# 1AC Venezuela

#### **The spread of colonialism across the globe marginalized entire cultures, increased slavery, and transferred diseases. According to Wadajaniyu, of the Ye’Kuana tribe in Venezuela, the only way to reconnect with their roots is through education.**

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(Carlos Martinez, Venezuela Program Director for Global Exchange, Michael Fox, journalist and documentarian, Jojo Farrell, editor, translated by Martinez and Fox, *Venezuela Speaks!: Voices from the Grassroots*, interviews held October-November 2009, pg. 204, JZ)

The Struggle Then and Now

Wadajaniyu: When the Spanish arrived here, our peoples were dispersed. The Spanish arrived to recruit our men and women in order to enslave them, so our people fled. Those captured were tied up and forced to 'work on the Balata tree plantations. When they got sick, they were left to die like animals. Many Ye'kuana were killed. The elders tell us that we once had a much larger community. Many communities were abandoned. Our ancestors always sought to reunite our people again. To overcome these kinds of disasters we have to do the kind of work we are doing now. To recover from these problems we have to study. We have to study in order to recover what is rightfully ours.

#### Traditional education in Venezuela was spread with the Spanish, and teaches Eurocentric knowledge that marginalizes indigenous. We don’t argue the history of Europe is bad, just that only focusing on European history and knowledge blankets the cultures of the indigenous

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 (Carlos Martinez, Venezuela Program Director for Global Exchange, Michael Fox, journalist and documentarian, Jojo Farrell, editor, translated by Martinez and Fox, *Venezuela Speaks!: Voices from the Grassroots*, interviews held October-November 2009, pgs. 197-199, JZ)

Mecheduniya & Wadajaniyu

Personal Histories

Mecheduniya: My name is Mecheduniya and I am Ye'kuana, from the municipality of San Juan de Manapiare, specifically from the Cacuri community located in the Alto Ventuari sector of Amazonas State near the Brazilian border. I entered the Indigenous University of Venezuela as a student in 2003 and am now in the process of completing my thesis in order to graduate. I first heard about the university while I was studying in the city, in Puerto Ayacucho. Some students who were part of the first group at the university came to promote it. After deciding that I wanted to enter the university, I spoke with my family as well as my whole community about it. The community asked me many questions and we spoke about everything. It became clear to them that I was going to be able have a genuine education that would benefit my community.

When I first came to the university I asked myself who I was, where I was coming from, and finally where I was going. The university asked me these questions and with each one I had a new personal experience. Through this process I came to discover myself as an indigenous person, recognizing that I have a culture, a language, and an education. It became clearer to me how necessary it is to rescue the richness of my culture. My culture has been disappearing for a long time due to the arrival of Western education and the loss of our identity as indigenous peoples. Throughout all of this process at the university and the education I have received, I came to realize that I was outside of my community, outside of my culture, because I had already studied in a traditional school. This university is a place for young indigenous people to return to their community and their culture.

Wadajaniyu: My name is Wadajaniyu in Ye'kuana and Arturo Asiza in Spanish. I belong to the Ye'kuana tribe also from the municipality of San Juan de Manapiare in the Venezuelan state of Amazonas. I am on the council of academic rectors in the University. I arrived here for the first time in 1997 when we first began the conversation about initiating this project, when we first spoke about what we needed to do in order to educate our children. About twenty elders from various parts of the country participated in that conversation, with support from Brother Jose Maria Korta, a Jesuit priest from the Basque country in Spain. We spoke about the way we were losing our cultures and how traditional schools and universities were only exposing our youth to Western culture. We spent a month discussing this situation and came to an agreement to open the Indigenous University.

Origins of the University

Mecheduniya: The university was created with guidance from Brother Jose Maria Korta, who is now a nationalized Venezuelan citizen. He began his work here many years ago in the Caucari community and came simply as an adviser without trying to impose his religion on the indigenous peoples. He helped them with the creation of three major projects in agricultural production, honey production, and cattle ranching. The community managed them and they became very successful.

In 2000, when the government recognized the rights of indigenous peoples in the new constitution, it also established our right to our own education. With the guidance from Brother Korta, representatives from four different tribes, the Ye'kuana, Pume, E'nepa y Piaroa, were brought together for four months to diseuss and develop the foundation of the university. This discussion was then taken to the indigenous communities to establish the nature of the university and determine what was necessary for its creation. We looked at the necessities of the communities involved and came to an agreement on the areas of study. We now have eight indigenous groups represented here.

Wadajaniyu: I always critiqued the traditional universities because 1 have two daughters who studied in them. They returned with their minds empty of their own culture, but full of Western culture. It was upsetting to see, to feel like I was losing my family. I now have two years working as a rector with the university. I have continued to come to the university because my people are here, and two of my sons are studying here. I am also here to learn from the other elders because I didn't have the opportunity to learn everything from my grandparents or my father who all died too young for me to take enough advantage of them. But, I still carry a lot of information in my memory as well as in written form because I learned to write in a traditional school.

#### Contemporary debates reflect a system of knowledge, which only reintrenches Eurocentric knowledge. Eurocentrism shapes traditional policy-making knowledge, and precludes the involvement of those who aren’t Western – Like **Wadajaniyu**

Frankzi, University of London, Birkbeck College, School of Law, Graduate Student, 12

(Hannah, [Center for InterAmerican Studies](http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/cias/%22%20%5Ct%20%22_blank), Bielefeld University, Universitat Bielefeld, “Eurocentrism,” <http://elearning.uni-bielefeld.de/wikifarm/fields/ges_cias/field.php/Main/Unterkapitel52>, Accessed: 7/3/13, LPS.)

