Khatibi, instead, criticism of Christianity was performed from a subaltern (and exterior) Muslim perspective in the conflictive imaginary of the modern/colonial world system. There is no universal location from which to talk about Christianity: it is one thing to deconstruct Western metaphysics while inhabiting it, and it is quite another to work on decolonization as a form of deconstruction (see also Outlaw 1997), from the historical exteriority of Western metaphysics; that is, from those places that Western metaphysics transformed into "silenced societies" or "silenced knowledges" (e.g., subaltern knowledges; Bernasconi 1997, 186–87). It is one thing to criticize the complicity between knowledge and the state while inhabiting a particular nation-state (in this case France), and another to criticize the complicity between knowledge and the state from the historical exteriority of a universal idea of the state forged on the experience of a local history: the modern, European, experience of the state. The same argument could be made—as we can see—if we replace Christianity with language. Thus, nomadology is a universal statement from a local history, while an other thinking is a universal statement from two local histories, intertwined by the coloniality of power: that is why one of the first articulations of double critique and "an other thinking" in Khatibi is an analysis of French Marxism and Arabic postcolonial nationalism. There is no reduction of "an other thinking" to nomadology and vice versa. Both are entrenched in local histories: nomadology is a universal his-

tory told from a local one; "an other thinking" is a universal history of the modern/colonial world system that implies the complementarity of modernity and coloniality, of modern colonialism (since 1500 and its internal conflicts) and colonial modernities, in their diverse rhythms, temporalities, with nations and religions coming to conflict at different periods and in different world orders.

But I think that the most striking differences between nomadology and "an other thinking" is similar to the difference between "an other thinking" and deconstruction along with the importance that Khatibi attributes to "thinking in languages," "cette parole tierce" (this third word). This move is at the same time an effort to delink from the tyranny of Occidental reason its sciences and technologies articulated in Occidental languages (from Latin to French, German, and English) and a critique of Islamic fundamentalism articulated in Arabic language. Different from Derridean deconstruction, Khatibi's decolonizing version works in between French and Arabic; that is, "an other thinking" is thinking in language, in between two languages and their historical relations in the modern world system and the coloniality of power. Translation is again inevitably invoked. But translation is also given a particular function in the structure of thinking and in the production of knowledge. As such, there is a risk of which Khatibi is aware, and he explicitly tries to respond to it. This is the risk, in the structure of knowledge and the coloniality of power, of translating French into Arabic as importation of knowledge and Arabic into French as exportation of an "Oriental" exotic commodity. To that real danger Khatibi responds as follows:

> Disons, d'une façon descriptive, que le savoir arabe actuel est une interférence conflictuelle entre deux epistèmes dont l'une (l'occidentale) couvre l'autre; elle la restructure de l'intérieur, en la détachant de sa continuité historique. A tel point que le chercheur arabe, rompu au savoir occidental, risque toujours de ne pas préssentir de quel lieu il parle, et d'où viennent effectivement les problèmes qui le tourmentent. (Khatibi 1983, 59)

> Let's say, in a descriptive manner, that Arabic knowledge is a conflictive interference between two epistemologies where one (Western epistemology) covers the other. It [Western epistemology] restructures Arabic knowledge from its own interior and detaches it from its historical continuity. To the extent that the Arab scholar, attached and detached at the same time from Western knowledge, risks not knowing from which location he speaks, and where the problems that torment him come from.

Translation (Mignolo and Schiwy, forthcoming), from the perspective of the Arabic language and knowledge, has two singular moments: the first taking place when Arab intellectuals translated from Greek to Arabic and created the conditions for the future translation from Arabic into Spanish, with Al-

fonso el Sabio and the School of Toledo, in the thirteenth century. Alfonso el Sabio, king of Castile between 1252 and 1284, arrived in a moment of hope and enthusiasm for Christianity. In the long battle between Christianity and Islam in the Iberian Peninsula, which lasted from the eighth to the fifteenth century, Alfonso el Sabio came to power right after three major Christian victories against Islam: Cordoba was reconquered in 1236; Valencia, in 1238; and Seville, in 1248. Alfonso was instrumental in surrounding himself with men of wisdom, Jews and Muslims, who translated from Arabic and Hebrew into Spanish, and through Arabic and Hebrew, Greek knowledge was recast. But the thirteenth century was crucial also in other aspects related to translations. Metaphorically speaking, but of real serious consequences, the thirteenth century was the moment in which Ibn Sina's (Avicenna's) philosophy began to be displaced by that of Ibn Rushd (Averroes). If both draw from Aristotle, it was the Aristotelian physics pressed onward by Averroes, rather than the metaphysics explored by Avicenna, that would be rearticulated later, in the sixteenth century, as a method and form of objective knowledge designed by Galileo and Descartes (Sardar 1987, 102; Durand 1969, 45–93). In this trajectory of translation, of thinking in languages, a form of knowledge became hegemonic in complicity and complementarity with the economic history of the modern/colonial world system: from mercantilism based on slavery, coupled with a Christian mission, until its consolidation with the industrial revolution and capitalism, coupled with the civilizing mission and development (Étienne 1987).

