

# Peace Studies and the Color Line

Africana Contributions

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Series in Philosophy of Race



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# Table of Contents

Introduction	vii
Chapter 1 <b>Evasions, resistances, and conceptual confusions</b>	1
Chapter 2 <b>Race and the rights of the human</b>	29
Chapter 3 <b>Race, humanities, and social and human sciences</b>	65
Chapter 4 <b>Fanon, conflicts and pacifism</b>	123
Epilogue: Fear, anger, and safety in the classroom	165
Bibliography	177
Acknowledgments	201
Index	203



# Introduction

An Igbo proverb tells us that a man who does not know where the rain began to beat him cannot say where he dried his body.

–Chinua Achebe,  
*There was a Country. A Personal History of Biafra*

## Peace studies and the mirror of the color-line

In 1903, the intellectual giant W. E. B. Du Bois presciently warned that the problem of the twentieth century would be “the problem of the color-line” (Du Bois, 2015: 1). Roughly fifteen years later, Du Bois expanded upon and complemented the implications of the color-line, highlighting the main challenges that the world faced: “The uplift of women is, next to the problem of the color-line and the peace movement, our greatest modern cause” (Du Bois, 2007c: 105).<sup>1</sup> Du Bois’s admonition, fueled by the insights and the impetus from centuries of oppression and resistance, resonated with the yearnings for freedom of colonized peoples worldwide. The contemporaries of Du Bois, those in positions of power in the color-divided world, also recognized the significance of the problem of the color-line, but their aims were contrary. In the name of security, much like today, their primary concern was the control, management, subjugation, exploitation, and expropriation of people of color and their lands. For them, the problem was not the color-line but the people on the other side.

In Europe, the question of the color-line had been central to texts across various domains of knowledge, spanning ethics, epistemology, and politics, for centuries. It was also at the heart of legal frameworks that defined the rights of humans and the nature of relations between different populations, informing notions of citizenship and property rights. It shaped institutions and forms of governance in both the private and public spheres. The debate around it was in both theological and scientific terms, concerning culture and biology, respectively. Yet, the color-line was not recognized as a problem until after the Second World War, and even then, it was approached with a limited critical disposition. The depth, scope, and implications of racism were, at best, only partially acknowledged.

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<sup>1</sup> And anticipating contemporary approaches to the study of race, he warned that “When, now, two of the movements— women and color— combine in one, the combination has deep meaning”. (Du Bois, 2007c: 105)

Peace studies were born at the same time and in the same spirit as the widespread condemnation of the horrors of Nazism and Hiroshima. It has adopted a similarly partial and ambivalent position concerning the problem of the color-line. While racism is vehemently denounced, many movements, traditions, and thinkers that have theorized about and against colonialism and its legacy, those that have faced and challenged racism, and those that have analyzed the implications of race in the modern world are largely absent, if not neglected or even dismissed. Condemning injustices does not always amount to confronting and understanding them. Often, such condemnation can serve as a shield to avoid facing one's own contradictions and obscure one's complicity in the very issues being denounced. More than a century after Du Bois' proclamation, major events of our time, as well as the everyday experiences of millions, show that the turn of the century did not put an end to the problem of the color-line. The question of race and racism can no longer be sidelined.

It is obvious that the world is different from the world in which Du Bois, Fanon and Césaire lived, to name some of the main theoretical contributors to this book. While there are few formal colonies and colonial empires that are no longer institutionalized, new legal frameworks and global social and economic configurations have merged. Race and racism have changed their appearance several times since the time of decolonization, evolving from silence to colorblindness and postracial and now to the overt reappearance of white supremacy. However, race, as the colonial measure of humanity, continues to define what it means to be a man or a woman, relegating groups of human beings below the standard of humanity. It confines people to their physicality, disrupts human relations, and configures relations at spatial, economic, and sexual levels. Racism endangers life and health, resulting in both physical and mental suffering. The colonial logic of spatiality continues to restrict physical movement, confining specific groups to certain neighborhoods, migration centers, and refugee camps, all under conditions of violence and dehumanization. The War on Terror, rationalized as the spread of democracy and seen as a new form of the civilizing mission, pathologizes and targets new groups, constructing them as "problem people" in Du Bois's terms. This war also boosted the economy of extraction in the Global South, aided by local elites. At the level of knowledge, race and racism shape a wide range of concepts, theories, and discussions, with racism itself dictating how it is talked about and when it is silenced.

This book aims to continue and expand conversations emerging from the margins of peace studies about race, racism, and their implications for the field. Drawing on traditions that centralize race and racism in their discourse, especially the often-overlooked Africana critical and philosophical tradition, we engage in debates and address questions that are central in Africana



thought yet remain under-explored in peace studies. We utilize race as a lens to rethink peace studies' foundational assumptions, conceptual frameworks, and epistemic and normative presuppositions. Genuine inter- or transdisciplinary dialogue requires a profound re-evaluation of what constitutes exclusion in both knowledge and politics. This necessitates a critical examination of the structures and organization of knowledge, challenging what is accepted as knowledge, a deeper understanding of one's identity, and a reassessment of relationships with other disciplines. The ideological foundations of these exclusions must also be interrogated. To fully incorporate race and racism into peace studies through Africana theory—especially Africana phenomenology and existentialism—it is imperative to address the foundational narratives of peace studies. This includes an analysis of our field's ties to international relations and liberal political theory, understanding the disruptions brought about by race, examining the relationship between the ethical and the political, defining the boundaries with other disciplines, probing the nuances of violence and its implications for peace, exploring the question of freedom, and delving into the notion of the human that underpins all these inquiries.