Researchers contributing to the Latin American Modernidad / Colonialidad research programme have drawn attention to the mythical character of this narrative by arguing that coloniality, understood as a pattern of European violence in the colonies, and modernity need to be understood as two sides of the same coin. They also stress the constitutive role of the “discovery” of the Americas which enables Europe to situate itself at the economic and epistemological centre of the modern world system. The modern idea of universal history, that is the writing of history of humankind in a frame of progressive and linear time, has also been criticised as inherently Eurocentric. This is because it construes the European development as following the normal and necessary course of history and consequently only accommodates the experience of other world regions in relation to it. The construction of the Americas through a European lens is epitomised by the fact that for a long time most accounts of American history started with the arrival of the settlers (Muthyala 2001). Strategies deployed to challenge this Eurocentric master narrative have involved replacing discovery with disaster to stress the violence inherent in the process which was a key part of European modernity.

Geopolitics of Knowledge

In contrast to more localised ethnocentrisms, Eurocentrism shapes the production of knowledge and its proliferation well beyond Europe and the western hemisphere. This is possible, critics argue, due to an epistemology which pretends that knowledge has no locus. In western thought, Descartes' proclamation of a separation of body and mind has led to an image of the cognisant subject as abstracted from all social, sexual and racial realities (Grosfoguel 2006, pp. 20ff, Gandhi 1998: 34ff). In consequence, analytical categories such as [state](http://elearning.uni-bielefeld.de/wikifarm/fields/ges_cias/field.php/Main/Unterkapitel192), democracy, equality, etc., formed against the background of particular European experience and are declared to be universally valid and applicable, independent of place (Chakrabarty 2002, p. 288). This leads, according to Edgardo Lander (2002, p. 22), to a naturalisation of liberal values and a devaluation of knowledge produced outside the prescribed scientific system. Europe's successful placing of itself at the centre of history also caused universities outside Europe to teach it from a Eurocentric point of view and include predominantly “northern” thinkers in their academic canons. Postcolonial scholarship has pointed out that knowledge produced in the global South is recognised if the respective academics are working in European or US-American universities (Castro-Gómez 2005, p. 35). As a means to challenge the [hegemony](http://elearning.uni-bielefeld.de/wikifarm/fields/ges_cias/field.php/Main/Unterkapitel81) of Eurocentric knowledge, indigenous universities have been founded in various Latin American countries. They demand that different ways of knowing be recognised as valid and suggest that indigenous knowledge can inspire new methodologies.

#### When we focus on solely Western modes of thought we inevitably see indigenous peoples as the Other. How we read, write, and speak are important – it shapes the way we view ourselves and the world.

Smith, University of Waikato indigenous education professor, 7

(Linda Tuhiwai, 2007, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, pg. 35-36, JZ)

As I am arguing, every aspect of the act of producing knowledge has influenced the ways in which indigenous ways of knowing have been represented. Reading, writing, talking, these are as fundamental to academic discourse as science, theories, methods, paradigms. To begin with reading, one might cite the talk in which Maori writer Patricia Grace undertook to show that 'Books Are Dangerous'.21 She argues that there are four things that make many books dangerous to indigenous readers: (1) they do not reinforce our values, actions, customs, culture and identity; (2) when they tell us only about others they are saying that we do not exist; (3) they may be writing about us but are writing things which are untrue; and ( 4) they are writing about us but saying negative and insensitive things which tell us that we are not good. Although Grace is talking about school texts and journals, her comments apply also to academic writing. Much of what I have read has said that we do not exist, that if we do exist it is in terms which I cannot recognize, that we are no good and that what we think is not valid.

Leonie Pihama makes a similar point about film. In a review of The Piano she says: 'Maori people struggle to gain a voice, struggle to be heard from the margins, to have our stories heard, to have our descriptions of ourselves validated, to have access to the domain within which we can control and define those images which are held up as reflections of our realities.' 22 Representation is important as a concept because it gives the impression of 'the truth'. When I read texts, for example, I frequently have to orientate myself to a text world in which the centre of academic knowledge is either in Britain, the United States orWestero Europe; in which words such as 'we' 'us' 'our' 'I' actuall􀄆 exclude me. It is a text world in which (if what I am interested in rates 6l AiMAlii'BA) I Aoua leosgsd d.lat 1 he'ons Par#?' jp the Third \XlgrJd Pa!#J' in the 'Women of Colour' world, part!J in the black or African world. I read myself into these labels part!J because I have also learned that, although there may be commonalities, they still do not entirely account for the experiences of indigenous peoples.

So, reading and interpretation present problems when we do not see ourselves in the text. There are problems, too, when we do see ourselves but can barely recognize ourselves through the representation. One problem of being trained to read this way, or, more correctly, of learning to read this way over many years of academic study, is that we can adopt uncritically similar patterns of writing. We begin to write about ourselves as indigenous peoples as if we really were 'out there', the 'Other', with all the baggage that this entails. Another problem is that academic writing is a form of selecting, arranging and presenting knowledge. It privileges sets of texts, views about the history of an idea, what issues count as significant; and, by engaging in the same process uncritically, we too can render indigenous writers invisible or unimportant while reinforcing the validity of other writers. If we write without thinking critically about our writing, it can be dangerous. Writing can also be dangerous because we reinforce and maintain a style of discourse which is never innocent. Writing can be dangerous because sometimes we reveal ourselves in ways which get misappropriated and used against us. Writing can be dangerous because, by building on previous texts written about indigenous peoples, we continue to legitimate views about ourselves which are hostile to us. This is particularly true of academic writing, although journalistic and imaginative writing reinforce these 'myths'.

#### Euro-centrism represents the end point of history. This is the point in which everything that isn’t white, male, European, and human is permanently devalued to always be inferior. This has and will cause an eruption in colonialist violence.

