

Lecture Sandew Hira Unisa September 29th 2015

Slide 1: *Decolonizing The Mind (DTM) - Imagining a New World Civilization: a Fundamental Critique of Scientific Colonialism and Another Discourse of Liberation*

Ladies and gentlemen, brothers and sisters, colleagues,

On behalf of the International Institute for Scientific research, an independent research institute in The Netherlands, I want to thank the University of South Africa for providing the opportunity for this lecture. I have had the pleasure of receiving a delegation from Unisa at our Decolonizing The Mind Summer School in Amsterdam and am happy to see some of the participants and Sabelo Ndlovu Gatsheni as one of the lecturers and the dean Mrs Rosemary Moeketi whom I had the pleasure to meet in Barcelona at the Summer School that my good friend Ramon Grosfoguel is organizing.

This lecture is based on a book that I am currently writing on decolonizing the mind and will be published next year.

Slide 2 : the topics

My lecture deals with the following topics:

- What is Decolonizing The Mind?
- The basis of the colonization of the mind: DTM theory of three phases of Eurocentric knowledge production
- How to reconstruct the fundamentals of decolonial sciences
- The practical implications of DTM

Slide 3: Definition of Decolonizing The Mind

Decolonizing The Mind is a theoretical concept based on five propositions:

1. There is colonization of the mind and thus there is a need to decolonize the mind.
2. The colonization of the mind is founded in knowledge production in the west.
3. Decolonizing the mind requires new fundamentals for knowledge production that is free from the infections of colonized knowledge.
4. Decolonizing the mind is not only about knowledge production but about transformation of society and thus about social struggle.
5. Decolonizing the mind is an alternative for Marxism, that I see as a Eurocentric narrative of liberation.

Slide 4: DTM framework: five dimensions of colonialism

In DTM we analyze colonialism as a system of oppression and exploitation that started five hundred years ago and was set up and developed in five interrelated dimensions:

1. **Geographical dimension:** the rise of a global system in which people, nations and states have been destroyed, relocated, or redesigned and world wide (forced) migration of people have been set in motion. The global world was divided in one subservient geographical part that served the enrichment of another geographical part.

2. **Economic dimension:** the rise of a capitalist world economy with new international industries based on a combination of "free" wage labor and forced labor in different forms, the creation of new economic systems and the integration of existing economic systems in one global colonial and capitalist world system.
3. **Social dimension:** the organization of social relations in different societies based on race, skin color and ethnicity in which the white European culture socially dominated and still dominates the other cultures. An essential part of these relations are the development and maintenance of a social layer of collaborators among the colonized people with the white colonial power.
4. **Political dimension:** the creation and maintenance of political, military and judicial structures and institutions to control, repress and break any resistance against colonial domination and maintain its domination.
5. **Cultural dimension:** the creation of mechanisms of colonizing the mind (mental colonialism) and structures and institutions that provides legitimacy to colonial relations. Important institutions are the institutions of knowledge production (academia) and knowledge distribution (educational system, media, cultural institutions).

In the DTM framework the system of colonialism did not end with the political independence of the former colonies. That is why we don't talk about a postcolonial era, but about processes of decolonization that are still going on. You can be anti-colonial in one dimension – politics – but still be colonial in the other dimensions. A true decolonial approach means that you are anti-colonial in all the interrelated dimensions.

Slide 5: Every act of repression is followed by an act of resistance

DTM – Decolonizing The Mind – as a discourse of liberation started at the very beginning of western colonialism with the invasion of the Americas, because every act of repression was followed by an act of resistance. The resistance was not only in organization and in arms, but also in intellectual analysis.

On August 12th 1521, one year after Cuauhtémoc ("One who has descended like an eagle") at the age of eighteenth became the last Aztec ruler of Tenochtitlan (now Mexico City), he held a speech at the end of a lost battle to drive the Spaniards out of his land. It was the last battle in a struggle to prevent the establishment of European colonial rule in Mexico. The day after his speech he was captured by Hernán Cortés, a Spanish criminal who led the invasion of Aztec land. He was held captive for three and a half years before being executed upon the orders of Hernán Cortés. Cuauhtémoc was tortured by bathing his hand and feet in oil and placed over a fire. The next day he was hanged.

There are three important elements in his speech for the development of a theoretical framework of Decolonizing The Mind (DTM).

First, Cuauhtémoc talks about an era of darkness that the barbaric invasion had ushered for his people: *"The face of our Sun has disappeared, and has left us in complete darkness."* This is in sharp contrast to the view of the colonizer who would present the era of colonialism as the era of progress that was codified in the 17th century in the term Enlightenment. What the colonizer regarded as Enlightenment was in the experience of the colonized an era of darkness filled with theft, murder, rape, oppression and exploitation. In DTM we replace the concepts of the colonizer with the concepts of the colonized. We don't use Enlightenment to conceptualize an era of darkness. In fact, we develop a complete different framework of concepts and terminology that is rooted in the experience of the colonized.

Second, he calls upon his people to *"hide all that our hearts love, and hide all we know is a great treasure"*. He continues: *"We will destroy our creative centers, our schools, our ball courts, our youth centers, our places of song and diversion. Let happen until only our desolate streets remain, and we will only find comfort within our homes."* The occupier is

denied the opportunity of taking over their centers of culture and knowledge. But the culture and knowledge should thrive outside the world of the colonizer: *"Dearest fathers and mothers, you must never forget to show young people the way, to teach your children."* The colonizer's world had discarded the age-old knowledge as ignorant, irrelevant, backward and ultimately unscientific. In DTM we reconstruct the concepts of old civilizations to produce a new science that is free from the bias of colonialism and still rooted in the tested experience of mankind before the rise of colonialism and in the resistance of the colonized against colonialism.