### **Race and the shapes of modernity**

It is difficult to understand the contemporary world without considering the last five hundred years of colonialism and the concomitant and ongoing processes of racialization. Structures of governance, juridical arrangements, modes of production and economic relations, conceptions of freedom and property, justice and war were all forged within the colonial situation. From this environment also emerged anticolonial organizations and struggles, along with their theorizations, achievements, and failures. Today's world is shaped by race (as it is by other political relations) in many varied ways.

Our point of departure is that race is not merely a category describing human difference, but it is deeply rooted in colonial histories and patterns of subordination and exploitation. Considering race as the measure of humanity and sub-humanity and as a foundational element in European modernity's understanding of the human being compels us to reflect on the emergence of new groups and types of people. This viewpoint necessitates acknowledging the problems of dehumanization and its impact on the formation of institutions, economic relations, legal frameworks, and modern forms of knowledge. The question of human difference in the colonial framework, conceptualized through race, was a central element in the origin of modern social sciences: to define what a human being is and to distinguish between the human and the subhuman. Therefore, what is at stake is not only how race is understood and studied or adding race to peace studies, but connecting race to the formation of modern knowledge production, and to a whole set of elements related to the

modern world. The history of race is a history of violence and is also a part of the history of the human in the modern world. As such, this history of violence in the constitution of the subhumans in the colonial world had a generative dimension in the constitution of the humans in Europe and in the formation of institutions, political theories, modes of governance, and social arrangements.

If race is not only a modern phenomenon but also a central element of modernity, it is essential to clarify what is meant by modernity. This understanding is crucial not merely for the sake of conceptual precision but because it reveals the foundational considerations when conceptualizing the world's configuration. Sociologist Gurinder Bhambra posits that "addressing particular sets of connections leads to particular understandings (...) why certain connections were initially chosen and why choosing others could lead to more adequate explanations" (Bhambra, 2014a: 5). In essence, our understanding of modernity and the modern world shapes which elements, events or relations are highlighted, marginalized, or omitted. It also informs the distribution of agency, determining who counts as an active participant and who is deemed a passive recipient of social arrangements.

As Bhambra notes, the dominant account of modernity in social and human sciences treats modernity as an intra-European set of events, processes, or thinkers. Colonialism is rather epiphenomenal and disconnected from modernity. This diffusionist argument of modernity as an exclusively European phenomenon is also common in peace studies. Wolfgang Dietrich and Wolfgang Sützl define modernity as "the societal project characterized by Newtonian physics, Cartesian reductionism, the nation-state of Thomas Hobbes, and the capitalist world system" (Dietrich and Sützl, 1997: 283). Such a view presents modernity as a European or Western phenomenon whose ideas, practices, events, authors, and institutions were subsequently spread through the European empires rather than being constituted in their entanglement with colonialism. Thus, it hinders the ability to account for the relationality through which the state, capitalism, and Cartesian metaphysics and doubt emerged. For example, Descartes, seen as one of the defining figures of modernity and the initiator of modern philosophy through the questions of doubt, method, and epistemology, should also be conceived in relation to the Transatlantic connections, to thinkers and events occurring in the Americas during the Spanish conquest, which we will examine in more detail in the second chapter.

Likewise, the development of the modern state did not take place in an isolated Europe. As David Theo Goldberg illustrates in his seminal work *The Racial State*, the close relationship between race and state is also understudied in race theory, with some exceptions like South Africa, the United States, or Nazi Germany. Goldberg shows that there is a "historical co-definition" of race and the modern state, not only at the level of their emergence, development,