Quijano, Peruvian Sociologist, 2k

(Anibal, Peruvian sociologist and humanist thinker, known for having developed the concept of "coloniality of power". His body of work has been influential in the fields of post-colonial studies and critical theory, 2000, Duke University Press, “Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America”, http://www.unc.edu/~aescobar/wan/wanquijano.pdf, Accessed 7/5/13, JB)

Parallel to the historical relations between capital and precapital, a similar set of ideas was elaborated around the spatial relations between Europe and non-Europe. As I have already mentioned, the foundational myth of the Eurocentric version of modernity is the idea of the state of nature as the point of departure for the civilized course of history whose culmination is European or Western civilization. From this myth originated the specifically Eurocentric evolutionist perspective of linear and unidirectional movement and changes in human history. Interestingly enough, this myth was associated with the racial and spatial classification of the world’s population. This association produced the paradoxical amalgam of evolution and dualism, a vision that becomes meaningful only as an expression of the exacerbated ethnocentrism of the recently constituted Europe; by its central and dominant place in global, colonial/modern capitalism; by the new validity of the mystified ideas of humanity and progress, dear products of the Enlightenment; and by the validity of the idea of race as the basic criterion for a universal social classification of the world’s population. The historical process is, however, very different. To start with, in the moment that the Iberians conquered, named, and colonized America (whose northern region, North America, would be colonized by the British a century later), they found a great number of different peoples, each with its own history, language, discoveries and cultural products, memory and identity. The most developed and sophisticated of them were the Aztecs, Mayas, Chimus, Aymaras, Incas, Chibchas, and so on. Three hundred years later, all of them had become merged into a single identity: Indians. This new identity was racial, colonial, and negative. The same happened with the peoples forcefully brought from Africa as slaves: Ashantis, Yorubas, [End Page 551] Zulus, Congos, Bacongos, and others. In the span of three hundred years, all of them were Negroes o r blacks. This resultant from the history of colonial power had, in terms of the colonial perception, two decisive implications. The first is obvious: peoples were dispossessed of their own and singular historical identities. The second is perhaps less obvious, but no less decisive: their new racial identity, colonial and negative, involved the plundering of their place in the history of the cultural production of humanity. From then on, there were inferior races, capable only of producing inferior cultures. The new identity also involved their relocation in the historical time constituted with America first and with Europe later: from then on they were the past. In other words, the model of power based on coloniality also involved a cognitive model, a new perspective of knowledge within which non-Europe was the past, and because of that inferior, if not always primitive.

#### The justification of violence stems from Eurocentric knowledge - current debate prevent us from having discussions that include the voices of those marginalized by Eurocentric practices.

Sundberg, University of Helsinki political science professor, 9

(Jan, Published 2009, “Eurocentrism”, International Encyclopedia of Human Geography, Volume 3, Pg. 638, JB)

Eurocentrism has been variously deﬁned as an attitude, conceptual apparatus, or set of empirical beliefs that frame Europe as the primary engine and architect of world history, the bearer of universal values and reason, and the pinnacle and therefore model of progress and development. In Eurocentric narratives, the superiority of Europe is evident in its achievements in economic and political systems, technologies, and the high quality of life enjoyed by its societies. Eurocentrism is more than banal ethnocentric prejudice, however, as it is intimately tied to and indeed constituted in the violence and

asymmetry of colonial and imperial encounters. Eurocentrism is what makes this violence not only possible, but also acceptable or justiﬁable. As such, Eurocentrism is the condition of possibility for Orientalism, the discursive and institutional grid of power/knowledge integral to the production and domination of the Orient as Other. Signiﬁcant critiques of Eurocentrism emerged in the context of post-World War II shifts in geopolitical power, including anticolonial and anti-imperial revolutionary movements. Even so, Eurocentric epistemologies continue to haunt the production of knowledge in geography in signiﬁcant and disturbing ways.

In conventional Eurocentric tellings, Europe is the engineer and architect of modern agricultural, cultural, economic, political, and scientiﬁc innovations, including capitalism, democracy, and industrial, medical, and green revolutions. Concepts like ‘the rise of Europe’ and ‘the European miracle’ exemplify Eurocentric models of history and development. Europe’s so-called rise is explained in terms of superior social and environmental qualities deemed internal to it: inventiveness, rationality, capacity for abstract thought, outward looking, freedom loving, along with advantageous climate and geographies. Many of these cultural traits are said to be inherited from the Bible lands and ancient Greece and Rome – framed as Europe’s ancestral hearths – though their highest development is said to have been achieved ﬁrst in imperial England and then the United States of America – hence the term ‘Euro-Americanism’. In these narratives, progress and development ride what James Blaut calls ‘the westbound Orient Express’.

As a consequence of the perceived historical movement of the westbound express, ‘Europe’ has morphed into the ‘West’ and now the ‘Global North’. These ﬂuid geographic imaginaries may refer to not only Europe and white settler societies like the United States, Canada, and Australia, but also Japan and any other region or group that envisions itself as the possessor or inheritor of European culture, values, and academic, political, and economic systems. At the same time, however, particular places within the West such as the United States are privileged as the source of universal theory, while others like New Zealand are framed as limited by their particularities. Latin America and the Caribbean were colonized by Europeans, but are rarely included in the West. In short, it may not always be clear to what exactly these geographical imaginaries refer, but they are used as though they correspond to a commonsensical external reality. Through their repetition in everyday speech and academic and institutional narratives, that reality is continuously brought into being.

