

Decolonial Praxis: Sowing existence-life in times of dehumanities¹

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This text is concerned with two interrelated questions of the “hows” of decolonial praxis. How to struggle against the present-day colonial matrices of power and their growing practice of dehumanities? And, how to struggle for, think from, and sow an otherwise of re-existence-life? These questions and the reflections, thought, and actions that they open, give essence to what I understand as and describe in this text as decolonial praxis.

Preludes, Disclosures, and Revelations (a prologue of sorts)

I am not a theologian, but of course you already know that. I also have no relationship with organized religion, with the institutionalized structures of creed and faith, nor with the institution(s) of Church. In fact, from a young age I rejected all of this. My spirituality and ties to the Sacred —my “Spirit knowing” to use the phrase of M. Jacqui Alexander (Alexander 2005) — is intimately tied to my sociopolitics, feminism(s), and life experience lived mostly —for the vast majority of my adult years— in the margins and fissures of the West, first in alternative communes and later in Latino-Caribbean communities in the US, and in the last 25 years in Ecuador/Latin America/AbyaYala, where the close ties to Indigenous and Black communities and movements, at these communities’ and movements’ request, have opened other logics of the sacred, of existence, of life.

Yet it was the “practical theology” of a US Catholic priest —specifically his thought-practice of politics and liberation theology— that first introduced

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me to the meaning/reason of oppression, liberation, and sociopolitical struggle. It was 1968, the year I turned 16. This priest brought a group of us youth, organized in a kind of study-group with him in a small Massachusetts town, to Chicago to attend a Catholic Youth Convention but, above all, to witness the “Democratic Convention”. That is to witness not what occurred inside the Convention but on the streets where tens of thousands of protesters rallied against the political status quo, the Vietnam War, and the assassination several months before of Martin Luther King. The aggressively violent response of police riot squads, and the levels of mass bloodshed they caused, provoked, from then-on, a radical change in the US political and social landscape. The analysis with this priest of what we witnessed and lived that day —a sociopolitical/theological analysis and reflection on the system of power and oppression — remains with me to this day. It

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was also key in helping me understand – and denounce a year later – in the Catholic High School that I attended, the complicity of the institution of the Church in this system of power. Some years later, in the 1980s when I had the opportunity to work closely with Paulo Freire (now under grave attack by the Brazilian government), I began to see the intertwining of theologies and pedagogies of liberation, pedagogies/methodologies/theologies that, as Paulo would say, do not necessarily need, in praxis, the institutions of religion or schools. Such praxistical posture of course, was present in the work of Leonidas Proaño in Ecuador, Gustavo Gutierrez in Peru, Ernesto and Fernando Cardenal in Nicaragua, Oscar Romero in El Salvador, and still today in the work of Leonardo Boff and Frei Betto in Brazil, to name just a few. But also, and over many centuries, it is passed on and lived by Indigenous and African-descended people in their praxis-based philosophies and pedagogies of the sacred and the spiritual and/as existence-life.

For me today, it is the question of the “hows”, in particular two-interrelated “how” questions: how to struggle against the present-day colonial matrices of power and their growing practice of what I will describe later as dehumanities, and how to struggle for, think from, and sow an otherwise of re-existence-life, that give essence to what I understand as and will describe here as decolonial praxis.

I. Existential Beginnings

The simple life of those who preceded us,
their particular ways of understanding
collective well-being and wealth
are a mirror so that the new generations
can measure the value of their inner being and
the greatness of their ancestral philosophies.

Abuelo Zenón (García and Walsh 2017)

I begin with the words of *Abuelo Zenón*, wise elder, sage, and philosopher of/for existence. It is Zenón, a real and symbolic grandfather-ancestor, who continues to walk the collective memory of the Black peoples of the *Gran Comarca*, the Great Black Territory of the Colombo-Ecuadorian Pacific, and their ancestral praxis-based thought rooted in lived existence. It is a thought-praxis constructed before and against the states that, as Zenon says: “made us what we never were, what we never wanted to be” (García and Walsh 2017, 33). It is a praxistic thinking with-

out individual owners, rooted in Mother Earth (or what Zenon calls “Mother Mountain”), and planted in territory as a philosophy, as a principle of faith, as a collective proposal to sustain dignity, existence, and life.

