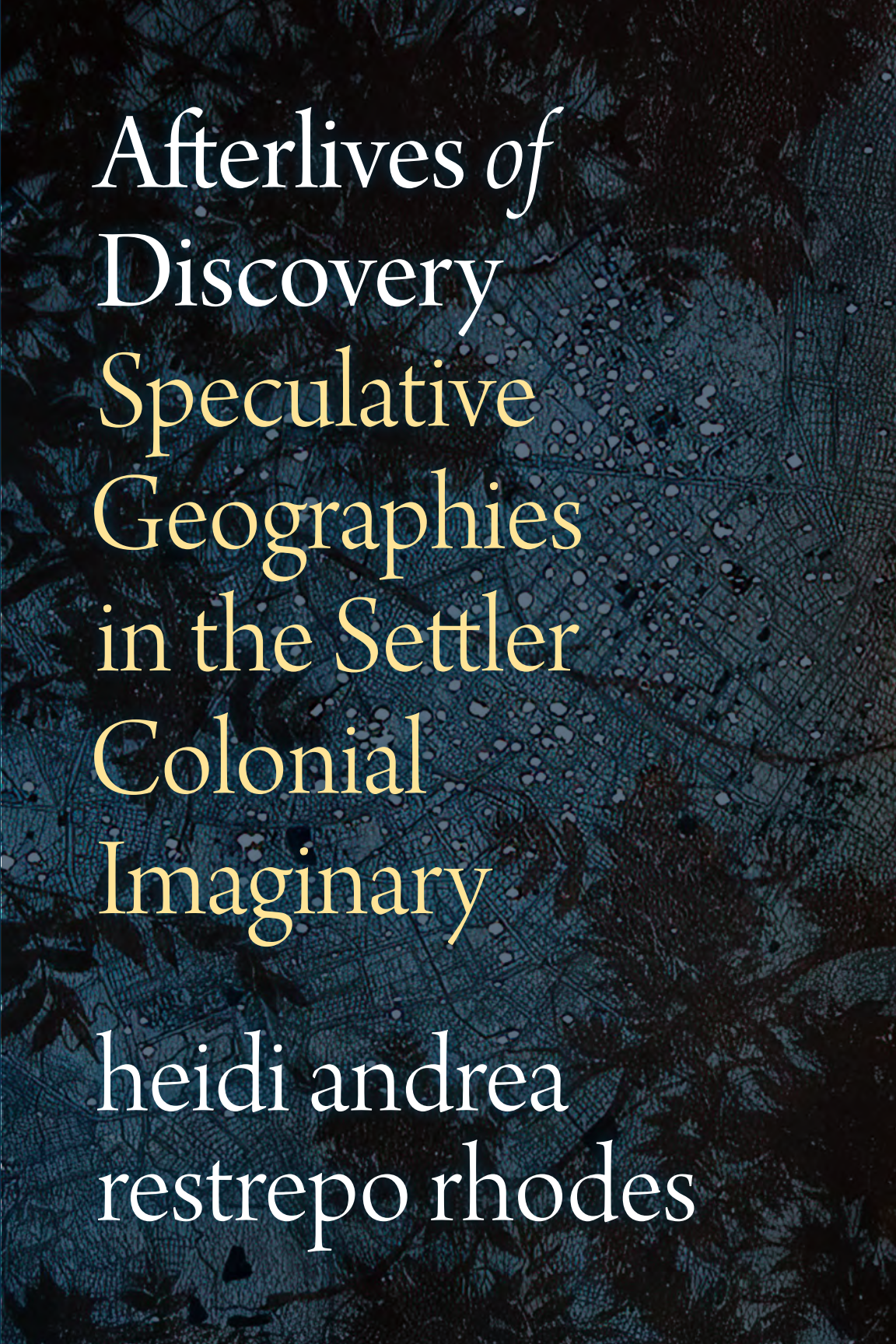
Afterlives of Discovery
Speculative Geographies in the Settler Colonial Imaginary
heidi andrea restrepo rhodes

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For the worlds and futures we've lost, for the ones that remain, and the ones that remain for us to build.