#### **The standard concept of progress in terms of “Latin” America is masked by a Eurocentric mirror that distorts the lens in which we view the world and power relations on the international level-**

Quijano, sociologist and humanist thinker, 2000

(Anibal, a Peruvian sociologist and humanist thinker, known for having developed the concept of "coloniality of power". His body of work has been influential in the fields of post-colonial studies and critical theory, 2000, “Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America,” P. 558, [www.unc.edu/~aescobar/wan/wanquijano.pdf](http://www.unc.edu/~aescobar/wan/wanquijano.pdf), Accessed: 7/5/13, LPS.)

Furthermore, the new radical dualism was amalgamated in the eighteenth century with the new mystified ideas of “progress” and of the state of nature in the human trajectory: the foundational myths of the Eu- rocentric version of modernity. The peculiar dualist/evolutionist historical perspective was linked to the foundational myths. Thus, all non-Europeans could be considered as pre-European and at the same time displaced on a certain historical chain from the primitive to the civilized, from the rational to the irrational ,from the traditional to the modern ,from the magic-mythic to the scientific. In other words, from the non-European/pre-European to something that in time will be Europeanized or modernized. Without considering the entire experience of colonialism and coloniality ,this intellectual trademark, as well as the long-lasting global hegemony of Eurocentrism, would hardly be explicable. The necessities of capital as such alone do not exhaust, could not exhaust, the explanation of the character and trajectory of this perspective of knowledge. Eurocentrism and Historical Experience in Latin America The Eurocentric perspective of knowledge operates as a mirror that distorts what it reflects, as we can see in the Latin American historical experience. That is to say, what we Latin Americans find in that mirror is not completely chimerical, since we possess so many and such important historically European traits in many material and intersubjective aspects. But at the same time we are profoundly different. Consequently, when we look in our Eurocentric mirror, the image that we see is not just composite, but also necessarily partial and distorted. Here the tragedy is that we have all been led, knowingly or not, wanting it or not, to see and accept that image as our own and as belonging to us alone. In this way, we continue being what we are not. And as a result we can never identify our true problems, much less resolve them, except in a partial and distorted way.

#### Status quo Eurocentric education endorses racism because of governmental attempts to promote power over natives.

Araújo and Maeso, University of Coimbra, Center for Social Studies, 12 (Marta, Silvia, August 31, 2012, Ethinic and Radical Studies journal “History textbooks, racism and the critique of Eurocentrism: beyond rectification or compensation” <http://peer.ccsd.cnrs.fr/docs/00/72/66/61/PDF/PEER_stage2_10.1080%252F01419870.2011.600767.pdf> accesed 7-10-13, KR)

All textbooks analysed refer to racism for the first time in the period at the turn of the 20thcentury, focused on ‘Imperialism and Colonialism’ – emphasising the British and French cases. Subsequently racism is thoroughly discussed as a prejudice characteristic of the Italian and German totalitarian regimes of the 1930s and 1940s (LH9-1; NH9). Racism is only mentioned again in relation to the ‘situation of minorities’ in Western societies during the 1950s and

1960s, illustrated by the Ku-Klux-Klan as an example of a ‘racist organisation’ (LH9-2: 46). We thus consider that textbooks reinforce a Eurocentric concept of racism that associates it with ‘some form of extremism or exceptionalism, rather than something more conventional and ¶ mainstream’ (Hesse, 2004: 14; see also Gilroy, 1992). This linkage of racism and racial ¶ ¶ discourses to very specific projects, such as 19th-century’s Imperialist enterprise, locates racism ¶ ¶ in the colonial territories while conceiving these as outside and unrelated to Europe. Such ¶ ¶ approach hinders a broader understanding of ‘the interaction between racism as a modern ¶ ¶ political project and the European nation-state’ (Lentin, 2004: 36), beyond the Nazi State and ¶ ¶ anti-Semitism. Following Barnor Hesse, this can be seen as the double bind that operates in ¶ ¶ the (Eurocentric) concept of racism: ¶ ¶

the concept of racism is doubly-bound into revealing (nationalism) and concealing (liberalism), ¶ ¶ foregrounding (sub-humanism) and foreclosing (non-Europeanism), affirming (extremist ¶ ¶ ideology) and denying (routine governmentality) (Hesse, 2004: 14). Furthermore, it is fundamental to emphasise the historical shrinkage that confines racial ¶ ¶ governmentality to the so called ‘new Imperialism’ (LH9-1: 14) and the Western European ¶ ¶ countries ‘greed for Africa’: ‘Europeans considered it was their duty to bring their ‘superior ¶ ¶ civilisation’ to the less-developed peoples. Africa was thus the most desired continent’ (LH9-1: ¶ ¶ 16). The textbooks analysed do not consider racial differentiation and racist governmentality ¶ ¶ within the Portuguese and Spanish ‘Expansion’ and the systems of slave trade and slavery. ¶ ¶ Slave trade is mainly depicted as part of the ‘circulation of new products’ between Europe and ¶ ¶ the other continents. Following Ellen Swartz’s study of American history textbooks, we also ¶ ¶ consider that in the Portuguese textbooks analysed, ‘slavery discourse (…) generally serves to ¶ ¶ justify and normalise the system of slavery’ (1992: 345). Slavery thus appears ‘more as a ¶ ¶ necessity, not as a choice, implying that slavery was natural, inevitable, and unalterable’ (Ibid: ¶ ¶ 345)

#### Thus, Varun and I advocate for the beginning of a movement to decolonize debate education modeled after the indigenous education movement of Venezuela.

#### The status quo attempts at engaging Latin America are merely one point in a long line of destructive economics plagued by Eurocentric thought.