How are we to sustain dignity, existence, and life today, I ask, in these times of violence-war-death? And, in a related sense, how to denaturalize this situation-reality, a question that recalls a similar one posed a number of years ago by the philosopher-theologian Franz Hinkelammert. Such questions are particularly key today in Brazil, as many know all too well. This past March 14th (2019) was the one-year anniversary of the killing of the Rio de Janeiro City Councilwoman Marielle Franco; Marielle, Afro-Brazilian, lesbian, and favela-dweller, shot down in broad daylight on a busy Rio street. To this day, her assassination goes uninvestigated, her killer unknown.

Marielle and Brazil are certainly not alone. How to sustain dignity, existence, and life today is a central question in all of this territory: a territory that Indigenous peoples in a take-back naming refer to as *AbyaYala*, land in full maturity, land of vital blood. And it is a question, I suspect, that is also present throughout the Global South, and increasingly in the Global North (with its own “Souths”). But there is another related question that I also want to ask: how to listen, and how to *learn to unlearn to relearn* from and with these philosophies-knowledges-thought-praxis of existence-life, philosophies/pedagogies and maybe even theologies of sorts that are part of continuous and persistent processes of resistance, re-existence, and re-creation?

In fact, Abuelo Zenón himself reflects these persistent and continuous processes, processes that mark a decolonial attitude, to use the expression of the Puerto Rican Fanonian philosopher Nelson Maldonado-Torres. For Maldonado-Torres, this attitude recalls that proposed at the beginning of the 20th Century by W.E.B. Dubois, that which “demands responsibility and willingness to take many perspectives, particularly the perspectives and points of view of those whose very existence is questioned and produced as dispensable and insignificant” (Maldonado-Torres 2008, 8). It calls up what Black feminist thinkers such as Sylvia Wynter and Audre Lorde have referred to as relational ways of seeing the world, including the relation between privilege and oppression. It brings to the fore an *actitud quilombola* —to recall the Bahian collective with this name—, what Neil Roberts understands as



a freedom-based stance of marronage, what Edizon León describes as *cimarron* thought, and what Betty Ruth Lozano details as the epistemic insurgencies and life-pedagogies of Blackwomen (which she writes as one word) (Roberts 2015; León 2015; Walsh and León 2006; Lozano 2019). Taken together, these life-pedagogies and insurgencies, forms of cimarronaje, and decolonial and quilombola attitudes point to and conjure up re-existence in the sense that Adolfo Albán gives to the term; that is: all of the mechanisms, strategies, actions that Afrodescendant communities have used, and continue to use, to re-invent, redefine and resignify life in conditions of dignity and self-determination (Walsh 2018a).

Abuelo Zenón, in this sense, signifies and symbolizes re-existence, re-existence in/as decolonial praxis. Zenón is a being you cannot see. Some in the Black communities of Ecuador say that he was physically present some years ago, the maternal grandfather of another teacher-wise elder who recently went to meet his ancestors: Juan García Salazar. Some say that after Zenón passed, he returned; or maybe, they say, he never left. Today his words, his philosophies, and his praxis-based thinking continue, recalled and positioned most especially by Juan García. Within Afro-Ecuadorian communities, Zenón is understood as the ancestor who brings Black diasporic existence-based thought into one single voice, a voice that as García describes, is “sparing, simple, and of our own, without additions; ... a voice that dismantles words that are not our own, words that Zenón uses as counterwords. ... When Zenón speaks the people speak. Tradition and memory are talking” (Walsh 2019, 129). It is Zenón, says Juan García, who sows and cultivates existence-life; part of a present that calls forth and walks with the past while at the same time helping us to move forward.

Abuelo Zenón endures—in present time and tense—, giving guidelines and advise to the existence-based struggles of those who identify as women and men (or as neither or both), to those whose humanity is denied, and to those living beings (of the rivers, forests, mountains, Mother Earth, and sea) that the system of capitalist, extractivist, racist, patriarchal, anthropocentric, modern / colonial power is killing; the system of power that is killing us all. Certainly, Zenón and Juan García have much more to offer here as ancestor-spirit re-existence teacher-guides, as practitioners of decolonial praxis. I will return to them at the end of my talk. However, now I wish to open some deeper reflections on these current times, on the cries, practices, and growing

institutionalization of what I understand as dehumanities.