Third, Cuauhtémoc had a vision of the resurgence of a new world when he talks about the rise of *"our new Sun"*: *"Do not forget to keep your children informed, remind them of how wonderful it will be, how we will rise again, and understand the reach of our power."*

The concept of a new world civilization – our new Sun - lies at the heart of DTM. We argue with facts, theory and analysis that colonialism was not the zenith but the nadir – the lowest point - of human civilization. In order to rise again from the bottom mankind needs to take a critical look on how knowledge production (seeking the 'truth') was transformed in ideology (producing 'lies') and has the daunting task to create new foundations of scientific knowledge. That is the challenge in DTM for the coming centuries. As Cuauhtémoc puts it: *"And at that time we our mother earth Anahuac will realize her great destiny."*

Slide 6: Harriet Tubman (1822-1913)

Two centuries after the execution of Cuauhtémoc European barbarism in the Americas had taken different faces. Besides the Spaniards there were now French, British, Dutch, Portuguese and other nationalities who participate in the pillage of the Americas. They spoke the same language of brutality, oppression and exploitation. They started the horrific crime against humanity known under the name of the trans-Atlantic enslavement.

Among the victims of this crime against humanity there were intellectual leaders similar to Cuauhtémoc who reflected on their fate. One such example is Harriet Tubman (1822-1913), who was born during slavery in the USA, managed to escape to Canada and went back to the South to rescue others from enslavement. But she learned the hard way that escape to freedom is not a simple matter for the enslaved. She drew her conclusion: *"I freed a thousand slaves. I could have freed a thousand more if only they knew they were slaves."* She was referring to the concept of mental slavery. Her explanation of the concept was that people accept their oppression and exploitation because of the way their mind has been trained and misformed.

Slide 7: Marcus Garvey (1887-1940)

After the legal abolition of slavery in the Americas other black intellectual leaders further developed the concept of mental slavery and the colonization of the mind. One of the major figures in this regard was the Jamaican born Marcus Garvey (1887-1940) who founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association in 1914. He gave an analysis of the relationship between mental slavery and emancipation in a speech in 1938 in Nova Scotia Canada: *"We are going to emancipate ourselves from mental slavery because whilst others might free the body, none but ourselves can free the mind."* He continues: *"The man who is not able to develop and use his mind is bound to be the slave of the other man who uses his mind, because man is related to man under all circumstances for good or for ill."*ⁱⁱⁱ

These were not hollow words. Garvey's movement acted on this idea. The UNIA succeeded in organizing a million blacks in the Americas. It set up businesses. It published a newspaper and books. Its intellectuals conducted research and produced the knowledge to liberate the mind. It was knowledge production directly translated into activism.

And it has lasting effects in music with the pinnacle song of Bob Marley *Redemption Song* that contains the eternal phrase *Emancipate yourself from mental slavery. None but ourselves can free our minds.*"

Slide 8: Malcolm X (1925-1965)

Cuauhtémoc presented a vision that stretched over centuries. Harriet Tubman pointed to the existence of mental slavery. Marcus Garvey gave a more in-depth analysis of mental slavery and drew its practical conclusion in organization building. Malcolm X built on the legacy of Garvey and provided use with sharp and clear cut analysis of the mechanisms of the colonization of the mind with concepts like the house negro and the field negro.

One of our major task ahead is the study of the mechanisms of the colonization of the mind. It should be a major subject in all decolonial curricula. One of the great thinkers in this field is Malcolm X.

Among the many other concepts that Malcolm produced the concept of self-hate is interesting as one of the ultimate expressions of mental slavery, of the colonizing of the mind. His analysis explains who instituted this mechanism and how it functions: *"Prior to 1959, many of us didn't want to be identified with Africa in any way, not even indirectly or remotely. The best way to curse one of us out was to call us an African, we'd get insulted. The image of Africa was created by European powers. These Europeans joined with America and created a very negative image of Africa and projected this negative image abroad. They projected Africa as a jungle, a place filled with animals, savages and cannibals. The image of Africa and the Africans was made so hateful that twenty-two million of us in America of African ancestry actually shunned Africa because its image was a hateful, negative image. We didn't realize that as soon as we were made to hate Africa and Africans, we also hated ourselves. You can't hate the root and not hate the fruit. You can't hate Africa, the land where you and I originated, without ending up hating you and me; and the man knew that. We began to hate African features. We hated the African nose and the African lips and the African skin and the African hair. We hated the hair so much we even put lye on it to change its looks. We began hating ourselves. And you know, they accuse us of teaching hate. What is the most inhuman or immoral: a man that teaches you to hate your enemies, or a man that skilfully manoeuvres you into hating yourself? Well, I think teaching a man to hate himself is much more criminal than teaching him to hate someone else."*¹

He also presents a solution for decolonizing the mind. It is not a question of acquiring the right knowledge or learning a certain attitude in a workshop. It is about social struggle and change of power relations: *"After 1959, as Africans began to get independence, they began to change the image of the African. They got into a position to project their own image abroad. The image began to swing from negative to positive, and to the same degree that the African image began to change from negative to positive, the Afro-American's image also began to change from negative to positive. His behaviour and objectives began to change from negative to positive to the same degree that the behaviour and the objectives of the African changed from negative to positive. They had a direct bearing upon the attitude that we here in America began to develop toward each other and also toward the man, and I don't have to say what man."*

Slide 9: the indigenous response to colonialism

Western colonialism as a global system started in 1492 in the Americas by committing genocide, destroying old civilizations and creating new societies based the forced labour of people they brought from other continents. The intellectual response came from intellectuals from the oppressed communities.

¹ Malcolm X (n.d.), p. 866-867.

In the following centuries the west incorporated other parts of the world into a global system of oppression and exploitation. In each region there was an indigenous response that challenged the west.

In the Americas there was the response of the indigenous communities. The oppressed communities of enslaved Africans and indentured Asian labourers I consider to be part of the indigenous response to colonialism.

In Asia indigenous response was rooted in the pride of age-old civilizations.

In India the first war of independence of 1857 – which the British colonialist call the Indian mutiny, because they think you should not fight their occupation – was expressed in religious and cultural terms. It was a revolt against foreign domination.

The Boxer rebellion in China against western imperialism that started in 1899 was articulated in similar terms.

In the Middle East Jamal al-Din al-Afghani became a rallying voice for pan-Islamism and against imperialism attacking the concept of western superiority.