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# Index

## A

- abolition, xxxii, xxxvi, 44, 45, 46,  
47, 49, 80, 184, 192
- Achebe, Chinua, vii, 177, 198
- Addams, Jane, 96
- Adler, Alfred, 59
- Africana, viii, xiii, xxi, xxiv, xxxiii,  
xxxiv, xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix, 59,  
65, 83, 84, 97, 98, 99, 103, 108,  
115, 122, 132, 135, 143, 165, 173
- Africana phenomenology, ix
- Africana philosophy, xxxiv, xxxvii,  
xxxviii, xxxix, 135
- Ahmed, Sara, 4, 13, 108, 115, 120,  
135, 177
- Alcoff, Linda Martin, 6, 7, 8, 19,  
115, 118, 119, 120, 121, 177
- alienation, 63, 98, 104, 108, 109,  
112, 119, 121, 135, 145, 173, 183
- Alpert, Avram, 125, 126, 177
- American Revolution, 43
- Améry, Jean, 142, 143, 149, 177
- Amo, Anton Wilhelm, 74
- Anderson, Carlo, 52, 53, 104, 177
- Anghie, Antony, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40,  
177
- anonymity, 115, 116, 119, 193
- anthropology, xxix, xxxi, xxxvi,  
xxxviii, xxxix, xl, 15, 23, 39, 66,  
67, 68, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79,  
80, 81, 83, 85, 88, 90, 103, 106,  
143
- anthropos and humanitas, 68, 76,  
79
- anticolonial, ix, xiii, xvi, xviii, xx,  
xxi, xxiii, xxiv, xxx, xxxiii, 27, 44,  
53, 54, 58, 61, 84, 87, 101, 107,  
122, 127, 128, 135, 136, 141,  
143, 148, 150, 153, 154, 173
- anticolonialism, ix, xiii, xvi, xviii,  
xx, xxi, xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxx,  
xxxiii, 27, 30, 44, 50, 53, 54, 55,  
56, 58, 61, 84, 87, 94, 101, 107,  
122, 127, 128, 132, 135, 136,  
141, 143, 148, 150, 153, 154,  
173, 190
- anti-semitism, 56
- Antrosio, Jason, 10, 11, 177
- Anzaldúa, Gloria, 106, 108
- apartheid, xl, 19, 23, 53, 59, 157,  
161, 162, 194
- Apheteker, Herbert, 52
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony, xxxvii,  
7, 9, 177, 197
- Arendt, Hannah, 43, 59, 123, 131,  
150, 151, 152, 178
- Aristotle, 59, 66, 75, 77
- armed struggle, xxi, xxiii, xl, 123,  
128, 129, 133, 142, 143, 144,  
154, 155, 157, 158
- Arthur de Gobineau, 66, 75
- Auschwitz, 142, 177
- Azarmandi, Mahdis, xxi, xxiii, 15,  
18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 27, 55, 62, 83,  
124, 125, 132, 135, 137, 156,  
157, 177, 178

## B

- bad faith, 5, 82, 84, 119, 166, 169,  
170, 174, 175
- Baldwin, James, 158, 178
- Balibar, Étienne, xxxiii, 55, 152,  
178
- Banton, Michael, 2, 17, 18, 178

Barroso, José Manuel, xxiv, 190  
 Barth, William K., 51, 178  
 Beckett, Greg, 78, 80, 81, 178  
 Beneduce, Roberto, 13, 16, 94,  
 103, 104, 113, 120, 121, 128,  
 135, 141, 153, 179, 181, 185  
 Benjamin, Walter, 151, 179  
 Bentouhami, Hourya, 57, 62, 179  
 Berlowitz, Marvin J., xviii, 179  
 Bernasconi, Robert, 73, 74, 75, 76,  
 78, 103, 179  
 Bhabha, Homi K., 147, 150, 179  
 Bhabra, Gurminder K., x, xxxvi,  
 21, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 50, 72, 85,  
 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 95, 124,  
 179  
 Biko, Steve, xxxi, 59, 179, 185, 192  
 Bilgin, Pinar, xx, 180  
 Black Lives Matters, 135, 149  
 Black Panther Party, 157, 159, 160,  
 161, 193  
 Black Power, 3, 160, 198  
 Blackburn, Robin, 180  
 Boas, Franz, 16, 90  
 body, vii, xxxii, 12, 17, 19, 20, 21,  
 26, 27, 32, 44, 67, 73, 100, 113,  
 118, 119, 120, 141, 142, 147,  
 148, 165  
 Boer War, xix, 123  
 Boulding, Elise, 132, 180  
 Bourdieu, Pierre, 146, 147, 180  
 Boxill, Bernard, 20, 141, 143, 180  
 brave space, 166  
 Brown, Wendy, xxxiii  
 Brunner, Claudia, xxii, 132, 180  
 Buck-Morss, Susan, xxxi, xxxvi, 41,  
 42, 49, 180  
 Buddhism, xxvi, 174  
 Buddhist, xxvi, xxvii  
 Burden-Stelly, Charise, 89, 180  
 Butler, Judith, 150, 152, 180

## C

Cabral, Amilcar, 131, 187  
 Caliban, 107, 108, 187  
 capitalism, x, xii, xxxi, xxxii, 36, 91,  
 99, 107, 117  
 Carmichael, Stokely, 159, 160  
 Castro, Daniel, xxviii, xxix, 31, 34,  
 35, 130, 180  
 Césaire, Aimé, viii, xiii, xvi, xxx,  
 xxxix, 23, 41, 46, 56, 57, 107,  
 108, 180, 181, 187  
 Chakrabarty, Dipesh, xxxi, 181  
 Charter of the Forest, 35  
 Chavis Jr., Charlie, xxxviii, 181  
 Chenoweth, Erica, 155, 181  
 Cherki, Alice, 94, 103, 125, 153, 181  
 Chikane, Frank, 161, 162  
 Churchill, Ward, 158, 159, 161,  
 181, 198  
 Ciccariello-Maher, George, 147,  
 150, 157, 181  
 Civil Rights, xl, 125, 126, 156, 159,  
 160  
 Cobb Jr. Charlie, 159, 181  
 Code noir, 44  
 COINTELPRO, 161, 181  
 coloniality, xii, xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxiv,  
 26, 132, 178, 190, 191, 193, 199  
 color-line, vii, viii, 99  
 communication, xxiii, xxvi, 15, 19,  
 42, 59, 98, 124, 129, 167, 168  
 compulsion, 148  
 Comte, Auguste, 66, 77, 78, 81  
 Cone, James H., 157, 181  
 conflict, xvi, xxiv, xxvii, xxix, xxxiii,  
 18, 19, 30, 49, 55, 60, 61, 63, 115,  
 121, 122, 126, 136, 149, 150,  
 154, 174, 184  
 Confortini, Catia C., 117, 137, 181  
 Cooper, Anna Julia, 96  
 Cornell, Drucilla, 56, 57, 58, 181,  
 192, 198