For those who dream and fight for a harmonized world, despite and through the ongoingness of the Great Catastrophe.

For a future without conquistadors.

The first colonist, Christopher Columbus, did not voyage in the name of a country, but of an idea.

EDOUARD GLISSANT, *POETICS OF RELATION*

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Preface

This book has come to fruition as a complex array of militarized violence carries on in my mother's homeland, Colombia. It has arisen out of roughly fifteen years of research on violence in the country and the insights I've gained from conversations with leaders of grassroots movements and from participation in various human rights projects related to armed conflict. The project of this book has also arisen from the stories I heard during my childhood of my family's inheritances of racial (un)belongings, and from the stories I longed to hear but could not uncover.

My family's history is enmeshed in national narratives of race, whiteness, and related notions of blood purity that consistently erase Colombia's histories of genocide, enslavement, sexual violence, and black and indigenous survival. My counter-readings of the official archive, the ways I read materials against their intended service to hegemonic national narratives and settler colonial romance, are a way to be with my black, indigenous, and Sephardic ancestors and all that I cannot know—about their lives, their pain, their joy, survival, desires, and dreams.

My maternal grandmother, the family lore goes, came from Spanish bloodlines rooted in Sephardic histories of forced conquest, conversion to Catholicism by threat of the Inquisition, and settler colonial upward mobility. Stories of her family's efforts to maintain their imagined white-ancestral purity across generations, for example by discouraging her romance with my grandfather due to his darker features, have illustrated for me the legacies of racial and religious hierarchies constitutive of Antioqueño identity. My maternal grandfather's own Afromestizo legacies, as well as his disavowals of them, shaped his relationship to race and historical amnesia, as well as his internalized antiblackness and assimilation into the particular regional Antioqueño idea of bootstraps whiteness and patriarchy as industrious and devoutly Catholic.[1] He moved as a young adult from a small town in the Antióquia region and took a managerial position in Medellín at a textile distribution agency that sold bolts of cloth produced by some of the largest textile factories in the city. Though I don't explore textile labor in this book, his

thirty-plus-year participation in the textile industry, as well as his living through and witnessing some of Colombia's most significant twentieth-century political moments, has contributed to my own curiosity toward the particular nexus of political history, industrial development, and workers' histories in the country.

Both of my maternal grandparents' legacies piqued my curiosity about questions of race in Colombia, and how they differ from questions of race in the United States, where I grew up. I've always been struck by the particular erasures and amnesias produced through Colombia's history. In stark contrast to the United States, early pro-miscegenation and blood-mixture policies in Colombia supported the idea of the country as a "Mestizo Paradise"—a mixed-race utopian melting pot. Of course, the concept of the Mestizo Paradise functioned to eliminate the visibility of black and indigenous bodies and populations and facilitated the transfer of their collective lands to individual proprietorship of people considered racially superior. Born of colonial and state racism, the hierarchies of blood mixture so specific to Latin America continue to proliferate in the Colombian national imaginary and to inform present-day configurations of violence against Colombia's nonwhite populations. As somebody who carries in their body and being histories of both settlers and the colonized (while not wanting to make the separation between these two categories stark and easy), I feel accountable to these histories and see the writing of counterhistorical narratives as one way to approach the work of solidarity and individual and collective healing.

The ongoing denial—both by Colombians and white activists in the United States—that race and racism are considerable issues in Colombia confounded me during my first experiences working there. My suggestions that race and racial capitalism play a role in how militarization and human rights abuses have contoured life in the country have often been discounted as a negligible concern. Instead, mainstream narratives have placed an emphasis on the role of regionalism in the country's history—a longtime traditional approach to Colombian historiography that somehow misses the point that geographical space, race, and political economy are inseparable both in their material realities and the ideas that circulate through them. The regionalist approach to Colombian historiography attends to historical internal settlement patterns that structured race as a regionalized notion in the country, making region "the basis for cultural differentiation and identification."[2]