In Iran Ali Shariati figured as one of the foremost intellectuals to provide detailed attacks on western Enlightenment going into philosophy and sociology and providing alternative concepts of liberation from an Islamic point of view.

In Africa Ngugi Wa Thiong'o launched his analysis of Decolonizing The Mind in 1981, a few years after Steve Biko had articulated the idea of the colonization of the mind as a means to control the masses.

There are many more intellectuals in different parts of the world who have contributed to developing an indigenous response to colonialism and the narrative of Decolonizing The Mind.

Slide 10: The Eurocentric response to colonialism: Marxism

In the colonized world a discourse of liberation became prominent that was rooted in the European Enlightenment and gained prominence in the first three quarters of the 20th century: Marxism.

In the Marxist theory of world history capitalism is based on Hegel's concept of world history meaning the human history moves from east to west. Africa had no place in Hegel's concept.

For Marx capitalism, that has developed in the West, is the highest stage of development of social formations before the rise of socialism. Capitalism has developed the productive forces (technology, knowledge, organization) to such a high level that it is possible to eradicate poverty and scarcity.

The bourgeoisie (the capitalist class) has monopolized the means of production and exploited the proletariat, the masses of workers who have to sell their labour power in order to earn a living.

The class struggle is the engine behind social development in human history.

Where does that leave colonialism?

First, pre-colonial societies are regarded as backward societies. To understand this you need the concept of the mode of production to distinguish between the different phases of social formation in world history that moves from primitive communism to capitalism.

Second, colonialism in its first phase acted as a means of primitive accumulation as one of the factors behind the development of capitalism.

Slide 11: 1917: the communist society

After capitalism human history enters into socialism and then to communism. The future ideal society has no division of labour, so there are no classes. As Marx puts it: "*In communist society, where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes.*"

The economic system has abolished the market and based production and distribution on a central planned economy.

The political system of the communist state is not based on political parties in a parliamentary democracy but on a council system in which individuals elected on the basis of their ambitions to represent a section of society, much like the model of the Parish Commune.

The intellectual and cultural life is based on science and rational thinking. Religion will disappear when science thrives.

A national revolution is a first step towards an international revolution. The nation-state will give away to an international sister- and brotherhood of men and women.

Slide 12: 1917: Socialist revolution not in a capitalist country

Human history did not develop the way Marx predicted. The first successful socialist revolution did not take in the a highly developed capitalist country, but in a society that was overwhelmingly not capitalist: Russia. There were a few million workers in a population of around 160 million peasants. The demand of the majority of the population was not the abolition of private property but the extension of it by the redistribution of land. Small peasants wanted land.

The main theorist and leader of the Russian revolution, Lenin, explains how this is possible within the Marxist theoretical framework.

Although Russia was a peasant country, capitalism was sufficiently developed in certain important regions to create a small but decisive working class. This class needed a vanguard party to organize an alliance between workers and peasants to topple the autocratic tsarist regime. This was possible because this regime came into a crisis which led to more repression and exploitation and ultimately to revolutionary situations in which the ruling power can not rule as they used to and the oppressed masses of workers and peasants were ready and willing to confront the autocratic power in a revolution. This enabled a small proletariat in an underdeveloped capitalist society to take state power and start the transformation to a state of workers and peasant councils. The economy should be based on redistribution of land combined with a planned economy for the industrialization of the country.

The workers state in Russia was the first step in a world revolution in which the highly developed capitalist countries would fall into the hand of revolutionaries so the international proletariat would change the course of history.

Slide 13: Decolonization: political independence

For many colonized nations the socialist revolution was an attractive alternative for the capitalist path of development in the struggle for national liberation. So many anti-colonial activists and academics argued the case for national liberation in conjunction with the case for socialism. In countries like China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba the socialist planned economy was indeed established, but in many of the other colonized nations the national liberation did not went this far.

Slide 14: Rise and decline of the socialist bloc

In the last quarter of the 20th century the socialist bloc went into a deep crisis. The socialist bloc in Eastern Europe did not survive this crisis and ceased to exist. The non-eastern bloc with the exception of North Korea and Cuba have transformed their economy to a large extent to a market economy.

This development had a huge impact on the discourse of liberation. In answering the question *Has socialism failed?* Joe Slovo, a long time leader of the South African Communist Party, argues: *"The opponents of socialism are very vocal about what they call the failure of socialism in Africa. But they say little, if anything, about Africa's real failure; the failures of capitalism. Over 90 percent of our continent's people live out their wretched and repressed lives in stagnating and declining capitalist-oriented economies."*

A similar note is struck by Fidel Castro when he says: *"There is talk of the failure of socialism, and where is the success of capitalism in Africa, Asia, and in Latin America?"*

Slide 15: Another discourse of liberation

But for a new generation of activists and thinkers these answers don't satisfy the need for a discourse of liberation. If capitalism has failed and so has socialism, does that mean that there are no other discourses of liberation?

No. In fact in the last three decades of the 20th century we have seen a flurry of theories that aims to formulate a discourse of liberation outside the classical Marxist theory although some are linked to it. Just to name a few:

1. Postcolonial studies
2. Orientalism
3. Subaltern studies
4. Multiversity
5. Pluriversalism
6. Islamic liberation theology
7. Zapatismo
8. Bolivarian revolution
9. Decolonizing The Mind

Some common characteristics of these narratives are:

1. They offer a critique of Euro centric science in general and some acknowledge that Marxism is part of that body of knowledge.
2. They try to develop alternative concepts that are rooted in the body of knowledge that lies outside of European knowledge production.
3. They have a common denominator that takes into account that we still live in a world shaped by five decades of colonialism and have to deal with its current position and its legacy. This denominator is decolonial thought.

Slide 16: Where do we stand now after three decades?

First, we find that decolonial thinking is a truly global phenomenon. You will find similar narratives in all the continents of the world from Africa to Australia, from Iran to Bolivia, from Europe to North America.

Second, there is an global infrastructure for decolonial thinking in the form of networks of activists and intellectuals in and outside the academia. There is of course the Internet with websites and social media on decolonial thinking. There are books, conferences, articles, courses, Summer Schools, seminar etc. on this topic.