The second aspect of translation for Arabic intellectuals would take place within the modern/colonial world system, when the original situation was inverted. First, during the nineteenth century, the "mission civilizatrice" toward Maghreb demanded translation of French texts into Arabic, and the goal was not to reinforce Arabic language and Islamic domain in a period of expansion but, on the contrary, to reinforce the expansion of the new local and epistemic imperialisms of the modern world system. In other words, while the first moment of translation took place before European hegemony, the second took place during European and North Atlantic hegemony. But what is important for our argument is that the second moment of translation coincided with the restructuration of knowledge in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, along with the emergence of the social sciences in the nineteenth century and their rise to prominence after 1945. Translation at large was, after 1945, related to the rise of the social sciences coupled with area studies in the United States. Khatibi's call for the decolonization of sociology, in 1980, implies this moment of epistemic translation and the monolingualism of the social sciences to which Khatibi offers the alternative of "an other thinking," a thinking in languages that intervenes in the social sciences as a mirror of the social world in which language is the neutral instrument of an objective and triumphant epistemology.

Mondialité, Creolization, and the Colonial Difference

The difference between the two positions is obvious: whereas the monolinguism of the social sciences implies the purity of the language and the transparency of the knowing subject describing and explaining a knowable object, an other thinking is instead the opacity, as Glissant ([1990] 1997, 114) proposes in a different but parallel argument, across language: "Language has no mission," Glissant states ([1990] 1997, 114), other than the mission assigned to it by the state and the metaphysical belief in the transparency of language in the sciences to mirror the reality of the "social" and "natural" worlds. The spiritual world, in this view, becomes marginal in its irreconcilable difference with the objectivity claimed by the scientific enterprise. The end of nationhood's dream about the unity of the language and the purity of the corresponding culture questions, on the one hand, the confident activities of Western disciplinary knowledge cast in the hegemonic languages of the second modernity and opens up, on the other hand, the anachronism of such belief, as Khatibi's thinking in languages hints.

I have brought Glissant into this argument for two reasons. One is his habitation in the French language, although he differs from Khatibi in that, coming from the Caribbean, the alterity of French is Creole and not Arabic (see chapter 5); second, Glissant, who also thinks from the experience of coloniality of power, reaches conclusions similar to Khatibi:

It is, therefore, an anachronism, in applying teaching or translation techniques, to teach *the* French language or to translate into *the* French language. It is an epistemological anachronism, by means of which people continue to consider as classic, hence eternal, something that apparently does not "comprehend" opacity or tries to stand in the way of it. Whatever the craven purist may say . . . there are several French languages today, and languages allow us to conceive of their unity according to a new mode, in which French can no longer be monolingual. If language is given in advance, if it claims to have a mission, it misses out on the adventure and does not *catch on* in the world." (Glissant [1990] 1997, 119)

I close this third part of the chapter by quoting Khatibi in a paragraph that echoes Glissant's exploration of Creolization of the languages of the world and, consequently, the Creolization of epistemology (or gnoseology)—that is, an other thinking that is a thinking in language:

Une pensée-autre, telle que nous l'envisageons, est une pensée en langues, une mondialisation traduisantes de codes, des systèmes et des constellations de signes qui circulent dans le monde et au-dessus de lui. . . . Chaque societé ou group de societés est un relais de cette mondialisation. Une stratégie qui ne

travaille pas activement à transformer ces relais est, peut être, condomnée à se devorer, à tourner sur elle même, entropiquement. (Khatibi 1983, 61)

An other thinking, as I conceive it, is a thinking in languages, a globalization by means of translating different codes, as well as systems and constellations of signs that go around and under the world. . . . Each society or ensemble of societies is a halt and a crossroads of global structuring. Any strategic project that doesn't address and actively engage these locations is, perhaps, condemned to be devoured, to turn upon itself, entropically.