Lander, Central University of Venezuela Professor, 2k

(Edgardo, Sociologist, Venezuelan, professor at the Central University of Venezuela and a Fellow of the Transnational Institute, 2000, Nepantla: Views from South, Volume 1, Issue 3, “Eurocentrism and Colonialism in Latin American Social Thought”, pp. 519-523, http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/nepantla/summary/v001/1.3lander.html, Accessed 7/5/13, JB)

Political and social thought regarding Latin America has been historically characterized by a tension between the search for its specific attributes and an external view that has seen these lands from the narrow perspective of European experience. There has also been an opposition between the challenge of the rich potentialities of this New World and distress over its difference, which stands in contrast with the ideal represented by European culture and racial composition. Nonetheless, external colonial views and regrets because of the difference have been widely hegemonic. A brief revision of the texts of the first republican constitutions is enough to illustrate how liberals, in their attempt to transplant and install a replica of their understanding of the European or North American experience, almost completely ignore the specific cultural and historical conditions of the societies about which they legislate. When these conditions are considered, it is with the express purpose of doing away with them. The affliction because of the difference—the awkwardness of living in a continent that is not white, urban, cosmopolitan, and civilized—finds its best expression in positivism. Sharing the main assumptions and prejudices of nineteenth-century European thought (scientific racism, patriarchy, the idea of progress), positivism reaffirms the colonial discourse. The continent is imagined from a single voice, with a single subject: white, masculine, urban, cosmopolitan. The rest, the majority, is the “other,” [End Page 519] barbarian, primitive, black, Indian, who has nothing to contribute to the future of these societies. It would be imperative to whiten, westernize, or exterminate that majority.

#### **This round is a call to action. The content of knowledge we present has a responsibility to recognize and attempt to de center western modes of thought from our educational spaces**

Jones, University of Aberdeen, Scotland, International Relations Professor, 4

(Branwen Gruffydd Jones, August 2004, University of Cambridge, “From Eurocentrism to Epistemological Internationalism: power, knowledge and objectivity in International Relation,” http://www.csog.group.cam.ac.uk/iacr/papers/Jones.pdf, accessed July 10, 2013, EK)

A fundamental problem which underlies the origin and reproduction of IR’s eurocentricity is the overwhelming dominance of ideas produced in and by the west, and the wilful and determined silencing of the voices and histories of the colonised. But the result of this fundamental problem is flawed knowledge about the world. Eurocentricity is therefore a dual problem concerning both the authors and the content of knowledge, and cannot be resolved through normative commitments alone. It is not only the voices of the colonised, but the histories of colonialism, which have been glaring in their absence from the discipline of International Relations.

Overcoming eurocentricity therefore requires not only concerted effort from the centre to create space and listen to hitherto marginalised voices, but also commitment to correcting the flaws in prevailing knowledge – and it is not only ‘the Other’ who can and should elaborate this critique. A vitally important implication of objectivity is that it is the responsibility of European and American, just as much as non-American or nonEuropean scholars, to decolonise IR. The importance of objectivity in social inquiry defended here can perhaps be seen as a form of epistemological internationalism. It is not necessary to be African to attempt to tell a more accurate account of the history of Europe’s role in the making of the contemporary Africa and the rest of the world, for example, or to write counter-histories of ‘the expansion of international society’ which detail the systematic barbarity of so-called Western civilisation. It is not necessary to have been colonised to recognise and document the violence, racism, genocide and dispossession which have characterised European expansion over five hundred years.

#### We must have a radical rethinking in hopes to undo eurocentrism.

Chandra, Post-Doctoral Researcher Planck Institute, 13

(Uday, Max Planck institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Department of Religious Diversity, Post-Doc, PhD Yale, Aug 2013, Yale University, “The Case for a Postcolonial Approach to the Study of Politics”, http://academia.edu/2364123/The\_Case\_for\_a\_Postcolonial\_Approach\_to\_the\_Study\_of\_Politics, Accessed 7/12/13, NC)

Following Said, the Subaltern Studies collective significantly influenced humanistic disciplines that had welcomed the postcolonial turn marked by Said’s Orientalism. The Subalternists, led by Ranajit Guha, drew attention to the “small voice of history”: poor peasants, migrants, industrial workers, indigenous peoples and others who had suffered under colonialism and its aftermath. When, in 1988, a collection of essays selected from the first five volumes of Subaltern Studies was published in the United States, Edward Said himself wrote the foreword to the volume. For Guha and his compatriots, following the Italian Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci, “subaltern” groups were locked in a range of struggles against the forces of colonialism, but social scientists and historians had hitherto neglected their political agency in everyday forms of resistance as well as epochal moments of rebellion. Although focused originally on India, the Subalternists soon initiated South-South dialogues with scholars of Latin America, Southeast Asia, and Africa . They also made common cause with fringe political scientists studying peasant rebellions and resistance across the world, most notably James C. Scott. Collectively, the Subalternists and their allies sought a “radical rethinking of knowledge and social identities authored and authorized by colonialism and Western domination” in order to “undo the Eurocentrism produced by the institution of the West’s trajectory, its appropriation of the other as History” . In this manner, they complemented Said’s criticisms by articulating a distinctly subaltern perspective on postcolonial politics, culture, and history that would inform historical and social scientific scholarship.