Courtheyn, Christopher, 181  
 Cox, Oliver C, xiii, 27, 28, 181  
 Crenshaw, Kimberlé, 169, 181  
 creolization, 84, 106  
 cultural peace, xxvi, 117  
 culture, vii, xiii, xiv, xxvi, xxviii,  
   xxxvi, xxxviii, xl, 1, 2, 9, 10, 13,  
   14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 28, 29,  
   30, 32, 33, 39, 44, 65, 68, 74, 84,  
   100, 104, 105, 109, 110, 124, 153

## D

Darío, Rubén, 107  
 De Beauvoir, Simone, 125, 143,  
   182  
 De Lepervanche, Marie, 182  
 de Vitoria, Francisco, xxxvi, 29, 36,  
   191  
 decentering, 83, 84, 175  
 Declaration of the Rights of Man  
   and of the Citizen, 30, 44, 46  
 decolonial theory, xxi, xxii, xxiii,  
   xxiv, xxvi, 27, 30, 55, 106, 132,  
   133, 134, 192  
 decoloniality, xxii, xxiii, xxiv  
 decolonization, viii, xxii, xxiii, 54,  
   67, 123, 129, 130, 143, 145, 150,  
   153, 155, 160, 163, 180, 186,  
   188, 197  
 Dellinger, Dave, 127, 182  
 democracy, viii, xx, xxxiii, 23, 41,  
   51, 62, 94, 134  
 Descartes, René, x, xxix, 36, 67, 68,  
   69, 113, 119, 175, 186  
 development, x, xi, xv, xviii, xix,  
   xx, 16, 22, 25, 27, 29, 30, 36, 39,  
   43, 50, 55, 62, 66, 74, 76, 78, 79,  
   81, 85, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 98, 111,  
   131, 144, 151, 173, 184  
 Dietrich, Wolfgang, x, xiii, xxix, 57,  
   101, 130, 131, 182, 193  
 disalienation, 112

disciplinary decadence, 139  
 discipline, xiii, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii,  
   xix, xx, xxiii, xxiv, xxvi, xxxi,  
   xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxviii, 5, 13,  
   28, 66, 74, 79, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88,  
   89, 93, 95, 105, 106, 115, 124,  
   129, 138, 139  
 diversity, xx, xxvii, xxix, 13, 14, 15,  
   48, 62, 131  
 Domènech, Antoni, xxix, 40, 179,  
   182  
 Dorlin, Esla, 159, 161  
 double consciousness, 66, 100,  
   101, 102, 103, 134, 171, 175  
 Douglass, Frederick, 141, 142, 143,  
   149, 182  
 Du Bois, W.E.B., vii, viii, xiii, xviii,  
   xxi, xxxvii, 35, 52, 53, 54, 57, 65,  
   66, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 95, 96, 98,  
   99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 106, 108,  
   115, 126, 134, 157, 173, 178,  
   180, 182, 183, 190, 192, 194,  
   197, 199  
 Dubois, Laurent, 42, 46, 47, 182  
 Dussel, Enrique, xi, xii, 25, 32, 33,  
   35, 67, 73, 148, 149, 183, 186

## E

ego, 26, 174, 175  
 egoic investment, 172, 175  
 Eig, Jonathan, 158, 183  
 Elias, Sean, 53, 183  
 Ellison, Ralph, 115  
 embodied consciousness, xxxvii  
 Enlightenment, xii, 17, 23, 41, 42,  
   48, 49, 69, 71, 72, 182, 183, 193,  
   195  
 epistemological turn, 65, 74, 97,  
   115  
 equality, xx, xxv, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii,  
   28, 38, 41, 43, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50,



51, 53, 62, 70, 80, 81, 85, 101,  
102, 158, 169  
essence, x, xi, 1, 91, 92, 114, 116,  
165, 173  
essentialism, xxvi, 19, 116  
ethics, vii, xi, xvi, xxvi, xxx, xxxi, 16,  
29, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 72, 73, 74,  
77, 88, 145, 146, 158, 159, 170  
ethnic conflict, 18, 19, 88  
ethnicity, xxxvi, 2, 13, 14, 17, 18,  
19, 21, 28, 86, 91  
Eurocentrism, xx, xxiii, xxvi, 23,  
41, 46, 53, 83, 124, 179, 183,  
187, 189  
Euro-modernity, xii, 80  
existential phenomenology,  
xxxiv, 115, 119  
existentialism, ix, 143, 180, 193,  
195  
Eze, Emmanuel Chukwudi, 73,  
74, 183