I'm not denying this history—regional pride and regionalist ideas about race were very evident in my grandfather's generation, though they seem to have waned among newer generations, who are differently mobile through labor and

technological networks. What I *am* saying is that race in the country's history is not purely a regionalist configuration and that local, national, and global hierarchies of race inherited from colonialism and its aftermaths do shape racial identity and experience in the country and are a much bigger factor in Colombian history than tends to be acknowledged by white scholars. As Denise Ferreira da Silva argues, racial subjection and its idea of the self-determined subject foiled by "outer-determined others" are often denied any role in modern existence, but they have, especially since the nineteenth century, governed the contemporary global configuration of life and have produced the global as a context for valuations of different forms of knowledge and being as delimited by race.[3] Further, regional distinctions, which included "disparate economic realities and dissimilar social make-ups," and the disconnects between regions, played an important role in the impetus toward the consolidation of the nation as a racialized mestizo unity.[4]

A widespread campaign for "Colombianization" would seek to minimize the role racial differentiation played in the consistent reinscription of racial hierarchies that organized governance, labor, economies, geographies, and social programming. In contrast to this historiographical focus on regionalism, when speaking to black and indigenous communities in the country, a different narrative emerges—one that places racial-colonial subjugation at the center of these communities' perspectives on what has fueled the violence against them, from the fifteenth century to the present.

National attention to the impact of the country's violence on these communities has mainly been through rights-based discourses and efforts to change law and policy, but the constraints on this kind of justice work are evident. My relationship to human rights as a field of knowledge and as a mechanism for legal intervention has been ambivalent, to say the least. Given that human rights is a principal tool for accountability and intervention in the international arena, it has felt necessary to engage with and access resources provided by human rights and its juridical processes. My participation in various human rights projects from 2004 to 2019 elucidated the impact this kind of work can have on mitigating violence, while also exposing me to the limitations of human rights work in effecting justice.[5]

My research in Colombia began in 2006, first with the Fellowship of Reconciliation Colombia Office based in San Francisco, headed by John Lindsay Poland. I interned there with his project on false positive killings and US military complicity in human rights abuses in Colombia. During that time, we also lobbied the office of US Representative Barbara Lee and succeeded in redirecting a portion

of Oakland's city funds away from Plan Colombia (a US initiative that further militarized the country and intensified violence in the name of fighting drug cartels and left-wing insurgency in Colombia) and into local substance use recovery programs. In April 2010, I traveled to Bogotá with a group of professors and fellow graduate students to the Second World Congress on Psychosocial Work in Exhumation Processes, Forced Disappearance, Justice and Truth, where I was introduced to Afro-Colombian activist and social leader Héctor Marino Carabalí. Later that June, I traveled to the National Library in Bogotá to collect materials on histories of racism in Colombia's conflict, while attending organizational meetings with the National Movement of Victims of State Crimes (MOVICE) on issues of enforced disappearance as well as the specific 2008 case of the "false positive" killings of five civilian youths in Soacha.[6]

During that trip, in collaboration with Héctor and my then-partner (in life and research) Alejandro Jorge Urruzmendi, we began two years of work in the northern Cauca region with the victim's rights organization Renacer Siglo XXI, documenting the enforced disappearances perpetrated during a five-years-long paramilitary occupation, as well as the bureaucratic racism faced by local black communities in pursuing established reparational processes. While in Cauca, we met with indigenous leaders of Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca (CRIC) as well as with community leaders, movement organizers, scholars, and lawyers connected to Renacer Siglo XXI, and participated in several meetings on local justice processes along with a workshop on psychosocial healing with family members of the disappeared. In 2011, Alejandro, Héctor, and I presented findings to the UN Working Group on Enforced Disappearances in Mexico City, calling for international pressure on the Colombian government to more adequately respond and offer protection to vulnerable communities.

These experiences revealed to me the horrors of state and militarized violence; and the centrality of land entitlement, capitalist extractivism, and resource exploitation to the human rights abuses taking place in Colombia. They highlighted for me the importance of rights-based activism and advocacy in solidarity with grassroots movements articulating specific, local community needs and desires. I saw what was possible through human rights as a framework and legal mechanism, while coming to understand its limits, both in implementation and in the constitutive violences on which they came to exist in the first place.