Third, there are a few attempts to create decolonizing curricula in universities around the world. Malaysia is a notable example where the ministry of education is involved in annual conferences on decolonizing education. Bolivia has a Vice Ministry of decolonization and a unit for depatriarchalization.

Fourth, there is a systematic critique of Euro centrism that goes beyond the obvious statement that Eurocentric knowledge is biased. I will give one example of this critique.

Finally, there are attempts to create a new body of knowledge based on new concepts and categories for the sciences. I will give a few examples of the new approaches in science.

Slide 17: A systematic critique of Eurocentric knowledge production: theory of the phases of Eurocentric knowledge production

I will go into one example of a systematic critique of Euro centric knowledge production and that is in our theory of the phases of Eurocentric knowledge production. This theory is being developed by Ramon Grosfoguel and me and has the following propositions:

- Euro centric knowledge production is based on the concept of superiority of the West and the inferiority of the rest.
- There are three phases in Euro centric knowledge production that are grounded in the authority of knowledge production. The authority of knowledge production consist of the people and institution that are regarded as the custodians of knowledge production.
- These phases are embedded in the changes in the structure of power.

This theory is based on an extensive empirical study of European knowledge production.

Slide 18: First phase: theology and the argument about the soul - the debate of Valladolid

The first phase in European knowledge production is from 1492 till around 1650. The European invaded the Americas and their intellectuals tried to find ways to justify the horrific wars and genocide against the indigenous people.

Until the rise of western science the authority of knowledge production was in the hands of theologians. So in order to define a policy towards the indigenous people the Spanish crown asked its knowledge producers to come up with a policy and arguments. We find this in the infamous debate of Valladolid in 1550 between Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and Bartholomé de las Casas.

The basis question in the debate is: can we enslave the indigenous people of the Americas? That depends on the question whether they are human beings or other creatures unlike human beings, like dogs or monkeys. And how do you decide that? Well it is simple. Human have souls, non-humans don't have a soul.

Mind you, this is not a matter of empirical proof but of metaphysics and theology. The question of superiority/inferiority is based on the question of the soul.

Slide 19: Christian theology as the authority of knowledge production: 1492-1650

For one and a half century since the start of western colonization the authority of European knowledge production was based on the Bible. The Bible was the source of knowledge about the natural and social world. A remarkable example is the case of Bishop James Ussher (1581-1656) who calculated the exact date on which God created the universe on the basis of a genealogical timeline in the Bible. The conclusion was that God had created the universe in the night of Saturday and Sunday October 23rd 4004 BCE. Today we may be laughing to hear this conclusion because in our times the authority of knowledge production are scientist such as astronomers who came up with the theory of the Big Bang. But in those days nobody laughed because the authority of knowledge production was the theologian.

Critique in knowledge production between 1492 and 1650 was within the confinements of the Christian theology. Martin Luther's critique of the abuses of power by the Catholic Church and Calvin's denunciation of celibacy where argue with theological arguments.

The introduction of the concepts of superiority and inferiority in the debate of Valladolid was likewise based on theology.

Slide 20: The arguments of Sepúlveda

Sepúlveda came with the following arguments to argue that these creatures where not humans:

1. The inhabitants of the New World were in such a state of barbarism that force was required to liberate them from this condition.
2. Indians commit crimes against natural law: idolatry and sacrifice of humans to their god.
3. Indians oppress and kill innocent people in order to sacrifice them to their gods or to eat their bodies.
4. War may be waged against infidels in order to prepare the way for preaching the Faith.
5. They don't have a soul, you can enslave them

Slide 21: The arguments of Las Casas

Las Casas had lived in the Americas and came with the following counterarguments.

1. Barbarism is a matter of behavior, not culture. The Spaniard behaved more barbarous than the Indians.
2. All punishment presupposes jurisdiction over the person receiving it, but Spaniards enjoy no jurisdiction over Indians, and hence they cannot punish them.
3. If they offend God by these sacrifices, he alone will punish this sin of human sacrific. It is not altogether detestable to sacrifice human beings to God from the fact that God commands Abraham to sacrifice to Him his only son.
4. Christ did not arm his disciples and authorize the use of force to teach the truth of Christianity: 'How does it agree with the example of Christ to spear unknowing Indians before the gospel is preached to them and to terrify in the extreme a totally innocent people by a display of arrogance and the fury of war or to drive them to death or to flight?'
5. They have a soul, but are like children; you can not enslave them but you can civilize them, Christianize them and put them to work in a feudal system of encomienda

Slide 22: the outcome of the debate

The outcome of the debate was decided by a commission of theologians before whom Sepúlveda and Las Casas had testified.

1. Indigenous are underdeveloped human beings, like children
2. They should be Christianized and treated as children
3. Bring Africans from Africa to work on the plantations in the Americas because they are cattle.

Slide 23: the political background of the debate

We should understand the political context of the debate. The Spanish state had ruled that the colonial enterprises should give 2/3 of the mining and plantation revenues to the state and keep 1/3.

The colonialist got land from the King and was allowed to enslave the indigenous people (buy and sell them).

But the genocide that was the result of enslavement created a shortage of enslaved people so the state stepped in to control the survival rate

In 1542 New laws were introduced for "better treatment" and the outcome of the debate of Valladolid legitimized it. Better treatment meant that the colonialist could not sell an buy people and had their labour power tied to their estates.

Slide 24: The second phase: biological racism, philosophy and natural sciences 1650-1850

The demise of Spain and Portugal as colonial superpower and the rise of Holland, England and France as the new colonial powers in the world coincided with the breakthrough of the European Enlightenment. The authority of knowledge production shifted from theology to philosophy and the natural sciences.

The concepts of superiority and inferiority were now argued in philosophical and scientific terms. Let me present some quotes of the major thinkers of European Enlightenment, which I now term White Enlightenment.

Slide 25: John Locke (1632-1704) – philosopher of the Enlightenment

John Locke is know as one of the main philosophers of the early White Enlightenment. He wrote this article into the constitution of Carolina in the USA: *"Every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever."* He was not only a philosopher. He translated his racist philosophy into practical politics.