## F

Fanon, Frantz, viii, xiii, xiv, xxi,  
xxii, xxiii, xxx, xxxi, xxxiii, xxxvii,  
xxxix, xl, 17, 27, 39, 54, 57, 59,  
60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 93, 98, 103,  
104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109,  
110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115,  
117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122,  
123, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130,  
131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 138, 140,  
141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146,  
147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152,  
153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 160,  
173, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181,  
183, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190,  
191, 192, 194, 195, 196, 199, 201  
Federici, Silvia, 25, 107, 123, 183  
Fenton, Steve, 18, 184  
Fernández Retamar, Roberto, 107,  
120

Fields, Barbara J., 92, 184  
Firmin, Anténor, xxxvii, 65, 66, 74,  
75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83,  
84, 90, 98, 110, 173, 178, 179,  
184  
First World War, xv, xix, 51  
Fischer, Sibylle, xxxvi, 41, 42, 43,  
44, 48, 49, 50, 51, 184  
FitzGerald, Garrett, xxii, xxiii, 55,  
83, 184  
Fomina, Joanna, 3, 184  
force, xxiv, 19, 35, 58, 103, 129,  
132, 140, 141, 146, 148, 149,  
151, 152, 160, 182  
Foucault, Michel, 74, 79, 152, 184  
Francisco Cisneros, 31, 33  
Francisco Ruiz, 31  
Frazier, Franklin E., xviii  
freedom, vii, ix, xiii, xxiv, xxxii,  
xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxviii, 28, 31, 40,  
41, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51,  
60, 62, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 80,  
96, 101, 102, 114, 128, 129, 134,  
141, 143, 144, 173, 174  
Freire, Paulo, 130  
French Revolution, xxxvi, 29, 41,  
42, 44, 45, 46, 50, 125  
Fry, Douglas P., xxviii, 184

## G

Galtung, Johan, xv, xxvi, 65, 94,  
117, 118, 137, 146, 181, 184  
Gandhi, Mahatma, 123, 155, 182,  
183, 184, 189, 197  
Garza, Alicia, 156  
Gauthier, Florence, 40, 45, 47, 184,  
185, 192  
Getachew, Adom, xx, 30, 50, 51,  
54, 185  
Gibson, Nigel C., 94, 103, 104, 113,  
120, 121, 128, 135, 141, 153,  
181, 185

Giddens, Anthony, 18, 19, 185  
 Gilroy, 185  
 Global South, viii, xxi, xxiv, xxvi,  
 xxvii, xxx, 30, 41, 46, 53, 56, 83,  
 94, 125, 196  
 Goldberg, David Theo, x, xiv,  
 xxxviii, 7, 8, 9, 17, 21, 23, 24, 27,  
 185, 191  
 Gordon, Jane Anna, 84, 104, 106,  
 148, 170, 186, 187  
 Gordon, Lewis R., xii, xxii, xxxi,  
 xxxvii, xxxviii, 5, 7, 8, 9, 19, 36,  
 59, 60, 65, 67, 79, 82, 97, 98, 104,  
 107, 110, 118, 132, 143, 146,  
 170, 175, 177, 186, 189, 190,  
 193, 201  
 Grant, Ruth, 69, 186  
 Grotius, Hugo, 40  
 Grüner, Eduardo, 47, 48, 187

## H

Hacking, Ian, 10, 187  
 Haiti, xxxvi, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46,  
 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 79, 83, 180,  
 184  
 Haitian Constitution, 47, 48, 181  
 Haitian Revolution, xxxvi, 29, 41,  
 42, 43, 46, 49, 50, 57, 179, 182,  
 185, 189, 196  
 Haraway, Donna, xxix, 20  
 Headley, Clevis, 169, 172, 187  
 Hegel, G.W.F., 59, 60, 66, 69, 72,  
 77, 100, 180, 187, 195  
 Henderson, Errol, 187  
 Heng, Geraldine, 21, 24, 187  
 Henry, Paget, 8, 65, 100, 102, 103,  
 107, 108, 143  
 Herder, Johann Gottfried, 72, 73  
 Hesse, Barnor, 5, 7, 11, 22  
 Hill Collins, Patricia, 188  
 Hobbes, Thomas, x, 40, 59  
 Howard School, xviii

human rights, xxv, xxxvi, 28, 29,  
 30, 34, 35, 36, 46, 52, 53, 54, 55,  
 56, 57, 58, 88, 93, 122, 136, 162,  
 163  
 Human Rights, Universal  
 Declaration of, xvi, xxxvi, 22,  
 29, 51, 52, 53, 56, 58, 89, 126,  
 177, 180, 181, 183, 188, 189,  
 191, 192, 196, 197  
 humanism, xxxii, xxxiii, 23, 29, 35,  
 38, 56, 57, 61, 70, 71, 118, 133,  
 134  
 Hume, David, 69, 71, 72, 188  
 Huntington, Samuel, 14  
 Husserl, Edmund, 188