II. The Cries

I cannot speak of the framework that I am weaving here, of philosophies, existence, life and decolonial praxis-thought, without starting from the cries, from what thinkers like Gloria Anzaldúa and Frantz Fanon associated in their times with “the colonial wound.” I am referring to the cries provoked today by what the Zapatistas refer to as the capitalist hydra with its many regenerating heads, and the devastating storm that is not just coming but is upon us right now. And I am referring, in consonance with many in AbyaYala, to the cries against the current lived reality of violence-war-death taken to the extreme with their multiple dehumanities.

Of course I too, as may be true with many of you, have a history of cries, some more recent and some long present. The problem is that, until recently, I had learned to keep them within; it is a problem, I suspect, that is not mine alone. I am referring to the cries that take form, grow, swell and dwell in the belly and gut, cries that get stuck in the throat and that seldom come out, precisely because the system, including the institutions (i.e., families, schools, universities, the church) in which we are formed (and de-formed) and may even work, teach us the discipline of individual and individualized silence.

It was in 2014 that my cries began to come out, shortly after *Ayotzinapa*, the attack by forces of the Mexican narco-state on a group of students from a rural teacher-training school, a school known for its activism and critical thought. Three students were killed and 43 made to disappear, their whereabouts still unknown. In the days after, I organized a vigil and remembrance in my University in Quito. Through a telephone connection marked by weeps and wails, we listened to the stark account of one of the survivors. We covered the walls with the faces and names of the 43, an act that occurred throughout the AbyaYala and beyond, including globally via social media. And we shared our anger, indignation, disgust, horror, and pain; *Ayotzinapa* and the *Ayotzinapas* that crudely evidence the extent of the complexities of the colonial matrices of power, and of savage capitalism taken to the extreme.

Several weeks later I was invited to be part of an International Conference at the Nacional Autonomous University of Mexico-UNAM, an 80th birth-



day celebration and homage to the Argentinian/Mexican philosopher of liberation Enrique Dussel. The Conference began with the words of welcome of the organizers and University authorities. Ayotzinapa was not mentioned by them or by the first speakers. When it was my turn to speak, I asked the large audience present, the authorities, panelists, and Enrique himself, how this complicit silencing/silence was possible. It was a silence and silencing that seemed especially out of place in a Conference that proposed to celebrate “the life that is liberation” affirmed in the work and word of Dussel. The University authority sitting next to me whispered in my ear “we do not talk about this [Ayotzinapa] here.” My anger and indignation refused suppression and silence. My cries came out and since then I have refused to contain them.

As I said to Enrique and to the audience at UNAM, to remain silent is to be complicit with the violence. It is to succumb to the pedagogies of fear and to be part—whether willingly or not—of the growing project of dehumanization and dehumanities, a project of death, appropriation, extirpation, and extraction that, from Mexico to Brazil, aims to eliminate all (including beings, knowledges, and philosophies, practices, and pedagogies of existence, and life) that hinder its advance, dominion, and power.²

Certainly silence, with the indifference it often suggests, is not—nor has it ever been—an adequate response to violence, oppression, and domination. Those engaged with philosophies, pedagogies, and theologies of liberation know this well. I recall the “cries” voiced by the Ecuadorian practitioner of Liberation Theology Leonidas Proaño in sonorous dialogue and shared indignation with Paulo Freire (Proaño 1993). But, of course, those who know it even better are the people who live the daily realities, threats, and fears of disappearances, gendered and racialized violences and “cleansings”, feminicides, racial-ethnic-genocides, epistemicides, antracides, territorial displacements and dispossessions, police and military repression... To this we can add the violences that occur daily in universities; gendered, racialized, and epistemic violences with, as I will argue later, constitute their own practices and enabling of dehumanities.

Certainly it is necessary to voice cries against the physical, psychological, epistemic, spiritual and ex-

istence-based violences that seek to violate, denigrate, invade, discipline, control, and silence bodies, voices, minds, spirits, souls, and rebellion; to recognize, hear, and make cries of indignation, anger, and of organization. Yet the cries themselves, as we well know, are not enough. As sonorous expressions against the present realities of violence-death-war and for an otherwise, the cries announce and pronounce. However, they do not necessarily get at the depth and profoundness of the circumstance, peril, and danger, nor do they, in and of themselves, reveal the systematic character of the violences, or what I have begun to consider and describe as the new configurations of coloniality, that while global, are once again—as was the case more than 500 years ago—using Latin America as a central testing ground. There is much I could say about these configurations, however, I will center my comments here on one particularly ill-fated mode of power: what I refer to as “dehumanities”.