#### We need to decolonize and decenter education because engaging in one methodology falls short. Institutional debate about these issues creates the possibility for difference

Lander, Central University of Venezuela Professor, 2k

(Edgardo, Sociologist, Venezuelan, professor at the Central University of Venezuela and a Fellow of the Transnational Institute, 2000, Nepantla: Views from South, Volume 1, Issue 3, “Eurocentrism and Colonialism in Latin American Social Thought”, pp. 519-523, http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/nepantla/summary/v001/1.3lander.html, Accessed 7/5/13, JB)

These debates create possibilities for new intellectual strategies to address the challenges posed by the crisis of modernity for Latin American critical theory. In view of the fact that “we are at a point in our work where we can no longer ignore empires and the imperial context of our studies” (Said 1993,6),it is absolutely necessary to question whether postmodern theories offer an adequate perspective from which to transgress the colonial limits of modern social thought. Some of the main issues of postcolonial perspectives have been formulated and taken anew at different times in the history of Latin American social thought of the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Martí 1987; Mariátegui 1979; Fals-Borda 1970; 526 Nepantla Fernández Retamar 1976). There have been extraordinary developments associated with the revitalization of the struggles of indigenous peoples in recent decades.5 Nonetheless, these issues paradoxically have been of relatively marginal concern in the academic world, outside anthropology and some areas of the humanities. Western social sciences, “which must be applied creatively to the study of the realities of Latin America,” are still assumed to be “the best of universal thought.” Due to both institutional and communicational difficulties, as well as to the prevailing universalist orientations (intellectual colonialism? subordinate cosmopolitanism?),6 today the Latin American academy has only limited communication with the vigorous intellectual production to be found in Southeast Asia, some regions of Africa, and in the work of academics of these regions working in Europe or the United States. The most effective bridges between these intellectual traditions are being offered today by Latin Americans who work in North American universities (Escobar 1995; Mignolo 1996a,1996b; Coronil 1996, 1997).

#### **These movements are key to creating change, even if we are taking small steps, there is only a chance we can strengthen the movement to recognize the cultures of the indigenous**

Augusto Baldi, advisor to the Brazilian regional federal court, 12 (César, 2-6-12, Critical Legal Thinking, “New Latin American Constitutionalism: Challeneging Eurocentrism & Decolonizing History” <http://criticallegalthinking.com/2012/02/06/new-latin-american-constitutionalism-challenging-eurocentrism-decolonizing-history/> accessed 7-4-13 KR).

The two authors’ ana­lysis appears on occa­sions to identify the Colom­bian Con­sti­tu­tion (1991) as the start of the cycle, but in other instances declares it to be that of Venezuela (1999). As a con­sequence, they end up pla­cing within a single pro­cess three dis­tinct cycles of ‘plur­al­ist con­sti­tu­tion­al­ism’, described well by Raquel Yrigoyen: a) mul­ti­cul­tural con­sti­tu­tion­al­ism (1982 – 1988), which intro­duces the concept of cul­tural diversity and recog­nizes spe­cific indi­gen­ous rights; b) plu­ri­cul­tural con­sti­tu­tion­al­ism (1988 – 2005), which devel­ops the concept of a ‘mul­ti­eth­nic nation’, and ‘plu­ri­cul­tural State’, incor­por­at­ing a wide range of indi­gen­ous rights, for those of African ori­gin and other groups, espe­cially in response to [ILO Con­ven­tion 169](http://www.ilo.org/indigenous/Conventions/no169/lang--en/index.htm%22%20%5Ct%20%22_blank), while at the same time imple­ment­ing neo­lib­eral policies, with fewer social rights and more mar­ket flex­ib­il­ity; c) plur­in­a­tional con­sti­tu­tion­al­ism (2006 – 2009), in the con­text of the adop­tion of the United Nations’ Declar­a­tion on the Rights of Indi­gen­ous Peoples, and which pro­poses the ‘re-​founding of the State’, with expli­cit recog­ni­tion of the thousand-​year-​old roots link­ing indi­gen­ous groups to the land, and dis­cuss­ing the end of colo­ni­al­ism. And it is pre­cisely the estab­lish­ment of a new con­sti­tu­tional paradigm, fol­low­ing the examples of Ecuador and Bolivia, that the afore­men­tioned con­sti­tu­tion­al­ists do not seem to recog­nize. In this sense, Raquel Yrigoyen, Bar­to­lomé Clavero and Ramiro Ávila San­tam­aria seem to be cor­rect when they high­light the per­tin­ence of these two pro­cesses in rela­tion to the pre­vi­ous Latin Amer­ican con­sti­tu­tion­al­ism. A model that, accord­ing to Ramiro Ávila San­tam­aria, would be a ‘trans­form­at­ive con­sti­tu­tion­al­ism’ because it is based on other para­met­ers. A few of those stand out.

First: the re-​founding of the State is the other aspect of the recog­ni­tion of colo­ni­al­ism, as well as the thousand-​year-​old ori­gins of peoples and nations that have been over­looked. This re-​founding requires the rein­ven­tion of insti­tu­tions and organ­iz­a­tional pro­cesses. Examples of this in the case of Bolivia are the Plur­in­a­tional Con­sti­tu­tional Court, the elec­tion of judges and the four dis­tinct levels of autonomy; in Ecuador, there are ‘func­tions’ (not powers), includ­ing ‘trans­par­ency and social con­trol func­tions’ and ‘elect­oral func­tions’, as well as spe­cial regimes of ter­rit­orial organization.

Second: a range of rights that break away from divi­sions (be they civil or polit­ical; eco­nomic, social or cul­tural; or related to old age) and Euro­centrism. This becomes most evid­ent in the case of Ecuador, which recog­nizes seven cat­egor­ies of rights: those of ‘buen vivir’ (well-​being); those of people and groups who are most in need (old people, young people, preg­nant women, people with a dis­ab­il­ity, people held pris­oner, drug users, drift­ers , and those suf­fer­ing from ser­i­ous ill­ness); those of com­munit­ies, peoples and nations; those of par­ti­cip­a­tion; those of free­dom; those of nature; as well as a sec­tion on respons­ib­il­it­ies. How­ever, this can also be seen in the case of Bolivia, where they have intro­duced rights of indi­gen­ous nations and a range of con­sti­tu­tional duties.