Glissant introduced a distinction between "mondialité" (globality) and "mondialisation" (globalization). In my view, globalization is the dimension of global designs while globality is articulated in local histories. Globality, on the other hand, reveals local histories in their complexity: the perspective of the architects of global designs interacting with the perspective of the "nomad" or "minor designs" (Deleuze and Guattari [1987] 1996, 361), as well as the emerging perspective of "an other thinking" or the epistemological Creolization, as articulated from the exterior of the universal history of the modern world system (Khatibi, Glissant).

Let's go back now to the distinction between "nomadism" and "an other thinking," which I call the "irreducible difference." The clinamen, "as the minimum angle, has meaning only between a straight line and a curve, the curve and its tangent, and constitutes the original curvature of the movement of the atom," said Deleuze and Guattari (1996, 361), following Michel Serres. The clinamen allows for a model of becoming and heterogeneity, as opposed to "the stable, the eternal, the identical, the constant" (1996, 361). The same perspective allows them to define "minor languages" and "minor literatures." "Major" and "minor" qualify two different uses of languages, in literature and science: the German of Prague, for instance, "functioned as a potentially minor language in relation to the German of Vienna or Berlin" (Deleuze and Guattari [1987] 1996, 104). Such a formulation may look, at first glance, as one "applicable" to French Creole or Chicano/a English and Spanish. But such a move will hide the irreducible difference. Glissant and Khatibi arrive, in fact, at a similar view, but not from a local history of knowledge built from the perspective of modernity, as is the case in Deleuze and Guattari, but from local histories of knowledge built also from the perspective of coloniality. It is the coloniality of power and knowledge as articulated in languages that lead Khatibi and Glissant to a critique of Western epistemology and to the articulation of the irreducible difference with their "alias," European thinkers practicing a monotopic critique of modern epistemology. Glissant's version of "Creolization of the world" in this context moves along the lines of Khatibi's "an other thinking": both are complementary and irreducible to a "nomadic" or "minor science":

Creolization is not a synthesis. . . . Creolization is not the simple mechanics of
a crude mixture of distinct things, it goes much farther, what it creates is new,
unheard-of and unexpected.

And this is what is difficult for us to imagine and to accept. We live behind
the formerly fertile certainties of Being and enter into the variability of what it
is. The permanence of Being, now so mortal, yields to the movement and change
of what it is. . . .

. . . creolization opens for everyone the unfenced archipelago of the world-
totality (e.g., globality). I see a sign of this in the fact that certain oppressed
communities, such as the Amerindians of Chiapas in Mexico or the Gypsies of
the former Yugoslavia are motivated to fight this oppression in the name of an
openness, or a relation, of an intertwining that could be more just and more
balanced. (Glissant 1998; 6, 7)

Both perspectives (Deleuze and Guattari in France, on the one hand, Khatibi
and Glissant between Maghreb and France, between the Caribbean and
France, on the other) are complementary but irreducible—let me insist—to
one another because of the colonial difference. Their local histories, as you
can imagine, are intertwined through coloniality, by the internal tensions of
the coloniality of power (France and Spain both in the Mediterranean and
the Atlantic), but irreducible to a nomadic universal history as the one pro-
posed by Deleuze and Guattari or to the deconstructive universalism claim-
ing the law of language and erasing the coloniality of power entrenched in
language and epistemology (Derrida 1996). It is this complementary and
irreducible (colonial) difference that I would like to explore quickly in the
next section and take it as the frame for the entire book.

BETWEEN DISCIPLINARY NORMS AND COLONIAL MODERNITIES

Perhaps the point I am trying to make could be better argued if we bring to
the foreground a social scientist, this time, of Marxist persuasion, Arabic/
Muslim descent, and working in the European academy. I am mentioning
all these constituents as relevant for Aziz Al-Azmeh, whose studies on Islam
and modernities were published in the book series *Phronesis*, edited by Er-
nesto Laclau (Al-Azmeh 1993). In a strong argument against the possibility
of cross-cultural conversations and as a response to the tensions created by
the spectrum of Islam in current European affairs and everyday life, Al-
Azmeh positions himself—although indirectly—against what Khatibi and
Glissant propose. However, Al-Azmeh's argument against culturalism—
which he characterizes as based on an organismic and metaphysical notion
of culture, as entities defined by analogy to biological systems (1993, 25)—

could instead be complemented by Khatibi's concepts of "double critique"
and "an other thinking" and by Glissant's "epistemological Creolization."
Al-Azmeh, emphatically arguing against the rhetoric of "culturalism," states:

The fact remains that the rhetoric of culturalism, a rhetoric of identity which
views difference as antithesis, can only subsist naturally in the context of reviv-
alism. . . . There is at work a sort of conceptual irredentism, which claims to
be recovering matters occluded by the falsity of actual history, the history of
modernity, the Enlightenment and the world. Matters such as identity, indeter-
minacy, subjectivity and authenticity, asserted in the spirit of *revanchisme*, often
by former Marxists settling accounts with an erst-while philosophical con-
sciousness. It is, finally, the same *revanchisme* that some Third-World intellectu-
als are reclaiming as a sort of saviour, a continuation of nationalism by other
means. . . . What is normally absent from this celebration of primal innocence
is the fact that its mode of expression and articulation is so much part of moder-
nity. (Al-Azmeh 1993, 28).