III. On Dehumanities

I understand “dehumanities” as the present-day institutionalization and institutionality of violence-war-death, an institution and institutionality that not only aims to wrest the humanity of the majority, but also to redefine and reframe humanity itself. Let me give some concrete examples.

The first pertains to two “public” feminicides that began 2019 in Ecuador. One was of Martha, object first of gang rape (I say “object” because with this act they tried to objectify her, remove her subjectivity and humanity). The men—supposed friends—then killed her, throwing her, like trash, over a ravine. The other feminicide was of Diana, stabbed multiple times by her partner in a street full of “people”, although no one, including the police, paid attention until someone identified the killer as Venezuelan and she—the victim—as Ecuadorian.

Upon receiving the news, Ecuador’s President Lenin Moreno organized a press conference in which he called for the public to form “citizen brigades” against Venezuelans because any of them could, he said, be part of those formerly incarcerated groups that, according to him, Maduro was/is sending to Ecuador. Immediately the improvised-authorized “brigades” ran through the streets of this city and others hunting Venezuelans. Rumors were that many people were injured (although the official press said nothing). A few hours later, Presi-

2 See Walsh 2018b and also Dussel’s response in the Epilogue of this same book.



dent Maduro sent three planes for all who chose to return to Venezuela. President Moreno gave permission for one plane to leave. The hunting continued...

Another announcement from the president soon followed. To counter the growing violence in the country, he said, we must (re)establish in schools and universities a curriculum of ethics, civics, and love for the *PATRIA* (the homeland). Neither Diana, nor Martha, nor the names of the women who are killed every 50 hours in Ecuador (the official count), were named or mentioned. With their deaths, their subjectivity-humanity died too. Neither was there any mention of course of the hundreds and hundreds of girls and boys raped and/or sexually abused in just this last year, in the same schools and by the same teachers who will now make the new curriculum “innovations”. I ask: is this not all part of the growing dehumanities? (Dehumanities, of course, that the Catholic Church is also familiar with).

A second example. It is November 2018, and I am in Mexico on a multi-city speaking tour, travelling by bus. Through the bus window, I see trailer trucks pass by, one after the other. I remember what I was told a few days ago by some friends: that the trailer trucks carry many “things”, including the bodies of the disappeared (47,000 by some “official” accounts), some still alive and others not. I recall what they told me about the trailer trucks that began to appear a few months before in the neighborhoods of several cities, refrigerator trucks calling out by loud speaker for the residents to come out and see if one of their disappeared was among the frozen bodies piled up inside (of the estimated 36,000 unidentified).³ Trucks that also take bodies to medical schools; corpses-specimens for the universities of “excellence”, for the “scientific” study of what we continue to call “higher” education. As I travelled on the bus, I still had in my mind the trailer trucks I saw several days before in Mexico City, the trucks from which I saw descend 100 Hondurans and Central Americans (part of the Migrant Caravan on the way to the US border) that had been made to disappear and then re-appear. Meanwhile, the television on the bus (like the screens at the airport) projected advertising on the “magical tourism” promoted by the then-government of Peña Nieto. You can visit “magical” towns and peoples, said the tourist publicity,

see the beauty of nature, and even do a “cleansing” of the evils of stress and urban tension.

... It is November 2018 and although López Obrador has not yet assumed the presidency, his projects are circulating in the media. One of them: the “Mayan train” is already in construction, destined to pass through southern Mexico, including, “inevitably” some contend and “strategically” I say, through “autonomous” Zapatista territories. The “Mayan train” which will take tourists to enjoy nature and the “pristine” beaches (not yet Cancunized), to consume the water that is almost gone and to “tour” the state-caused misery of Mayan peoples. A train and tour without prior and informed consultation and consent as required by the Constitution. Even its name is annoying and dehumanizing, says the Subcomandante Zapatista Moises, not only because it puts us on “tour” (as objectified spectacle, to recall the phrase of the cultural studies practitioner/theorist Stuart Hall), but also in the name itself that negates the linguistic and cultural diversity of Tsotsil, Tzeltal, Tojolabal, Chol, and Mam peoples.