Slide 26: Charles de Montesquieu (1689-1755) (Separation of powers: legislative branch, judiciary branch, executive branch)

Charles de Montesquieu who is famous for his concept of the separation of powers in the legislative branch, judiciary branch and executive branch has this to say about Africans: *"Those concerned are black from head to toe, and they have such flat noses that it is almost impossible to feel sorry for them. One cannot get into one's mind that god, who is a very wise being, should have put a soul, above all a good soul, in a body that was entirely black... A proof that Negroes do not have common sense is that they make more of a glass necklace than of one of gold, which is of such great consequence among*

nations having a police. It is impossible for us to assume that these people are men because if we assumed they were men one would begin to believe that we ourselves were not Christians."

Slide 27: Voltaire (1694-1778)

Voltaire is regarded in France as the philosophical founder of French Enlightenment. He describes Africans: *"Their round eyes, their flattened nose, their lips which are always large, their differently shaped ears, the wool of their head, that very measure of their intelligence, place prodigious differences between them and the other species of men... And they are not men, except in their stature, with the faculty of speech and thought at a degree far distant to ours. Such are the ones that I have seen and examined... And one could say that if their intelligence is not of another species than ours, then it is greatly inferior. They are not capable of paying much attention; they mingle very little, and they do not appear to be made either for the advantages or the abuses of our philosophy."*

Slide 28: David Hume (1711-1776)

David Hume, a founder of the Scottish Enlightenment wrote: *"I am apt to suspect the negroes, and in general all the other species of men (for there are four or five different kinds) to be naturally inferior to the whites. There scarcely ever was a civilized nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences. On the other hand, the most rude and barbarous of the whites such as the ancient Germans, the present Tartars, have still something eminent about them, in their valour, form of government, or some other particular. Such a uniform and constant difference could not happen, in so many countries and ages, if nature had not made an original distinction between these breeds of men. Not to mention our colonies, there are negroe slaves dispersed all over Europe, of whom none ever discovered any symptoms of ingenuity; though low people, without education, will start up amongst us, and distinguish themselves in every profession. In Jamaica, indeed, they talk of one negroe as a man of parts and learning; but it is likely he is admired for slender."*

Slide 29: Immanuel Kant (1724-1804)

Immanuel Kant, along with George Hegel, the giants of German Enlightenment states: *"The Negroes of Africa have by nature no feeling that rises above the ridiculous. Mr. Hume challenges anyone to adduce a single example where a Negro has demonstrated talents, and asserts that among the hundreds of thousands of blacks who have been transported elsewhere from their countries, although very many of them have been set free, nevertheless not a single one has ever been found who has accomplished something great in art or science or shown any other praiseworthy quality, while among the whites there are always those who rise up from the lowest rabble and through extraordinary gifts earn respect in the world. So essential is the difference between these two human kinds, and it seems to be just as great with regard to the capacities of mind as it is with respect to color."*

Slide 30: George Hegel (1770-1831)

George Hegel inspired Karl Marx with his philosophy of dialectics and world history. Hegel writes: *"The Negro, as already observed, exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state. We must lay aside all thought of reverence and morality — all that we call feeling — if we would rightly comprehend him; there is nothing harmonious with humanity to be found in this type of character."*

We could go on and on but these are the founding father of European Enlightenment. Now you understand why I use the term White Enlightenment. These are not isolated figures but where the authority of knowledge production in Europe.

Slide 31: Scientific racism

The philosophers should be seen in conjunction with the rise of the natural sciences where the empirical so called proof was provided for their propositions in the school of biological racism. They collected the so called evidence among others in the measurement of skulls to prove the superiority of white people and the inferiority of blacks.

Slide 32: Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882)

French intellectual Arthur de Gobineau used the material of the natural sciences to make a classification of races in his book *On the inequality of races*.

- White race = superior, intelligent
- Yellow race = mediocre
- Black and brown race = stupid

Slide 33: Classification of races by Gobineau

If you attached images to the classification, this is what it would look like: the intelligent, mediocre and stupid races.

Slide 34: The rise of White Enlightenment and the rise of trans Atlantic slavery

The background of the shift from theological racism to biological racism is the rise of the trans-Atlantic enslavement. As you can see in the graph between 1650 and 1850 the rise of White Enlightenment went hand in hand with the rise of the trans-Atlantic enslavement, that horrendous crime against humanity.

The trans-Atlantic slavery transforms the African from human being to cattle (in the bookkeeping in the Americas). Colonialism uses science to produce ideology of racism. The concept of superiority/inferiority shifts from the theological argument of having a soul to a pseudo-scientific argument of having the wrong or right genes.

And consequently the image of the African changes from a human being to cattle.

Before the rise the trans-Atlantic enslavement and White Enlightenment Europe knew Africans as traders, scientists and noblemen as we can see in the following paintings.

Slide 35: The black man as a nobleman: blackness not linked to inferiority

Here is a painting from 1500 by Belgian painter Jan van Mostaert: nobleman visits queen of Austria.

Slide 36: African as a prince

This is a painting of African prince visiting a European court by Nicolaes Berchem (1650)

Slide 37: Black king visits Jesus

Here you see three kings visiting the birth of Jesus Christ by Rafael Sanzio (1483-1520).

There are hundred of these paintings in European art collections that gives us an idea of how Africans were perceived before White Enlightenment and the trans-Atlantic enslavement. That is why we say that slavery is not born out of racism, but racism was born out of slavery.

Slide 38: Third phase: the concept of superiority and inferiority argued from culture

In the second half of the nineteenth century we see the rise of the social sciences. In many colonies slavery was legally abolished. The colonization of Asia, the Middle East and the rest of Africa followed. Social scientists gained prominence as the additional authority of scientific knowledge production. They developed the argument that superiority/inferiority was not based on biology but on culture. So we see a shift from inferiority argued not on the basis of the wrong genes but on the basis of the wrong culture. The shift is from biological racism to cultural racism.