## I

identity, ix, xvi, xvii, xxxvii, xxxix,  
 1, 9, 14, 19, 48, 55, 106, 127, 142,  
 143, 149, 157, 165, 169, 172,  
 173, 174, 175, 194  
 Ignatieff, Michael, 58, 188  
 Ignatiev, Noel, 19, 20, 188  
 imperialism, xvii, xxiv, 22, 27, 34,  
 54  
 Indigenous people, xii, xxii, xxvi,  
 xxvii, xxx, 42, 70, 180, 190  
 Ingold, Tim, xxviii, 188  
 interculturality, 1  
 interdisciplinary, xv, xxxviii, 106,  
 137  
 international law, xxxvi, 29, 36, 37,  
 40, 62, 88, 177  
 international relations, ix, xv, xvi,  
 xvii, xviii, xix, xx, 65, 88, 89, 90,  
 132, 137, 187, 189, 193, 194,  
 196, 197, 198  
 intersectionality, 133, 169  
 intersubjectivity, 63, 115, 116, 118,  
 122  
 Islamophobia, 14, 24

**J**

Jaime-Salas, Julio Roberto, xv, xvi, xxii, xxxi, 188  
 James, C.L.R., 46, 107, 190, 193  
 Jaspers, Karl, 139  
 Jaucourt, Louis de, 47, 184  
 Jivraj, Suhraiya, 2, 188  
 John Brown, 125, 126  
 Johnson, James Weldon, 102  
 Juncosa, José, 106, 189

**K**

Kang, Jong In, 16, 189  
 Kant, Immanuel, 40, 66, 69, 72, 73, 74, 77, 83, 125, 177, 183, 189  
 Kelley, Robin D. G., xiii, 35, 132, 189  
 King, Martin Luther, xviii, 31, 32, 33, 37, 40, 125, 127, 148, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 183, 186  
 Klose, Fabian, 53, 141, 189  
 Knox, Robert, xx, 189  
 Koram, Kojo, xx, 36, 39, 189  
 Krishna, Sankaran, xix, xx, 189

**L**

language, xvi, xxiii, 18, 42, 46, 48, 54, 84, 87, 90, 94, 102, 106, 107, 108, 109, 134, 145, 158, 174  
 Las Casas, Bartolomé de, 30, 32, 33, 34, 37, 40, 180, 189, 194  
 Lazreg, Marnia, 94, 189  
 League of Nations, 35, 51  
 Lederach, John Paul, 115, 189  
 Lentin, Alana, xiv, 4, 7, 9, 11, 14, 86, 87, 179, 188  
 Leonardo, Zeus, 167, 190  
 liberal peace, xx, xxiii, xxxi, xxxiv, 57, 130, 181

liberalism, ix, xvii, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv, 23, 28, 29, 61, 69, 190, 192  
 liberation, xiii, xvii, xxiv, xxxiv, xxxviii, 33, 35, 42, 43, 49, 51, 54, 65, 74, 89, 95, 103, 105, 107, 108, 112, 125, 129, 130, 133, 134, 135, 141, 142, 143, 144, 150, 156, 170  
 Locke, Alain, xviii  
 Locke, John, xviii, 40, 69, 70, 71, 186, 190  
 Logan, Rayford, xviii  
 Lorde, Audre, 108, 171, 172, 190  
 Losurdo, Domenico, xxxi, 71, 123, 156, 190  
 Louverture, Toussaint, 45, 47, 48, 180  
 Lowe, Lisa, xxxi, xxxii, 69, 70, 88, 190  
 Lugones, Maria, 26, 190

**M**

Magubane, Zine, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 190  
 Malcolm X, 54, 148, 157, 158, 159, 161, 186, 194  
 Maldonado-Torres, Nelson, xxi, xxv, xxxviii, 30, 36, 54, 99, 104, 105, 106, 110, 111, 128, 133, 173, 190, 191  
 Mallon, Ron, 6, 8, 191  
 Mandela, Nelson, 133, 162, 191, 193  
 Manicheism, 145, 146  
 Marriot, David, 135, 152, 153, 191  
 Martínez Guzmán, Vicent, xi, xv, xxvii, 65, 83, 97, 115, 136, 137, 138, 144, 191, 201  
 Martínez, 'Betita' Elisabeth, 126, 127, 191  
 Marx, Karl, 112, 184

Marxism, 59, 149, 195  
 Marxist, xi, 36, 107, 139, 191  
 master-slave dialectic, 49, 59, 60,  
 101, 107, 108, 141, 160  
 Mayer, Arno, 136  
 Mbembe, Achille, xxi, xxiv, 191  
 McKittrick, Katherine, 114, 166,  
 167, 191, 199  
 Meillassoux, Claude, 192  
 Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, 119, 121,  
 192  
 method, x, xii, xvi, xxxviii, 13, 65,  
 67, 78, 84, 107, 108, 109, 110,  
 113, 154, 167, 168, 169, 174  
 Meyer, Matt, 154, 182, 191, 197  
 Mignolo, Walter, xxxi, 58, 111, 192,  
 198  
 migration, 14  
 Milazzo, Maria, 192  
 Mills, Charles W, 192  
 modernity, ix, x, xi, xii, xxviii, xxx,  
 16, 26, 28, 29, 41, 42, 50, 66, 68,  
 80, 86, 91, 133, 173  
 Mohanty, Chandra Talpade, 13,  
 192  
 monogenesis, 75  
 Montesinos, Antonio, 31, 182  
 Montesquieu, Baron de, 69, 71,  
 192  
 Moran, Dermot, 192  
 Morris, Aldon, xxix, 88, 89, 90, 91,  
 95, 96, 190, 192  
 Morrison, Toni, xvi, 103, 115, 124,  
 192  
 Moura, Tatiana, 192  
 Moyn, Samuel, 30, 54, 55, 136,  
 192, 193  
 multiculturalism, xi, 13, 15  
 Muñoz, Francisco, 25, 26, 59, 65,  
 137, 138, 193  
 Müntzer, Thomas, 35  
 Muthu, Sankar, 72, 193