The examples go on and on. I think of the 8 Indigenous and Black leaders killed and the many more critically wounded in these last days of March-April 2019 in Cauca, Colombia as communities prepared for the regional and nation-wide *Minga*, a collective mobilization and work-effort that questions the government’s and the state’s continued disrespect and negation of life, territory, justice, democracy, and peace, a narco-para-state that is enemy of the people and that makes and maintains the violence-death-war machine.

I am speaking of dehumanities institutionalized, perpetuated, executed, and justified by states and governments of both the Right and Left (if those terms, which I personally doubt, still even apply). Dehumanities often justified—whether explicitly or implicitly—by intellectuals on the Left who continue to believe that the solutions are in governments and state, in better policies, laws, and projects, including ones that name decoloniality, as was the case in Ecuador in the government of Rafael Correa, and most recently in Maduro’s Venezuela with the formation of an Institute of Decoloniality. For me, all of this is part of the emergent “decolonial dangers”, one of which is the idea that decoloniality can be legislated and enacted “from above”, institutionalized within the very institutions that form part of the capitalist-patriarchal-colonial order/disorder, within states that as the Añuu and Wayú intellectual

3 Figures cited by Lluvia Cervantes in the panel “Sembrar vida donde está la muerte,” Universidad Central, Bogotá, Colombia, February 5, 2019.



and Venezuelan university professor José Ángel Quintero Weir argues, are no longer national (if they ever really were) but corporate, that function not in benefit of society (if we can still use that word), but in benefit of capital and the income of the governments that sustain it and the interests of the associations and corporations; that is, the corporate state (Quintero 2019).

Of course, dehumanities are also part and parcel of universities today, of the increasing commodification of knowledge and the corporativization and transnationalization of public higher education. From Mexico to Argentina, the connections of public universities with extractivist industries (fracking, mining, and oil), genetic bioprospecting, and other projects of dispossession-war-death, are well documented. “Cities of knowledge” already in operation in Mexico (“Pachuco”) and Ecuador (“Yachay”), both with South Korean financing and technological know-how, position knowledge as a new productive matrix in which the ancestral knowledges of Indigenous and Black communities are considered as commodities, without the necessity, of course, of the ancestors, communities, or peoples themselves; epistemic extractivism taken to new depths.

Up against these realities, the social and human sciences are myopic and silent. Some say that their own survival consists in keeping their gaze within, distancing themselves from social reality, from the demands of real people who fight *for* life and humanity (this understood broadly in non-anthropocentric terms), and who fight *against* dehumanity. The Argentinian socially committed-philosopher Maria Eugenia Borsani speaks of the growing presence of dehumanized, dehydrated human and social sciences, of the field of the so-called humanities on the way to their own death. In some countries, the humanities and social sciences have already been eliminated (e. g., in 2015, the Ministry of Education in Japan eliminated the social sciences in 60 universities replacing them with areas that “better respond” to society’s needs). In Brazil, the project is to “cleanse” universities of Black, Indigenous, and gay students and professors, of “vagabond” women, prohibit discussions that criticize government and engage issues of gender, sexual diversity and non-Christian religions, encouraging students to film disobedient professors, and to reestablish “traditional values” (read: white-conservative Christian-heteropatriarchal-western “universal” values), thus taking the dehumanities in higher education to

even greater horrific extremes. The establishment of what is called (almost always in English) the “Global University” is one more example: an institution tied to the political-financial power of the conservative evangelical church and its allies, centered in “universal” values, and a curriculum that is functional to the global productive, technological and professionalizing order-disorder and most often on-line to avoid the “problems” that can occur with human contact. One more direct manifestation of the project of violence-war and its path to discipline, reform, and recolonize humanity.

Of course, education is not the only institution under assault, so too is religion. Brazil knows this well, with African-descendant practices and philosophies/theologies, and the Liberation Theology associated primarily with the progressive wing of the Catholic Church, under direct attack, an attack that interweaves politics, racism, and the perceived problem of a so-called gender ideology. Here there are new mechanisms, apparatuses, and institutions, and institutionalizations of dehumanities, including an evangelicalism that the Franco-Moroccan journalist and Rio resident Lamia Oualalou describes as the “theology of prosperity”; “a logic that says to its adherents you have the right to everything: health, a good material life, and not in the next life but now!” (Febbro 2018). Through market strategies, and the penetration of various powers, says Oualalou, including in judicial apparatus, politics, the police, and even the jails, evangelical churches have taken over in Brazil and are seeking to do so elsewhere. It is a preaching without theological arguments and most often without the Bible, a sort of individual individualized humanism that simultaneously advances the interests and accumulation of capital, and the discipline, control, and pacification of the masses, most especially the Black and Indigenous poor, which, in the case of Brazil, includes the territory and populace of the favelas.