Slide 39: Basis cultural racism: theory of phases

The basic tenet in cultural racism is the theory of phases. The propositions of this theory are:

1. All human beings may be equal biologically, but not all cultures are equal.
2. Everything develops from a lower and simple phase to a higher and more complex phase, like Darwin's concept of lower and higher life forms.
3. Western society represents the higher and most complex phase of human civilization and culture.

Slide 40: Social Darwinism

The theory came in different forms.

Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) formulated the concept of social Darwinism: the strong should see their wealth and power increase while the weak should see their wealth and power decrease: it is the survival of the fittest.

Thomas Malthus (1766-1834) postulated that the increase of population stops at the boundaries of food supply, so it is a law of nature that the weakest will not survive.

Nazism took over these concepts and social Darwinism got discredited.

Slide 41: August Comte (1798-1857) founder of sociology and positivism

August Comte, the founder of western sociology, formulated a law of three stages of human progress

1. In the theological stage the explanation of social and natural phenomena is done through personified deities.
2. In the metaphysical stage the explanation of social and natural phenomena is by impersonal abstract concepts. God is seen as an abstract being.
3. In the positivist stage the explanation of social and natural phenomena is done scientific reasoning based on observation, experiment, and comparison.

The West is a society that is in the positivist stage which is the highest stage of human development.

Slide 42: Max Weber (1864-1920)

Max Weber, a giant in European sociology, gave an explanation for the advance of the West. It was because they had the best religion, meaning Protestantism. Not the crimes of colonialism but the mentality of hard work, rational conduct and economic insight has made it possible that Europe came into the highest stage of human development.

Slide 43: Marx and Engels: stages of modes of production

Within the European Enlightenment a discourse of liberation was developed by Marx and Engels with a theory of phases in the concept of the mode of production. Marx distinguishes the following modes of production.

Primitive-communal mode of production: Societies where primitive gathering, fishing and hunting form the base of the economy. The production is so meager that they must be shared equally in order to avoid death by starvation.

Asiatic and African mode of production: the communal groups living in villages ruled by chieftains, clans, priest-kings, who perform trading, military or irrigation-directing functions for the whole. The extract a surplus from the communes through taxes. So there is a social differentiation in the community.

Ancient, Classical or slave mode of production. The work is done by slaves. They themselves are the property of slave owners.

Feudal mode of production. The ultimate producer is a serf, part of whose time must be given to work for his lord and part remains to him to till his own soil.

Capitalist society mode of production: modern society based on private ownership of the means of production: everything becomes a commodity.

The West is in the highest stages of development.

Slide 44: Criteria for stages

In Euro centrism they used the following criteria for determining the stages of development.

- Technology
- Economics
- Scientific development
- DTM: civilization and morality

Slide 45: DTM criteria for stages

In DTM we argue that a society can be advanced in technology and economics, but backward in morality and culture.

Slide 46: DTM concept of world history

We have a different concept of the development of world history. In our concept mankind develops not in one direction (phases) but in several directions

The qualification of the direction is not scientific but moral.

Without colonialism other civilizations would have contributed to mankind in greater ways and the destruction of lives and civilization would not have occurred on this scale.

Slide 47: Human cost of colonialism

If we look at the human cost of colonialism the figures are staggering. We compare the number of victim of colonialism with the number of victims of the Jewish Holocaust and look at how the different crimes against humanity are treated in history books. Then you can not escape the conclusion that there is a fundamental bias in Eurocentric historiography because if you would believe them the Jewish Holocaust would be the greatest crime committed in the history of mankind. But look at the facts.

During the Black Holocaust, the trans-Atlantic enslavement, 200-400 millions lives were destroyed.

The indigenous Holocaust in the Americas costed 50-72 million lives.

The Victorian Holocaust in India and China was the result of colonial policy and demanded 30-60 millions lives during the terrible droughts.

In the Congolese Holocaust 10 million Africans lost their live.

The human cost of colonialism is between 300-550 million lives. In fact there is an underestimation because the destruction of human lives is not only the number of people killed but the number of lives the have been destroyed although people continued living.

Slide 48: The economic cost of colonialism

If we look at the economic cost of colonialism the figures are as shocking as the cost of human lives.

To calculate the cost of colonialism we have developed a mathematical model based on the following propositions. The model can be used in the campaigns for reparations for historic injustice of colonialism. The propositions are:

1. If you build an enterprise on land that is not yours, you should pay rent: US\$ 10 per km²
2. If you take goods that are not yours, you should pay for them: Gold US\$ 3000 per kg; Silver US\$ 80 per kg
3. If somebody performs labor on your behalf, you should pay a proper wage for his or her services. US\$ 0,01 per hour for a 10 hour working day 313 days per years
4. If you intentionally (or even unintentionally) cause injury to an individual or a community you should pay compensation for the injury: Human Suffering US\$ 1 per year per person
5. If you have a debt, you should pay interest. This is an accepted principle in economics and morality in the West: 3% instead of 6% (Haiti)

Slide 49: Mathematical model for reparations

This is the mathematical model.

Slide 50: Outcome computer simulation

And here is the outcome of a computer simulation of the model. The result is that the West owes the colonized people a shocking number of US\$ 321 quadrillion in reparations. A quadrillion is a million times a billion.

In 2013 the GDP of the colonizing countries (Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italiy, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, England, America) was US\$ 30 trillion. So the economic cost of colonialism in 2013 is 10.000 times their total GDP.

Slide 51: Conclusion DTM theory of three phases in Eurocentric knowledge production

Let me sum up where we stand. These are the main conclusion from our DTM theory of the three phases in Eurocentric knowledge production.

1. The basis of Eurocentric knowledge production was the misuse of scientific research into the natural and social world to justify colonialism. That is why we term Eurocentric science "scientific colonialism". It transformed science (seeking knowledge) into ideology (justifying colonialism).
2. As such Eurocentric knowledge production is one of the most important mechanism of the colonization of the mind.
3. A major challenge of DTM is to develop a systematic analysis and critique of Eurocentric knowledge production. It should be part of the curriculum and a training in creating critical minds. It should be based on thorough empirical research and string analytical skills. Developing the critique in a systematic way required a research program in the different disciplines of science.
4. A logical result of the critique is the reconstruct the fundamentals of science in a decolonial way. That is my next topic.