Indeed, critiques of human rights as a liberal framework—and of liberalism more generally—have resonated deeply with my own political, intellectual, and

ethical commitments and concerns. Both human rights and liberalism appeal to an idea of justice to which access is contingent on entry into the human itself—rooted in deeply colonial ideas that have upheld the racist, heteropatriarchal, capitalist order of things. This has moved me toward social and historical justice-based projects and thought that do not rely on the state or its juridical mechanisms, and often actually turn away from them as a political endeavor itself. Rather than taking an either/or stance toward these seemingly oppositional kinds of responses to violence, I see a necessity in supporting and understanding the possibilities in both rights-based endeavors and projects that disengage with the state to create an elsewhere and otherwise of political, cultural, and theoretical production.

A persistent focus on emancipatory futures in my own communities has felt vital to our collective practices of survival and care work in the present, and my interest in temporality stems in part from these conversations, which often are identified through a sensibility that is named as post-hope, but not lacking in futurity.[7] A personal health crisis that peaked in 2012, resulting in a hiatus in my work and a move across the country to New York City, led me to shift my research toward more archival material, spurred on by philosophical questions of feminist, Marxist, poststructural, decolonial, and radical indigenous and black ontologies and epistemologies. I find in these frameworks immense possibilities for liberatory praxis and transformation of collective imaginaries and material realities contouring past, present, and future for different populations.

My immersion as an activist, poet, and artist in disabled and chronically ill queer communities of color has also gifted me with intersecting frameworks for contemplating the interreliance of queer and trans liberation, and disability, racial, gender, and environmental justice. Another research trip to Bogotá in the summer of 2019 took me to Bogotá's queer pride rally and several days in public library archives, as well as the archives of the Instituto de Genética Humana (IGH; Institute of Human Genetics) at the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. During that trip I also spent time with activists and historians talking about Colombia's vibrant past and present. That trip was formative for much of the material in this book, as my encounters in the archives and absorption of Colombia's present political landscape wove together into new understandings of the country's genealogies of violence.

At the time of writing, in the post–Peace Accords moment, neither the state nor the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) has fulfilled its agreement under the accords, leaving many regions of the country in ongoingly deteriorating security conditions. Despite widespread demobilization of paramilitary

and revolutionary forces, new dissident and armed groups have emerged. Communities struggling on their own terms for peace, justice, cultural memory, and self-determination continue to be forcibly displaced, disappeared, raped, killed. In recent years, public demonstrations have brought the masses to the streets in waves of radical social movement growing across Latin America, including in Colombia, in response to the untenable conditions of life and death under increasingly right-wing and neoliberal governments. Black and indigenous communities continue to fight for their lives and their land, understanding that their struggles come with a centuries-deep inheritance of colonial structures and systems born out of Discovery, Conquest, and Slavery.

Both weary and wary of Global Northern scholars who approach knowledge production as a process of epistemic extractivism from, and imperialist imposition of Northern paradigms onto, Global Southern contexts and lives, I have woven together Anglo-American and European histories and theories with Hispano- and Latin American histories and theories of Colombia. In doing so, my hope is to better understand the transnational corroborations of settler colonialism's globality. I also hope to uplift transcontinental collaborations and alliances in decolonizing work and thought. Various Colombian activists and social leaders with whom I spent time expressed a deep love of and desire to read more of thinkers like Malcolm X, Angela Davis, Frantz Fanon, and Michel Foucault, among others—in order to empower their own struggles against the grasp of hegemonic thought, militarized violence, antiblackness, and anti-indigeneity in the country. Literatures of the Global South *within* the Global North also offer their own insights toward surviving coloniality and building life against and outside it. Just as twentieth-century anticolonial and anticapitalist struggles across Africa, Asia, and Latin America benefited from knowledge sharing and convergences of thought, cultural work, and political strategy, so might similar struggles in the present.