From this general frame, Al-Azmeh goes on to three components underlin-
ing culturalist rhetoric: Western xenophobia, postmodernist xenophilia,
and, finally, retrograde and xenophobic nationalism, including political Is-
lamism and Hindu communalism (Al-Azmeh 1993, 28). I am insisting on
Al-Azmeh's position against culturalist rhetoric because I see a risk of a
quick transposition of this kind of argument to Khatibi and Glissant and the
consequent risk of losing sight of the fact that both, Khatibi and Glissant,
could be criticized from a seemingly culturalist rhetoric (the rhetoric of
identity and authenticity), and from an affirmation of the rationality of the
social sciences as a remedy to culturalist rhetoric. As a matter of fact, Al-
Azmeh's final argument against the possibility of cross-cultural conversa-
tions is predicated on the fact that the defender of cross-cultural conversa-
tion assumes a monolithic, consistent, unified, and ontological concept of
culture that is alien, as we have seen, to Khatibi's "an other thinking" and
Glissant's "epistemological Creolization."

Now there is a second point I would like to tackle in Al-Azmeh's
argument: the way he establishes a dichotomy between Western epistemol-
ogy and culturalist rhetoric. He assumes, on the one hand, that the
tropes and notions of political and social thoughts available today "form
a universal repertoire that is inescapable, a repertoire which, *though of
Western origin*, has in the past century and a half become a *universal
patrimony* beyond which political and social thought is inconceivable,
except very marginally" (1993, 33; emphasis added). According to
Al-Azmeh such a situation was due, through education and legal systems,
to "universal acculturation," to global forms of communication. This reper-
toire became "native not only to their points of origin, but worldwide"
(1993, 34), as there is no longer geopolitical location for the universal prin-

ciples governing knowledge in the social sciences (I come back to this issue when discussing Wallerstein et al. 1996 in subsequent chapters). To this globality of epistemology, which is no longer Western, Al-Azmeh opposes the "discourse of authenticity" that is characterized for its regionalism, for reaching back into a reworked past, toward a deliberate primitivism and nativism (see also Gerholm 1994). This primitivism has two components, according to the author. One is symbolic and specific to each group (e.g., songs of Serbian nationalists), while the other is universal as modules of social and political thought, such as "organismic culturalism." But according to the author,

No authentic social science or social philosophy is therefore possible, not only because its formal and institutional elements are no longer historically available, but also because what it implies is the collapse of knowledge into being in the monotony of solipsism and of self-reference. . . .

It goes without saying that the language of primitivism subtends a project of cultural hegemony and of primitivist social engineering. . . . Desirous of creating novel and anti-modernist (but only ambiguously so) conditions of social, cultural and intellectual life, fascistic political groups in the South propound a culturalism which is consonant with their political formation and renewed elite formation, and which is simultaneously consonant with the international information system as it has come to be in the last two decades. (Al-Azmeh 1993, 34; emphasis)

Al-Azmeh underlines, on the one hand, the role of daily exoticism delivered to the countries of origin and nourishing the culturalist advocacy of right-wing groups. On the other hand, he points out the analogue of foreign exotica in Western countries, which leads toward forms of ghettoization, reinforced by "policies of ethnic confinement and by ethnic stratification of labor" (Al-Alzmeh 1993, 35). The author is interested in calling attention to what, for him, is an objective complicity "between libertarian postmodernism and tiers-mondisme in the West, that is conducive to retrogression in the South and to archaic leadership of Southern people in the North." As a way out from this unhappy complicity, Al-Azmeh proposes to "understand other cultures" in the same way we understand madness, the unconscious, the ancient past, or ethnographic objects—that is, without confining them to exoticism and taking them for partners in "conversation"(1993, 36). In order to do so, he suggests that

We need to look at them with the realities of history in view, if we are to go beyond politely listening and talking at cross-purposes, with due respect for the right of others to be impermeable to the understanding and abhorrent to the sensibility. Conversation should cease to be a form of cross-cultural etiquette if it is to preserve any liberating potential. Otherwise, by turning culturalist, it

will leave the setting of terms to the most retrograde and violent forces of livid hatred both in Europe and beyond, and concede to them the claim that they represent all of us. (Al-Azmeh 1993, 36)

My insistence on "an other thinking" and "epistemological Creolization" as different possibilities of border thinking is precisely due to the need of getting away from the opposition set up by Al-Azmeh, which leads him to a blind celebration of the social sciences, preserving a hegemonic epistemology without which "no authentic social science is possible," an epistemology that takes authenticity away from culturalist rhetoric in order to appropriate it for the rhetoric of the social sciences.