Slide 52: How to reconstruct the fundamentals of decolonial sciences

In DTM we distinguish five steps in the reconstruction of the fundamentals of decolonial sciences.

1. Create a new epistemology.
2. Acknowledge the knowledge producers outside the academia.
3. Go back to the basics: acknowledge and use knowledge production from ancient civilizations.
4. Create new categories, concepts and disciplines in science.
5. Develop an alternative infrastructure for DTM.

Slide 53: 1. A new epistemology - the epistemology of scientific colonialism

How do create a new epistemology. Let us first look at the old epistemology of scientific colonialism and how this is explained in one of the many textbooks of social sciences, in this case a book by Bhattacharjee on Principles, Methods, and Practices of social sciences.

His argument goes as follows.

The purpose of science is to create scientific knowledge. Scientific knowledge refers to a generalized body of laws and theories to explain a phenomenon or behavior of interest that are acquired using the scientific method.

Laws are observed patterns of phenomena or behaviors, while theories are systematic explanations of the underlying phenomenon or behavior.

Scientific method refers to a standardized set of techniques for building scientific knowledge, such as how to make valid observations, how to interpret results, and how to generalize those results.

Scientific inquiry may take one of two possible forms: inductive or deductive.

In inductive research, the goal of a researcher is to infer theoretical concepts and patterns from observed data.

In deductive research, the goal of the researcher is to test concepts and patterns known from theory using new empirical data.

Hence, inductive research is also called theory-building research, and deductive research is theory-testing research.

This is pretty much the classics that is being taught at the Eurocentric universities in the world.

Slide 54: 1. A new epistemology - - The old and new epistemology

In scientific colonialism the subject (the person seeking knowledge) is detached from the object (the study of human beings in the social interaction). In scientific colonialism therefore they maintain that their knowledge is free from ethical values because just like the natural science knowledge is about discovering the facts about the laws of human relations.

In DTM we argue that the subject is not detached but linked to the object in social sciences. In his or her research the subject acts on ethical values that constitute the underlying basis of the categories they use in their analysis. By making explicit what these ethical values are you are contributing to knowledge production. If you deny and hide these values you are producing ideology instead of knowledge.

Once you are conscious of these values your search for knowledge is not just about discoveries but about awareness: being aware of your own behaviour and ethnic values. And this influences your attitude and develops a certain mentality, such as a decolonized mind.

Slide 55: Frederick Douglass (1818-1895): how to liberate yourself from mental slavery

A telling example is the research question: how to liberate yourself from mental slavery. In scientific colonialism this question is impossible to pose and to answer. Why. The concept of mental slavery is absent in scientific colonialism. It would mean an acknowledge of a bias (mental slavery is a bias in knowledge) in a framework that denies that such a bias is possible because there is a separation of subject and object.

Furthermore the methodology of induction and deduction is not applicable because there is no experiment possible where subject and object are separated.

In DTM the answer is giving by the subject that was subjected to mental slavery. Take the passage in the biography of Frederick Douglas, one of the leading activists in the struggle against enslavement in the USA, where he describes a situation in which we was forced into a physical fight with his enslaver. In that fight he appeared to be physical stronger than his adversary and then his confidence grew that he could beat him. Before the fight he always lived in fear. After the fight he concluded: *"My long-crushed spirit rose, cowardice departed, bold defiance took its place; and I now resolved that, however long I might remain a slave in form, the day had passed forever when I could be a slave in fact. I did not hesitate to let it be known of me, that the white man who expected to succeed in whipping, must also succeed in killing me."*

The liberation from mental slavery was not a matter of getting to know the truth in a systematic study of the collection of facts. It was a matter of struggle that generates the awareness of the mechanisms of mental slavery.

Slide 56: 2. Acknowledge the knowledge producers outside the academia

In scientific colonialism the authority of knowledge production lies with academics. They conduct research and produce concepts, categories and theories. So we are being trained to look at their work.

In DTM we acknowledge that there are knowledge producers outside the academia so we look to them for concepts, categories and theories. I have just mentioned Frederick Douglas who gave an analysis of how to liberate yourself from mental slavery. Earlier I mentioned the artist Bob Marley with his analysis is mental slavery and redemption, Marcus Garvey who introduced the concept of Decolonizing The Mind and Malcolm X who went into a detailed analysis of one mechanism is the colonization of the mind: the concept of self hate.

In DTM we are training our students to study the concepts, categories and theories that was developed outside the academia and bring them in a coherent framework in the academia. They were developed by activists, artists and spiritual leaders.

Slide 57: 3. Go back to the basics: acknowledge and use knowledge production from ancient civilizations

In reconstructing the fundamentals of decolonial sciences we go back to the basics of knowledge production from ancient civilizations.

The first step in going back to the basic is the acknowledgement that science did not start in Europe but was already there in all civilizations in world. For some people, like the American racist scholar Mary Lefkowitz this is shocking news. She wrote in her book titled *Not Out of Africa*: "*Although I had been completely unaware of it, there was in existence a whole literature that denied that the ancient Greeks were the inventors of democracy, philosophy, and science. Not only were these books being read and widely distributed; some of these ideas were being taught in schools and even in universities.*" (p. xi)

Welcome in the 21st century.

Let me illustrate my point with the example of mathematics. I want to acknowledge my debt for my ideas to my good friend C.K. Raju, an Indian mathematician who has done a lot of work on decolonial mathematics.

Slide 58: Decolonial mathematics

Decolonizing mathematics means three things.

First we start by decolonizing the historiography of mathematics, and in general technology and the natural sciences. Their history has been colonized by leaving the contributions of the old civilizations out of the textbooks of the natural sciences. Reconstructing this historiography is the first step in reconstructing the fundamentals of decolonial natural sciences.

Second we dive into the methodology that was used by the scientists in those time to see what we can used nowadays from the mathematics that was developed then. A simple is the method of calculation used in China and Japan. There make calculations through a system of drawing line. You can look it up on YouTube by typing *Math Trick: Multiply Numbers By Drawing Lines*.