Third: such con­sti­tu­tions are not just influ­enced by the UN Declar­a­tion, but are also fun­da­ment­ally con­struc­ted from indi­gen­ous lead­er­ship, of which they are also a res­ult, a role that is dif­fer­ent from indi­gen­ous justice (in the case of Bolivia it is sub­ject only to the Con­sti­tu­tional Court) and a new vocab­u­lary based on the indi­gen­ous world­view itself (the recog­ni­tion of the rights of ‘Pachamama’ – Mother Earth – in Ecuador and the prin­ciples of the Bolivian nation – of Aymaran ori­gin – are some examples). And they high­light the need to com­bat racism (includ­ing in rela­tion to indi­gen­ous peoples, not just towards black com­munit­ies, as is usual).

Fourth: the insist­ence on decol­on­iz­a­tion (most evid­ent in the case of Bolivia, which emphas­izes edu­ca­tion itself as a decol­on­iz­ing force), as well as the inter­cul­tural pro­cess (developed in a more con­sequen­tial way in the case of Ecuador). It fol­lows, too, that ‘plur­in­a­tion­al­ity’ comes to ques­tion the lim­its of the con­sti­tu­tional State and imposes a new institutionalism.

To over­look cer­tain innov­at­ive para­met­ers of the two Con­sti­tu­tions and attempt to place in the same cat­egory the Colom­bian Con­sti­tu­tion of 1991, which recog­nized cul­tural diversity in a lim­ited way (des­pite the Con­sti­tu­tional Court’s role being one of the most advanced examples of con­sti­tu­tion­al­ism on the con­tin­ent), is to over­shadow if not deny the prot­ag­on­ism and the struggle of the indi­gen­ous peoples to decol­on­ize their his­tory and hence to estab­lish an authen­tic plur­in­a­tional State; and in doing so, pose an intense chal­lenge to the Euro­centric para­met­ers of constitutionalism.

#### “Economic” engagements is a view that perpetuates Venezuela as an area to be colonized for resources.

Mignolo, Duke University Cultural Anthropology Professor, 9

(Walter D., *The Idea of Latin America*, pg. 96-98, Google Books, EK)

The global idea of “Latin” America being deployed by imperial states today (the US and the imperial countries of the European Union) is of vast territory and a resource of cheap labor, full natural resources, exotic tourism, and fantastic Caribbean beaches wanting to be visited, invested in, and exploited. These images developed during the Cold War when “Latin” America became part of the Third World and a top destination for neo-liberal projects, beginning in Chile under General Augusto Pinochet (1973) and followed up by Juan Carlos Menem in Argentina (1989) and Sánchez Gonzálo de Losada (1993) in Bolivia. Thus, for example, today many of the major technological corporations are shifting production to Argentina (post-crash) where they can hire technicians for around ten thousand dollars a year while the US salary plus benefits for ten thousand dollars a year while the US salary plus benefits, for the same type of job, could be as high as fifty or sixty thousand dollars a year.

The section on "Latin America" in the CIA's report Global Trends 2015 relies on the same "idea of Latin" America, which originated in the imperial designs of nineteenth-century French ideologues in complicity with Creole elites. The CIA forecasts that: by 2015, many Latin American countries will enjoy greater prosperity as a result of expanding hemispheric and global economic links, the information revolution, and lowered birthrates. Progress in building democratic institutions will reinforce reforms and promote prosperity by enhancing investing confidence. Brazil and Mexico will be increasingly confident and capable actors that will seek a greater voice in hemispheric affairs. But the region will remain vulnerable to financial crises because of its dependence on external finance and the continuing role of single commodities in most economies. The weakest countries in the region, especially in the Andean region, will fall further behind. Reversals of democracy in some countries will be spurred by a failure to deal effectively with popular demands, crime, corruption, drug trafficking, and insurgencies. Latin America — especially Venezuela. Mexico and Brazil - will become an increasingly important oil producer by 2015 and an important component of the emerging Atlantic Basin energy system. Its proven oil reserves are second only to those located in the Middle East.'

However, from the perspective of many who are being looked at and spoken at (not to), things look a little bit different. The CIA s report cites many experts on Latin America but not one person in Latin America who is critical of the neo-liberal invasion to the South. For instance, the articles published by Alai-Amlatina, written in Spanish in the independent news media, do not "exist" for a world in which what exists is written in English. That is part of the "reality" of the "idea" of Latin America. The story is never fully told because "developments" projected from above are apparently sufficient to pave the way toward the future. "Expertise" and the experience of being trained as an "expert" overrule the "living experience" and the "needs" of communities that might subsume technology to their ways of life, and not transform those ways of life to accord with capitalist requirements, using technology as a new colonizing tool. The blindness of the CIAs experts, and their reluctance to work with people instead of strolling over expecting everyone to act according to their script, have led a myriad of social movements to respond - a blatant example of the double-sided double-density of modernity/colonialist. It is increasingly difficult for the CIA and other institutions controlling and managing knowledge and information to silence them. The key issue here is the emergence of a new kind of knowledge that responds to the needs of the damnes. (the wretched of the earth, in the expression of Prantz Fanon).They are the subjects who are formed by todays colonial wound, the dominant conception of life in which a growing sector of humanity become commodities (like slaves in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) or, in the worst possible conditions, expendable lives. The pain, humiliation, and anger of the continuous reproduction of the colonial wound generate radical political projects, new types of knowledge, and social movements.

#### The Indigenous University was their movement against western education, eventually gaining some support from the government. Social movements directly lead to political action.