The argument I am building in this book is that both positions, as described by Al-Azmeh, are right and wrong at the same time, since one presupposes the other. But to get out of the dilemma that Al-Azmeh has no choice but to argue (a dilemma that was forced by the very violence of a universal form of knowledge that provoked the reactive violence of the culturalist rhetoric), a double critique is needed. A double critique, "an other thinking," would lead to the openness of the "unforeseeable diversity of the world" and of "unheard and unexpected" forms of knowledge, as argued by Glissant (1998).

I am not arguing here "against" Al-Azmeh, since his criticism of the culturalist rhetoric I truly endorse. I am indeed bringing to the discussion the example of Third World intellectuals who embrace the social sciences and react against dangerous (in their view) forms of culturalist rhetoric, cultural authenticity, and tiers-mondisme. At the same time, such a position could be blind to the alternative such as the one Khatibi and Glissant offer. As a matter of fact, I have heard social scientists sympathetic to Glissant's position, although making clear that Glissant was a "poet and a writer." I do not see Al-Azmeh in the same group as, say, Fukiyama or Samuel Huntington. But I see his position defending a universality of the social sciences, "an authenticity of social thought" that is as risky as the "authenticity of the culturalist rhetoric." What seems to be at stake here are the irreducible differences as well as the complementarity I underlined earlier, between the positions of Deleuze and Guattari on the one hand and Khatibi and Glissant on the other. A formulation by Glissant shows, indirectly of course, the limits of Al-Azmeh's claim for the "authentic" cross-cultural understanding as a previous condition for cross-cultural conversation:

If we examine the process of "understanding" people and ideas from the perspective of Western thought, we discover that its basis is this requirement for transparency. In order to understand and thus accept you, I have to measure your solidity with the ideal scale providing me with grounds to make comparisons and, perhaps, judgments. . . . But perhaps we need to bring an end to the very notion of a scale. (Glissant [1990] 1997, 190)

The way out for Glissant is the dialectic between *transparency* (which is how I understand "authentic social sciences" in Al-Azmeh's formulation) and *opacity*. If we accept opacity in tandem with a double critique, and with "an other thinking," Glissant's argument situates the irreducible difference that cannot be appropriated either by the social sciences or by what Al-Azmeh identifies as culturalist rhetoric:

> Agree not merely to the right to difference but, carrying this further, agree also to the right to opacity that is not enclosure within an impenetrable autarchy but subsistence within an irreducible singularity. Opacities can coexist and converge, weaving fabrics. *To understand these truly one must focus on the texture of the weave and not on the nature of its component.* (Glissant [1990] 1997, 190)

The last part of my argument in this chapter brings Jacques Derrida into the picture in his dialogue with Abdelkebir Khatibi. Derrida's *Le monolinguisme de l'autre* (1996) illuminates another aspect of the irreducible difference between a defense of the universal diversity of the social sciences, their delinking from the place of origin and their expansion to become a global patrimony (Al-Azmeh): a universal framing of human history attempts to escape from the lineal, universal macronarratives of modernity (Deleuze and Guattari), albeit remaining blind to the possibility of the need of macronarratives from the perspective of coloniality (Khatibi, Glissant). What Derrida illuminates is the limit of deconstruction of Western metaphysics (in its variety), when facing a double critique and "an other thinking" as the irreducible difference of the coloniality of power and of thinking in languages. The variety of Western metaphysics (there is not one but several) is, as Derrida himself states, monolingual. Khatibi, instead, underlines that his, unlike Derrida's, is a *bilingual situation* related to two (forms of) methapysics, Western and Islamic (Khatibi 1983, 57). Such a bilingual situation, which allows for a double critique and border thinking, places the Arabic language (and Islamic knowledge in Arabic language) in a new dimension, a planetary dimension of which Arabic was deprived at least since the sixteenth century.

