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The geopolitics of knowledge and the colonial difference

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1. INTRODUCTION

In December of 1998 a workshop on "Historical Capitalism, Coloniality of Power, and Transmodernity" took place at the Fernand Braudel Center, at Binghamton University. The workshop was organized by Ramón Grosfogel and Agustín Lao-Montes and featured presentations by Immanuel Wallerstein, Anibal Quijano, and Enrique Dussel. Each speaker was asked to offer an update on their work and to elaborate on the respective concept attributed to them. Reflecting on "transmodernity," Dussel made a remark that I take as a central point of my argument. According to Dussel, postmodern criticism of modernity is important and necessary but not entirely sufficient. The argument was developed by Dussel in his recent short but important dialogue with Gianni Vattimo's work, which he characterized as a "eurocentric critique of modernity" (Dussel 1999: 39). What else can there be beyond a eurocentric critique of modernity and eurocentrism? Dussel responds to this question with the concept of tranmodernity, by which he means that "modernity" is not a strictly European but a planetary phenomenon to which the "excluded barbarians" have contributed, although their contribution has not been acknowledge. Dussel's argument resembles the South Asian Subaltern Studies project, although it comes from the legacies of earlier colonialisms (Spanish and Portuguese). Transmodernity also implies - for Dussel - a "liberating reason" ("razón liberadora") that is the guiding principle of his philosophy and ethic of liberation. The dialogue between Dussel and Wallerstein, between philosophy of liberation (Dussel 1994) and world system analysis (Wallerstein 1987) and between liberation of philosophy (Dussel 1996; 1999; Apel 1996) and opening the social sciences (Wallerstein et. al., 1996; Wallerstein 1999; 137-156, 220-252) have two things in common. One is that they are both critical of capitalism, neo-liberal markets and formal democracy. The other is that they both (along with Quijano) conceive modernity as unfolding in the sixteenth century with capitalism and the emergence of the Atlantic commercial circuit. However, there is a break between Wallerstein on the one hand and Dussel and Quijano on the other. And the break is that they stand at different ends of the colonial difference. In other words, the colonial difference presupposes "spatial epistemological breaks" that disrupt the calm waters of the chronological waters in which Michel Foucault cast historical changes. Thus, the need for the geo-politics of knowledge is precisely to account for the spatial epistemic breaks from the perspective of coloniality. That is to say, from the hidden and silenced histories from the colonial horizon of modernity. To explain this intuition is the main trust of this paper.

Dussel's remarks about postmodern criticism can also be applied to Wallerstein's conception of "historical capitalism" in that historical capitalism is a eurocentric critique of capitalism (Wallerstein 1983). By introducing the notion of colonial difference I will be able to expand on Dussel's notion of "transmodernity" and Quijano's "coloniality of power." Furthermore, I will compare the three approaches to "Eurocentrism" (Dussel 1995, 1998; Wallerstein 1997a; Quijano 1997) and, toward the end of the article, I will

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