Published by Martinez et al in 2009, page 204

(Carlos Martinez, Venezuela Program Director for Global Exchange, Michael Fox, journalist and documentarian, Jojo Farrell, editor, translated by Martinez and Fox, *Venezuela Speaks!: Voices from the Grassroots*, interviews held October-November 2009, pgs. 194-197, JZ)

A Ye'kuana elder slowly recites the lyrics to an ancient story in his native language while he weaves a hat made from long, green palm leaves picked from the surrounding forest. Mecheduniya, a young Ye'kuana Indian, carefully writes these lines down in the written form of his language, which he has been learning over the past few years. Another group of young Ye’kuana is gelling dressed in bright multi-colored ceremonial costumes made only from leaves and feathers to practice for a presentation of an ancient play that they will be performing the next day. "We are teaching in the jungle here. In the jungle we learn how to sing the traditional songs and to tell our stories," says Wadajaniyu, a rector and one of the founders of the Indigenous University of Venezuela.

The university lies in the vast territory known as the Guyana region, which sprawls southwards below the great Orinoco River that cuts a nearly perfect diagonal line through the center of the country. To most Venezuelans, the Guyana remains only a place in photographs. Nearly 90 percent of the Venezuelan population lives in the northwestern half of the country, while indigenous peoples make up nearly fifty percent of the population in the giant southeastern state, Amazonas. In the early colonial era, the myth of El Dorado, a land of gold, enticed Spanish conquistadores to organize expeditions into Venezuela's interior by sailing down the Orinoco. Little gold was actually discovered, but the region's abundant natural resources and wildlife are still the stuff of legend.

Like in the rest of the Americas, colonialism brought devastation to Venezuela's native peoples. As Venezuela entered the modern era, they continued to suffer the loss of their traditional cultures and lands as evangelists and development encroached upon their communities.

Located four hours outside of Ciudad Bolivar, the capital of Bolivar Stale, and a two-kilometer hike down a dusty weather-beaten road, the Indigenous University of Venezuela is the indigenous movement's response to this devastation.0 The university seeks to be a focal point for indigenous peoples in Venezuela, using culture as a primary instrument in advancing their cause. This university has few classrooms as most of the teaching takes place outside under the thick forest canopy. The indigenous students at this university sleep in hammocks in the small villages divided amongst the varying ethnic groups.

Representing around 2.2 percent of the population with approximately twenty-eight ethnic groups located throughout the country, indigenous peoples form a small pan of the Venezuelan population and historically remained marginal in the national politics of the country. While other governments in the region were beginning to codify a new set of liberties for indigenous peoples in the 1 9905) Venezuela languished with one of the most politically backwards constitutions with regards to indigenous rights. Still, Venezuela's indigenous peoples slowly found ways to organize themselves and insert their political goals into the national agenda through forming regional and state-level organizations such as the Federaci6n Indigena del Estado Bolivar (FIB - Indigenous Federation of the State of Bolivar) and the Organizacion Regional de los Pueblo Indigenas de Amazonas (ORPIA - Regional Organization of the Indigenous Peoples of Amazonas State). This local organizing began to consolidate nationally through the Consejo Nacional Indio de Venezuela (CONIVE - National Indigenous Council of Venezuela), created in 1989.

With the accumulation of significant experiences, indigenous peoples found themselves prepared for the unprecedented political opening provided by the advent of the Chavez government. Indigenous organizations participated with an extraordinary level of access in the construction of Venezuela's new constitution. Chavez's own declarations in support of the indigenous cause, along with his designation of three seats for indigenous peoples within the constituent assembly, brought an indisputable energy to the movement. By convoking a range of forums and internal consultations, CONIVE galvanized this movement and gathered the necessary force to push their proposals forward amidst opposition from the assembly's more conservative representatives.

With the weight of an entire chapter committed to indigenous peoples, the Venezuelan Constitution significantly amplified their rights. The constitution set forth an ambitious agenda to grant an array of entitlements to indigenous peoples under their supervision, such as communal land titles and their own educational institutions. Chapter 8 of the Bolivarian Constitution recognizes and guarantees the respect of indigenous culture, languages, customs, and traditional lands, while requiring that the government work with indigenous communities to implement these rights.

The Guaicaipuro Mission was created in 2003 to bring these promises to life by aiding indigenous communities with the processes of self-demarcation and local development. In 2007, the government created of the Ministry of Popular Power for Indigenous Peoples to catalyze further energy in meeting the needs of Venezuela's indigenous peoples.

While indigenous peoples recognize that they have been provided with unprecedented opportunities, they also see many obstacles in the fulfillment of their new rights. Although the incorporation of leaders from CONTVE into positions of power in the Venezuelan government has brought indigenous representation within the slate to a new level, it has also brought criticisms from an indigenous base that has sensed a loss in the organizations' autonomy and ability to make stronger demands. And while significant territory has been granted to some indigenous groups, a comprehensive response 1O many communities' land claims remains elusive. The actual practice of self-demarcation seems to be a far reality from what many in the indigenous movement expected from the new constitution and the many statements that have been made by President Chavez.

The Indigenous University of Venezuela exists within this challenging space between opportunity and obstacles and provides a remarkable example of the aspirations of the indigenous movement. Fortified by Article 121 of the Venezuelan Constitution, which gives indigenous peoples the right to develop their own education, four indigenous communities came together to create a space where their youth can be educated as the defenders of their original ways; able to resist the onslaught of the Western world upon their peoples.

Beginning with just a handful of students, seventy indigenous youth representing eight distinct ethnic groups now attend the university: the Warao, Pemon, Karina, Pume, E'nepa, Piaroa, Sanema, and Ye'kuana. An autonomous project seeking recognition from the national government, the Indigenous University highlights the fragile and complicated relationship betwecn Venezuelan social movements and the state. While they draw strength from the Bolivarian Constitution and the importance the Chavez government has placed on indigenous rights, they still find themselves having to navigate independently and sometimes even defensively within the world of Venezuelan politics. Nonetheless, it is through projects such as the Indigenous University of Venezuela and the battle in which it is engaged that Venezuela's constitution is being transformed into a reality.