The bilingual situation in Maghreb is described by Khatibi as follows (1983, 59–60). The Arab intellectual or scholar is, by necessity, a *translator* of a set of disciplines and knowledge that have been formed elsewhere. Al-Azmeh would prefer to think about the planetary patrimony of disciplines and knowledges, instead of an "original" and its "translations." For Khatibi, instead, the imposing intellectual and scientific production in the West makes the bilingual and epistemological situation an asymmetric one, and knowledge produced in Arabic language a subaltern kind of knowledge. On the other hand, the fact that Arab intellectuals of the past translated from the Greek in order to found an autonomous philosophical and scientific language makes it difficult to accept Arabic as a flexible language, capable

of *speaking in languages* ("parler en langues") and producing knowledge at the intersection of languages and thoughts that become inscribed in their own Arabic memory. "An other thinking" becomes, in this perspective, a *translation* machine that is at the same time a way of thinking in languages, a form of globality (in Glissant's expression) that operates by translating codes and sign systems circulating in, above, and below the world. Now, this bilingual situation, thought out by Khatibi in the relation between Arabic and French, will be valid for any other planetary bilingual situation, where speaking in languages is at the same time a way of empowerment and of decolonization of knowledge (1983, 59–60).

Derrida, instead, takes a different route. I would say, first, that the irreducible difference between both positions is between a Judeo-Franco-Maghrebian genealogy (Derrida 1996, 133) and an Occidental genealogy, which is at the same time Islamic-Arabo-Maghrebian (Khatibi 1983, 11–39). Derrida has problems speaking about and using the word "colonialism."

> Je ne peux pas, là encore, analyser de front cette politique de la langue et je ne voudrais pas me servir trop facilement du mot "colonialism." Toute culture est originairement coloniale. (Derrida 1996, 68)

> I cannot analyze straightforwardly this politic of language here, and would not like to abuse the word "colonialism." All culture is originally colonial.

I surmise that Derrida's problems with colonialism are related to his resistance, and perhaps blindness, to the colonial difference. The question is not, therefore, the coloniality of universal culture ("Toute culture est originairement coloniale"), but the coloniality of the modern/colonial world system and, in this case, the colonial difference and the role of France after the nineteenth century in North Africa. While Khatibi is clearly thinking and writing from the colonial difference in the modern/colonial world, Derrida insists on a universal perspective supported by his monotopic radical criticism of Western logocentrism understood as a universal category uncoupled from the modern/colonial world. His argument on the "monolinguisme de l'autre" misses the point of the colonial world. His argument on the "monolinguisme de l'autre" misses the point of the colonial difference that supports Khatibi's entire work. One can say that Khatibi and Derrida are not on the same side of the colonial difference.

Of course, Derrida is not blind to "la guerre coloniale moderne" but insists that what is at work in it and what it reveals is the "colonial structure of every culture" (1996, 69). Consequently,

> Le monolinguisme de l'autre, ce serait *d'abord* cette souveraineté, cette loi venue d'ailleurs, sans doute, mais aussi et d'abord la langue même de la Loi. Et la Loi comme Langue. (Derrrida 1996, 69)

The monolingualism of the other will be, without a doubt, a kind of sovereignty, a kind of law coming from elsewhere; but it will also be foremost the very language of the Law. And the Law as Language.

From Khatibi's perspective it is irrelevant whether every culture is colonial. What is at stake is the complicitous coloniality of the modern world system: not the universality of the law (as may be the case with the universality of nomadology) stated from a regional experience (clearly manifested in the examples and the authors quoted and commented on by Derrida), but the historicity of a particular colonial experience, and the location of Maghreb first in relation to the Spanish Empire, then to French colonialism—two moments of the modern/colonial world system. To insist on the colonial structure of every culture, as Derrida does, means to lose track of the historical perspective in which Khatibi's double critique (an other thinking as a thinking in language) is situated. Furthermore, the epistemological potential is this time on the side of Khatibi who can talk, at the same time, of deconstruction and decolonization, of decolonization as a particular kind of deconstruction. The epistemological potential is underlined by the historical coincidence between the years in which Derrida articulated the deconstruction project and the years in which political decolonization was taking place in Maghreb (Khatibi 1983, 47–48). And yet, the question is not to choose between one or the other but to understand the irreducible difference between both and the epistemological potential of border gnosis (epistemology) of Khatibi's "an other thinking." Derrida (or Deleuze and Guattari, for that matter) remains "in custody" of the universal bent of the modern concept of reason—a perspective that border thinking is changing as it moves toward a "fragmentation as universal project (Hinkelammert 1996, 238), instead of the reproduction of "abstract universals" (e.g., Language is the Law; or the war machine is exterior to the state apparatus).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I close this chapter by bringing to the foreground the notion of "double conciousness" (Du Bois [1905] 1990), "double vision" (Wright 1993), "new mestiza consciousness" (Anzaldúa 1987), "borderlands of theory." (Calderón and Saldívar 1991), "double translation" (Subcomandante Marcos 1997a). All of these key words belong to the same family as "double critique" and "Creolization." All of them are changing the perspective, the term rather than the content, of the conversation. All of them critically reflect on the imaginary of the modern world system from the perspective of the coloniality of power and from particular, local histories of modernity/coloniality: Maghreb from the sixteenth century with the expulsion of the Moors from