Brazil is not alone. Throughout the region a new political-religious-heteropatriarchal alliance is taking form in which conservatives of the Catholic Church are also involved. It is an alliance that the so-called “progressive” Ecuadorian president Rafael Correa, defined as a necessary “return to human nature”; to “women who look like women, and men like me who appreciate our masculinity”, a necessary move to address “this extremely dangerous ideology of gender...the barbarism that are issues not of the Left or Right, but a moral concern” (Granda 2017, 77). An alliance that has pushed the levels of



violence against women and persons who identify as LGBTI. An alliance of multiple political use, reflected in Alvaro Uribe's discourses and diatribes against the Colombian Peace Accord plebiscite including his tweet: "the need to stimulate family values... defend our religious leaders and moral pastors" (cited in O'Boyle 2016, n/p). An alliance present in the reelection of Sebastian Piñeira in Chile in 2017, the coup in Brazil of Michel Temer, the campaign and election of Duque in Colombia, and of course in the campaign, election, and continued presence of Trump, to mention just a few.

...By now it should be clear what I mean by the institution and institutionalization of dehumanity(ies)...

More than 50 years ago, Frantz Fanon made explicit the direct relationship of dehumanization and colonization, the latter understood as a model of continuous power that is both political, ontological, epistemic and existential. For Fanon, decolonization necessarily implies re-humanization, learning to unlearn and negate negation. In a similar vein, Lewis Gordon argues that it is the existential lived reality of the situation/condition of humanity negated that produces Black existential thought, thought/philosophies that affirm the condition of humanity of people whose very existence is denied (Gordon 2000). For both Gordon and Fanon, and for many more whose humanity-existence-life is negated, the question is how to continue living.

IV. The Hows of Praxis

I return to my questions of the "hows" expressed at the beginning of this talk. How to struggle against the present-day colonial matrices of power and the growing practices of dehumanities and dehumanizations? How to denaturalize the situation of violence-death-war? How to sow and sustain dignity and existence-life? And, in the same vein, how to struggle for and how to plant and cultivate the otherwise of existence-re-existence-life that is decolonial praxis? Questions that necessarily open reflections on praxis itself, and on what I refer to as decolonial cracks and the praxis of fissure.

Praxis, in a Freirian sense, is "an act of knowing that involves a dialogical movement that goes from action to reflection and from reflection upon action to a new action" (Freire 1985, 50). It is reflexive and reflective, critical, theoretical, and pragmatic. It is intentional in that it acts upon and in reality: to

transform it, aware of its own processes and aims. And it is grounded in a critical humanism of inquiry and intervention that chooses existence and life over the dictates of dehumanities and the colonial, capitalist, patriarchal system. As Paulo Freire once said, "for apart from inquiry, apart from the praxis, individuals cannot be truly human, Knowledge emerges only through invention and reinvention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other" (Freire 1985, 58).

Moreover, as an analytic perspective, sociopolitical standpoint, and pedagogical-methodological stance, praxis enables us to transcend the linear precepts, binary-based suppositions, and outcome-oriented views of western knowledge, research, and thought. It helps us think from and with the ongoing processes of decolonial shift and movement rather than simply with and from decoloniality as paradigm, consequence, and position. And it helps give presence to relation, the relation and correlate, to use Sylvia Wynter's term, of action-reflection-action, but also of present-past; the (co)relationality that grounds ancestral non-Western knowledges, worldviews, and life practices, and that orients a perspective, prospect, and proposition of struggle *for* a different model of life, living, knowing, and being in and with the world.