Third, we use reverse engineering to reconstruct possible techniques that was used then. That process might lead to new inventions. How did the Africans build a pyramid without formal mathematics. If we know the answer, that might change our view of mathematics. Now Raju has done some of this work by looking at the algorithms that Indian mathematicians have used in square root mathematics. Then he sees the limitations of formal mathematics that is prevalent in Western mathematics.

Slide 59: 4. Concepts, categories and theories

In reconstructing the fundamentals of decolonial sciences we need new concepts, categories and theories.

- A scientific concept is an idea that describes and explains certain aspects of the social or natural world.
- A category is a term for a concept.
- A theory is a set of interrelated concepts that describes and explains certain aspects of the social or natural world. A theory can entail one concept if it refers to one idea. It can also refer to a set of concepts, but then they should be related to one another.
- A description is an account of a series of events.
- An analysis is an explanation of how to understand a series of events.

Slide 60: Discovery versus barbarism: Columbus and the Americas

Take the concept from Scientific Colonialism of the rape, pillage and genocide in the Americas. That phenomenon is conceptualized as a scientific discovery by the Christopher Columbus. The theory behind it is the theory of the progress of human civilization into modernity. The categories that are used are categories like discovery and modernity.

Now take the DTM approach of the same phenomenon. It is based on scientific facts and not on ideological fantasies. The concept is the concept of a crime against humanity. The theory behind it is the theory of colonialism as nadir, the downfall, of human civilization. The categories that are used are the categories of barbarism or the category of crime against humanity.

Slide 61: Muhammad Baqir as-Sadr

Let us take another discipline to show how to reconstruct decolonial sciences: economics.

We go back to a study by muslim spiritual leader, Muhammad Baqir as-Sadr, who challenged western economic theory in his book *Our economics - An objective study consisting of the examination and criticism of the economic doctrines of marxism, capitalism and islam as concerns the fundamentals and details of their ideas*.

He studied Adam Smith, Marx and other classical Western economists. Adam Smith invented the theory of the market as a kind of natural law that determines prices through demand and supply. The engine behind that law is the concept of profit maximization. So we are bound to follow these laws.

Baqir as-Sadr argues that this is not a natural law of price formation, but a social construct which you can reject on moral grounds. Economics is not about natural laws, but about ethical values. Profit maximization is an Eurocentric category for the DTM category of greed. As the president of Ecuador, Rafael Correa says: "The market is a good servant, but a terrible master". There are no economic laws. There are ethical values that we accept or reject based on our morals.

So the new economics in DTM will construct decolonial economics with new categories. Some work in this regard has been done in the field of Islamic banking. So it is not a dream. It is a reality in the making.

Slide 62: Constructing decolonial sciences: the question of power

We are at the threshold of a new era in which the construction a whole body of decolonial sciences with new concepts, categories and theories might change the outlook and content of science. There many individuals and groups around the world inside and outside the academia working on this challenge.

But this is no only about knowledge. It is also about power.

First there is the power struggle in the academia. Decolonizing the sciences means decolonizing the mind. By putting this on the academic agenda you challenge vested authority of your colleagues. If everyone abides by formally accepted norms of discussion then there is no problem.

You have your theory. I have mine, You present your propositions, arguments and facts. I present mine. There is no hard feelings, no emotions, just rational thinking.

But what if I argue with facts and theory that your theory is an expression of the colonizing of the mind. Will you still leave emotions out of the discussion? Even if I don't personally use the terminology to characterize your position, but from the arguments it is clear that this is the case, will you still discuss without emotions?

My experience is that it is very difficult to control the emotions. Once emotions comes into play, then the next step is that power comes into play that prevents free discussion, debate and research. Then the academic debate moves from arguments to personal attacks and power play. It is like the American saying: when the going gets tough, the tough get going.

Second, because decolonizing the sciences is about power it is necessary for academics and activist to come together and join forces I building power that enables us to transform knowledge production.

Basically that is what Ramon Grosfoguel of the University of California Berkeley – one of Americas top universities – is doing with activists around the world. We are trying to build a power base for the transformation of knowledge production.

Slide 63: Infrastructure

The challenge in building this power base boils down to developing an global infrastructure for decolonizing knowledge production.

This infrastructure currently consists of:

- Summer Schools we are organizing in Barcelona, Granada, Amsterdam and Mexico City. Ramon is also involved with Unisa in the Summer School in Africa.
- A new international publishing house, called Amrit Publishers. We have set up a new book series with met and professor Stephen Small fro the University of California Berkeley as the editors.
- Research projects. I will give two examples.
 - We are now in the process of constructing an international database on resistance against trans-Atlantic enslavement. This is a joint project of the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool, the University of California Berkeley and the International Institute for Scientific Research (IISR) in The Netherlands.
 - Another example is a project of IISR that a student from Oxford is now developing with us, which is about measuring identity formation. Is it possible to have a set of criteria by which you can measure and assess identity formation. This is important because we are developing a theory on identity formation that is an decolonial answer to the concept of class formation.

- Finally we want to develop a curriculum for a decolonial university. Ramon Grosfoguel and I have just recently discussed in the idea in Barcelona of developing a curriculum for a decolonial university. How would it look like? Can we offer it in cooperation with existing universities or do it on our own as a e-learning project.

Slide 64: A new sun will rise

I would like to end with bringing the vision of the Aztec leader Cuauhtémoc to our minds. He said: *"The face of our Sun has disappeared, and has left us in complete darkness. This will be until that time when our new Sun rises. We know it will return again, that it will rise again, and it will begin to illuminate us anew."*

The new sun will be seen in the form of new textbooks, new disciplines, new research programmes, new knowledge production and new knowledge producers. This is our vision for the future. This is what you can contribute to.

If you want the PowerPoint presentation and the text of my presentation send me an email at info@iisr.nl.

Thanks you for your attention. I am open to critique, discussions and questions.

ⁱ Garvey, M. (1938)

ⁱⁱ Idem.