the Iberian Peninsula, to the French colonization at the beginning of the nineteenth century, to political decolonization in the second half of the twentieth century (Khatibi). Afro-Americans in the French Caribbean (Glissant) and in the United States (Du Bois, Wright) reflect on the local histories of slavery since the sixteenth century, when slavery became identified with Africans and with blacks; on being black and (North) American or black and belonging to Western civilization (Wright); or on the "double rape" (the colonization of New Spain by the Spanish in the sixteenth century and the colonization of Mexico by the United States, in 1948; Anzaldúa 1987), which creates the conditions for the emergence of a "new mestiza consciouness." Or they reflect on the "double translation" allowing for an intersection between incommensurable (from the perspective of modernity) forms of knowledge: Marxism modified by Amerindian languages and cosmology and Amerindian epistemology modified by the language of Marxist cosmology in a cross-epistemological conversation that is rewriting and enacting a history of five hundred years of oppression (as in the Zapatistas movement). What all these key words have in common is their disruption of dichotomies through being themselves a dichotomy. This, in other words, is the key configuration of border thinking: thinking from dichotomous concepts rather than ordering the world in dichotomies. Border thinking, in other words, is, logically, a dichotomous locus of enunciation and, historically, is located at the borders (interiors or exteriors) of the modern/colonial world system, as all the previous cases indicate.

Although I do not go into a detailed exploration of each of these key words and the particularity of each intellectual project, I return to them throughout the book. Here I would like to stress, however, that in all these cases (as well as in others I may not be aware of), the subalternization of knowledge in the modern world system seems to be creating the conditions for an "otherwise than epistemology" out of several articulations of border thinking, in its exterior and interior borders. All of these key words participate in a similar epistemological project, linked by their critique of the epistemic coloniality of power. All of them can also be linked by their irreducible difference to critical forms of knowledge from the interior perspective of modernity itself.

When Fanon states, in Black Skin, White Masks ([1952] 1967), that for a Negro who works on a sugar plantation the only solution is to fight but that he "will embark on this struggle, and he will pursue it, not as the result of a Marxist or idealistic analysis but quite simply because he cannot conceive of life otherwise" (1952, 224), he is not denying Marx's powerful analysis of the logic of capitalism. He is pointing out the difficulties of jumping from an analysis of the logic of capitalism to the truth of social solution. Fanon is calling attention to the force of black consciousness, not just of class consciousness. And I would guess that Fanon is referring to "Marxist idealis-

tic analysis," not to Marx himself. In like manner, when Khatibi (1983, 47–48) criticizes Marx for his blindness to colonialism and for suggesting that the colonization (and industrialization) of India was the necessary step toward the international proletarian revolution, he is not denying the powerful analysis of the logic of capitalistic economy. At the same time, the recognition of Marx's contribution and its validity today should not obscure the fact that even if Marx could be dissociated from Hegel and in a certain way from the core of Western metaphysics (Khatibi 1983, 53), he would still be grounded on the belief of a total knowledge "mapping the world in an inexorable dialectic," "in custody" of the tyranny of the universal abstracts of modern rationality. Thus, the need of "an other thinking" that "is neither Marxist in the strict sense of the term, nor anti-Marxist in the meaning that the right-wing could be, at the limits of these possibilities" (Khatibi 1983, 54). It is coherent with the planetary emergence of border thinking that Subcomandante Marcos would make almost the same statement fifteen years later, in Spanish, and in a situation that is neither that of the slave plantations nor that of the Maghrebien intellectual reflecting on the history of colonialism and its aftermath: "The Zapatismo," stated Subcomandante Marcos, "is and is not Marxist-Leninist. The Zapatismo is not fundamentalist or milenarist indigenous thinking; and it is not indigenous resistance either. It is a mixture of all of that, that crystallizes in the EZLN" (1997a, 338–39).