Praxis, of course, takes many forms; the praxis of Liberation Theologies are certainly examples. But the praxis/es that most interest me today are not the ones conceived with and from the totality of the system, not those centered on the liberation of the masses, on wide-scale transformation, and on Revolution; praxis that has HOPE in capital letters. For me, the struggle today is not from the totality, but from its fissures and cracks. My struggle and wager are for the praxis that exists despite the system, challenging it, transgressing and transcending it, and making it crack. For me, it is in the cracks and fissures where an otherwise of existence-life continues to take form, where the conditions of negation are negated, where affirmation and hope (this in smaller letters) are created and lived.⁴ The praxis of cracking, the praxis that opens, extends, and con-

⁴ Recalled here is Leonardo Boff's text "The Political Strength of Hope" where he repeats the sentence of Saint Augustine: "Hope has two beloved daughters: Indignation and Courage; Indignation teaches us to reject things as they are, and Courage inspires us to change them" (Boff 2017).



nects the cracks, and that sows within them, is — again for me— what makes decoloniality a verbality (to use Rolando Vásquez’s expression) (Vásquez 2012); that is, an action of simultaneous doing-thinking-sowing-cultivating-creating-re-existing-living.⁵

V. Decoloniality and/as the Sowing of Existence-Life

Decoloniality, for me, is not an abstract theory nor a new critical paradigm. It is a perspective, stance, and proposition of thought, analysis, sensing, making, doing, feeling, and being that is actional (in the Fanonian sense), praxistal, and ongoing. Moreover, it is prospectively relational in that it looks, thinks, and acts with the present-future-past, including with the peoples, subjects, and situated and embodied knowledges, territories, and struggles that push toward, advance, and open possibilities of an otherwise. It is in this sense that decoloniality can be understood as a process, practice, and project of sowing seeds; of cultivating, nurturing, and growing, always vigilant of what the Zapatistas refer to as the storm brewing, the catastrophe that is now upon us thanks to the incredible capacity of regeneration of the capitalist hydra, and relatedly, the continual reconstitution of the coloniality of power.

In the 2015 Zapatista organized seminar or “seedbed” of critical thought, the Insurgent Subcomandante Galeano asked participants for “the seed that questions, provokes, encourages, pushes us to continue to think and analyze: a seed so that other seeds listen that they have to grow, in their own way, according to their own calendar and geography” (Comisión Sexta del EZLN 2015, 33).

From the context of the Great Comarca of the Afro-Pacific, Juan Garcia Salazar and Abuelo Zenón remind us of the seeds sowed by peoples of African origin in the lands of the Americas, seeds of ancestral knowledge, philosophy, memory, and tradition, of resistance and of and for life (García and Walsh 2017). These are the seeds, they say, that need to not just be remembered but also re-sown in contemporary times and with attention to the present-day reality of deterritorializations, dispossessions, expro-

priations, co-optations and false inclusions, and the recoloniality of power, being, knowledge, and nature.

Decolonial praxis, as I understand it, is just this: the continuous work to plant and grow an otherwise of existence-re-existence-life despite and in the borders, margins, and cracks of the dehumanities described here, dehumanities that are part and parcel of the new configurations of the dominant prevailing order/disorder.

The pedagogies of this praxis are multiple. They are sown and grown in the contexts of decolonial struggle, wherever and however this struggle is conceived, situated, and takes form. And they are sown and grown in the methodologies and/as pedagogies (to recall Freire) of struggle itself. I am thinking of struggles that walk asking and that ask as they walk, and of struggles that bring to the fore the forces of the sacred, ancestral, spiritual, and creative. I am thinking of all those struggles against the dehumanities described here, against the modern/colonial matrices of power in their myriad manifestations and faces. And I am thinking of all those struggles —and all those efforts, strategies, processes, and practices- to push, enable, create, and construct a decolonial praxis and a decolonizing otherwise.

It is praxis, as Enrique Dussel reminds us, which makes the path (Dussel 2014). And it is the sowing and growing that give root to praxis; a sowing and growing that herald life in an era of violence-death-war, and that give cause to decoloniality as a process, practice, project, and praxis of radically “other” thinking, feeling, sensing, being, knowing, doing, and living.

I close, as I opened, with Abuelo Zenón: “Sow in order to be again,” Zenón says, “sowings and re-sowings of existence-life” (in García and Walsh 2017, 41); sowings absolutely necessary in these times of violence-war-death, of dehumanities taken to the extreme.

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5 For an extended discussion and examples, see my Part One “Decoloniality in/as Praxis,” in Walsh 2018a. Also see Walsh 2017.



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