## N

NAACP, 52, 89, 126  
 Natanson, Maurice, 109, 113, 116,  
 140, 193, 196  
 natural law, 30, 37, 38, 70, 92, 95,  
 151  
 natural rights, 33, 35, 37, 70  
 Nazism, viii, x, xiii, xiv, xvi, xxxvi,  
 2, 21, 22, 23, 51, 56  
 Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J, 133, 193  
 necropolitics, xii  
 Niang, Amy, xx, 193  
 Nirenberg, David, 24, 190, 193  
 Nishitani, Osamu, 68, 79, 175, 193  
 Nissim-Sabat, Marilyn, 84, 174,  
 193  
 Nkrumah, Kwame, 54, 154  
 nonviolence, 85, 88, 93, 95, 98,  
 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 133,  
 134, 136, 138, 149, 152, 154,  
 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160,  
 161, 162, 167, 168, 181  
 Norton, Anne, 109, 188, 193

## O

Ochoa Muñoz, Karina, 25, 26, 193  
 Ogé, Vicent, 44  
 Omar, Sidi Mohamed, xxi, 133  
 Omer, Atalia, xxii, 193  
 Omi, Michael, 3, 8, 18, 194  
 ontological suspension, 113, 173,  
 174, 175  
 Outlaw, Lucius T., xxxvii, 7, 8, 115,  
 194

## P

pacifism, xv, xx, 123, 125, 128, 155,  
 158, 159, 198  
 Pan-Africanism, xviii, 83, 89, 197  
 Park, Robert E, 90, 92

Pasha, Mustapha Kamal, xxx, 194  
 Patel, Shaista, 94, 194  
 Pawlowsky, Lucia, 194  
 peace pedagogy, 2, 165, 167, 168  
 peace psychology, 132  
 peace studies, viii, ix, x, xi, xiii, xv, xvi, xviii, xx, xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxiv, xxvii, xxix, xxxi, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxviii, xl, 2, 5, 18, 29, 41, 55, 63, 65, 83, 84, 85, 88, 94, 97, 98, 105, 115, 117, 118, 121, 123, 125, 129, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 144, 148, 156, 168, 201  
 pedagogical imperative, 170  
 pedagogy, 2, 4, 130, 165, 167, 168, 169, 173  
 pedagogy of fear, 167, 168  
 Persaud, Randolph, xix, xx, 194  
 phenomenology, ix, xxxiv, 59, 109, 112, 113, 115, 116, 118, 119, 121, 174, 177, 179, 187, 188, 192, 193  
 philosophical anthropology, xxxi, xxxvi, xxxviii, xl, 23, 39, 67, 68, 72, 81, 83, 143  
 philosophy for making peace(s), 65  
 philosophy of science, xxxvii, xxxix, 66, 79  
 politics, vii, ix, xix, xxxi, 9, 10, 13, 14, 18, 22, 29, 50, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 88, 103, 109, 127, 133, 151, 152, 155, 163, 178  
 positionality, xxiii, 118  
 positive peace, xv, xxi, xxvi, 117  
 positivism, xiii, 12, 65, 66, 77, 78, 97, 130  
 poststructuralism, xi, xxiii  
 problem people, viii, 93, 94, 95, 97, 99, 102  
 psychiatry, 88, 93, 94, 103, 104, 106  
 Pureza, José Manuel, xx, xxii, 194

purity of blood, 24, 25

## Q

Qingyuan, Xingsi, 174

## R

Rabaka, Reiland, 89, 95, 96, 194  
 racial constructivism, 6  
 racial naturalism, 6  
 racial skepticism, 6  
 racism, vii, viii, xi, xiii, xiv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xx, xxi, xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii, xl, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 35, 36, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68, 72, 73, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 93, 98, 99, 101, 103, 104, 105, 107, 109, 110, 111, 113, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 125, 126, 130, 131, 132, 133, 137, 145, 149, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 171, 172, 173, 175, 178, 187, 188, 190  
 Raimond, Julien, 44  
 Ramon Grosfoguel, 55  
 Rana, Aziz, xxxiv, 194  
 recognition, xxiii, xxvii, 38, 50, 59, 60, 61, 62, 86, 89, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 104, 121, 122, 163, 172, 173  
 Reconquista, 24, 25, 28  
 refugee, viii, 40, 58, 63, 88  
 regeneration, 81, 85  
 Rejali, Darius, 195  
 revolutionary spectatorship, 127  
 Revolutionary violence, 136  
 Reynolds, Jack, 195, 198  
 Richmond, Oliver, xxii, 195, 196  
 Roberts, Neil, 44, 150, 151, 195