When Fanon mentions that his patient "is suffering from an inferiority complex" or when he quotes a participant during the Twenty-Fifth Congress of Catholic Students protesting against the dispatch of Senegalese troops while, on the other hand, it was known from other sources that one of the torturers in the police headquarters was Senegalese, and it was known also what the archetype of the Senegalese could represent for the Malagasy, Fanon concludes that "the discoveries of Freud are of no use to us here" ([1952] 1967, 104). Certainly Fanon is not denying Freud's contribution, he is just marking its limit beyond the type of psychological disorders, of a particular social class of a particular sector of western Europe at the end of the nineteenth century in a Christian and Victorian type of society. That that type of social structure and psychological disorder could be revealed in another part of the planet, particularly where European society was transplanted without much interference of "native" population, is undeniable. The fact that the impotence of an Algerian man following the rape of his wife by a French soldier cannot be easily resolved with the tools provided by psychoanalysis is also rather obvious: the human unconscious as described by Freud is based on a particular kind of man and woman, in a particular kind of society, in a particular language structure (German, Indo-European languages) that proved difficult to translate into Arabic, in the tension between Arabic and French (Fanon [1961] 1963, 249–310). Once again, it is not Freud's contributions that are in question, but rather the limits of their use-

fulness that are revealed by revealing the colonial difference. Similar situations abound. Paul Gilroy (1993, 159–60) tells the story told by C.L.R. James about Richard Wright, in Wright's house in France, showing to James the numerous volumes of Kierkegaard's work on his bookshelves and saying: "Look Nello, you see those books there?. . . Everything that he writes in those books I knew before I had them." James concludes that "What (Dick) was telling me was that he was a black man in the United States and that gave him an insight into what today is the universal opinions and attitude of the modern personality" (Gilroy 1993, 159). In the same spirit Gloria Anzaldúa will say, "I have known things longer than Freud" (Anzaldúa 1987, 33), not because Freud's contribution is invalid, but because it cannot be taken as a hegemonic form of knowledge reproducing the epistemic subjugation that the coloniality of power enacted in the formation of the modern/colonial world system.

Briefly, I found in all these examples the sense that border thinking structures itself on a double consciousness, a double critique operating on the imaginary of the modern/colonial world system, of modernity/coloniality. As such, it establishes alliances with the internal critique, the monotopic critique of modernity from the perspective of modernity itself (e.g., Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Marx, Freud, Derrida) at the same time that it marks the irreducible difference of border thinking as a critique from the the colonial difference. If, as Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano argues, geopolitical coloniality of power and its consequences, historicostructural dependencies, implies "eurocentric hegemony as epistemological perspective" (1997, 117), "double critique," "an other thinking," "epistemological Creolization," "double consciousness," and "new mestiza consciousness," are all theoretical articulations of border thinking breaking away from "eurocentrism as epistemological perspective." The form that this breaking away is taking is the irreducible difference established between the monotopic critique of modernity from the perspective of modernity itself, still "in custody" of the monotopic of abstract universals (e.g., a critique of the imaginary of the modern world system from its interior) and the pluritopic and double critique of modernity from the perspective of coloniality (e.g., a critique of the epistemic imaginary of the modern world system from its exterior). It is precisely this perspective that, in the last analysis, could be articulated in the context of the coloniality of power ingrained (but invisible) in the epistemological imaginary of the modern world system.

Coloniality of power shall be distinguished from the colonial period, in Latin America extending itself from the early sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth, when most of the Spanish-speaking countries and Brazil gained independence from Spain and Portugal and began to be constituted as new nation-states. Colonialism, as Quijano observes, did not end with independence because coloniality of power and knowledge changed

hands, so to speak, and became subordinated to the new and emerging epis-
temological hegemony: no longer the Renaissance but the Enlightenment
(as will be seen in chapter 2). The emergence of border thinking is, again,
breaking away from post-Enlightenment instrumental reason, whose cur-
rent manifestation is palpable in what Pierre Bourdieu (1998a) calls "the
essence of neoliberalism" and describes as a program for the destruction of
possible collective enterprises that can be considered an obstruction to the
logic of the pure market, in what Franz Hinkelammert defines as the "ratio-
nality of the market only" (1996), and in what Subcomandante Marcos la-
bels "the fourth world-war" (1997b) and is breaking away as well from its
consequences—the auspicious, advantageous, and helpful deconstruction,
nomadology, Marxist legacy, and postmodern critique of modernity. Border
thinking brings to the foreground the irreducible epistemological difference,
between the perspective from the colonial difference, and the forms of
knowledge that, being critical of modernity, coloniality, and capitalism, still
remain "within" the territory, "in custody" of the "abstract universals."

_____ Part Two _____

I AM WHERE I THINK:
THE GEOPOLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE
AND COLONIAL EPISTEMIC
DIFFERENCES