Robespierre, Maximilien, 47, 184, 194, 195  
 Robinson, Cedric J, xiii, xxxi, 131  
 Rodríguez Pizarro, Alba Nubia, 85, 195  
 Roepstorff, Kristina, 83, 125, 197  
 Rogers, Carl, 168  
 Rosenberg, Marshall, 168  
 Roy, Arundhati, 123, 160, 195, 197  
 Ryan, Michael, 198

## S

Sabaratnam, Meera, xx, 195  
 safe space, xl, 166, 167, 168  
 Sala-Molins, Louis, 42, 195  
 Sánchez, Francisco, 67  
 Sandoval, Eduardo, xxvi, 195  
 Sanín-Restrepo, Ricardo, 59, 195  
 Santos, Boaventura de Sousa, xi, xxv, xxvii, 34, 51, 78, 179, 195  
 Sartre, Jean-Paul, xxxi, xxxiii, 5, 57, 82, 91, 115, 143, 150, 174, 175, 180, 189, 195, 196  
 Schinkel, Willem, 137, 196  
 Schutz, Alfred, 110, 115, 116, 121, 193, 196  
 Second World War, vii, xiv, xvii, xix, 2, 7, 21, 23, 51, 52, 104, 123  
 Sekyi-Otu, Ato, 146, 196  
 self-defense, 39, 159, 160, 161  
 Sen, Amartya, 144  
 Sepúlveda, Juan Ginés de, xxxvi, 29, 32, 33, 40, 187  
 Shakespeare, William, 20, 107, 196  
 shaman, xxix  
 shamanism, xxix  
 Shilliam, Robert, xvii, xx, 45, 50, 187, 189, 194, 196, 197  
 Shroff, Sara, 134, 137, 156, 177  
 Sinocentrism, 16  
 Slaouti, Omar, 62, 196

slavery, xxxi, xxxii, xxxvi, 12, 31, 34, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 52, 70, 71, 73, 74, 80, 86, 87, 96, 101, 141, 184, 190, 195  
 Snyders, Georges, 168, 196  
 social constructivism, 1, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 22, 28, 77, 90, 91, 111  
 Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, 75, 184  
 sociogeny, 110, 111, 114, 118  
 sociology, 8, 17, 18, 66, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 95, 96, 99, 103, 106, 179  
 Solomos, John, 2, 3, 195  
 Strauss, Claude Lévi, 15  
 structural violence, xv, 117, 138  
 Suárez, Francisco, xii, xxi, xxv, 25, 26, 30, 33, 35, 36, 67, 93, 196  
 Suárez-Krabbe, Júlia, xii, xxi, xxv, 25, 26, 30, 33, 35, 36, 93, 196  
 Supiot, Alain, 36, 197  
 Sutherland, Bill, 154  
 Sycorax, 107

## T

Tate, Merze, xviii  
 Taylor, Paul C, 9, 177, 197  
 teleological suspension of identity, 173  
 Thakur, Vineet, xix, 197  
 theodicy, 97, 98, 99, 102, 145  
 Thoreau, Henry David, 125  
 Todorov, Tzvetan, 123, 150, 197  
 Tosquelles, François, 94, 197  
 transdisciplinary, ix, 66, 95, 104, 106  
 transmodernity, xi  
 Tripathi, Siddharth, 83, 125, 197  
 Tronti, Mario, 59, 149  
 Trouillot, Michel Rolph, xxx, 11, 43, 197  
 Tuck, Eve, xxii, 197

typification, 115, 116

## U

Underside, xi, xiii, xxxvii, xxxix, 65, 97  
 UNESCO, xvi, 7, 14, 15, 21, 22, 28, 52, 197, 201  
 universalism, xxi, xxix, xxx, xxxiii, xxxviii, 23, 33, 37, 38, 39, 46, 48, 49, 50, 55, 57, 58, 69, 72, 84, 104, 185

## V

Vale, Peter, xix, 197  
 Valladolid Debate, 29, 30, 34  
 Van Dijk, Teun, 197  
 Visweswaran, Kamala, 14, 198  
 Vitalis, Robert, xvii, xviii, xix, 198  
 Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo, xxviii, xxix, 198  
 Voltaire, François-Marie, 69, 71, 198

## W

Walsh, Catherine, 13, 198  
 War on Terror, viii, xx, 94, 126  
 Ward Churchill, 95, 181, 198

Washington, Booker T., 90, 92, 126  
 Weber, Max, 91  
 Weheliye, Alexander G., 28, 198  
 Wekker, Gloria, 63, 198  
 Wells, Ida B., 96  
 white innocence, 63  
 Williams, Eric, xviii  
 Williams, Randall, 163  
 Wilson, Woodrow, 51  
 Wimmer, Andreas, 198  
 Winant, Howard, 3, 8, 18, 68, 194, 198  
 Wolfe, Patrick, 11, 12, 27, 198  
 Wright, Richard, 91, 101, 115, 198  
 Wynter, Sylvia, 24, 26, 34, 106, 107, 114, 199

## Y

Yadav, Bibhuti S., xxvii, 199  
 Yancy, George, 167, 169, 199  
 Yang, K. Wayne, xxii, 197

## Z

Zack, Naomi, 7, 199  
 Zen Buddhism, 174  
 zone of non-being, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 121