The research and writing I've undertaken here are one way I hope to contribute to that sharing and a mutual enlivening of decolonial praxis. What is happening in Colombia can't be separated from what is happening in the United States, Israel, India, or anywhere else. The networks of domination and political economies of violence affecting our lives are intertwined across space and time. So must be our constellations of resistance, fugitivity, care work, and liberatory endeavor, in both thought and practice. Epistemic and civil disobedience harmonize in the envisioning and materializing pursuit of what *could be*. As Colombian activist-lawyer Adriana Castaño Román of Medellín's Red Juvenil once told me,

such work as collective political labor has the power to "reshape, redimension, rethink, being human itself."[8] As the Western, liberal notion of the human remains at the center of the project of democracy, state enterprise, and national belonging, this redimensioning work harnesses the decolonial through the ontological—as itself a deeply political concern.

Colombia, its land, and people, are close to my heart. This writing is approached in solidarity with those who've suffered its hells, its militarized extractivist incursions, its quick and slow deaths; and for those who dream of and work toward a time when peace is not tangled up with, or built to serve, racial dominance, capitalist accumulation, and national security. I write in solidarity with the communities I've encountered in my travels there, from Bogotá and Medellín, to Cali and Popayán, to the more rural towns and villages in the plains and hills of the southwestern Cauca region. I write in solidarity with Colombia's historically colonized and exploited people, for a time when peace is understood through a decolonizing ethos based in striving for collective well-being, sustainable futures, and a thriving present for its people and its land. My work aligns with the project of undoing what Frank B. Wilderson has called the "epistemological coherence and institutional integrity" of the violent forces of history and present subjugating and destroying particular forms of black and brown life, human and more-than-human existence, and possibilities of the otherwise in the afterlives of Discovery and its property regime.[9] If scholarship can be a kind of feminist care work in praxis toward these possibilities of the otherwise, this is what I hope to have written here.

INTRODUCTION

SPECULATIVE IMAGINARIES IN THE AFTERLIVES OF DISCOVERY

Space-Time (Con)Fabulations

The dominant historiography of European exploration and colonization claims that "the Age of Discovery" extends from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, beginning in most historical accounts—and in the public imaginary—with the "Columbian Encounter" of 1492.[1] This book pieces together seemingly disparate moments in Colombian history to construct a genealogy of the romance and repertoire of Discovery, its politics and poetics. Discovery is characterized as a series of expeditions to discover and map lands, enabling their invasion and conquest by empires seeking to establish and legitimize colonies abroad and exploit their natural resources through claims to property. Discovery unleashed the conditions of possibility for the genocidal conquest of the New World, what in Latin America is often called the "Demographic Catastrophe" of systematic dispossession of land and life. The Discovery Doctrine sanctioned the enslavement of non-Christians and the diminution of indigenous populations in the Western Hemisphere. The desire for a renewable labor source for mercantile and capitalist-colonial endeavors brought the transatlantic slave trade into its full operative mode. Whatever has followed the so-called event of Discovery is configured in its afterlife.

I argue that Discovery in Colombia is key to settler colonialism's constitutive violence, which has led to armed conflict and militaristic intervention in the guise of liberal economic, scientific, and technological reason and progress. In this light, I assert that the Colombian armed conflict and its current formations of violence are extensions of the settler colonial project of "Discovery," dispossession, extraction, accumulation, epistemic and political domination, and whitening of the nation. This frame challenges the dominant narrative of the armed conflict as a defensive operation in reaction to Marxist insurgency that erupted in the 1960s, and requires us to consider that indeed the "peace process" itself extends the logics of Discovery and settler colonial domination into the present. Emerging out of fifteen years of human rights research and advocacy in militarized regions in Latin America and beyond, this book contributes to interdisciplinary feminist examinations of power through focusing on settler colonialism and its global flows of capitalist ideology and economy. It is a philosophical and historical inquiry into the politics and poetics of Discovery as an expression of settler futurity, as well as the fantasies, fictions, fabulations, and confabulations of historical memory that inhere in Discovery and its afterlives.

Further, this book proposes that the view of the earth as an endless horizon—a potential for worlding and the desire for unlimited accumulation—acquired new force in the Age of Discovery and was disseminated into Colombia's hegemonic imaginary and political landscape. In the pages that follow, I explore how this view of limitlessness has propelled the many projects of exploration, settlement, and extraction that continue to unfold in Discovery's wake.[2] Fantasies of an endless supply of cheap labor, inexhaustible raw materials for production, and the potential for limitless profit from cycles of investment and production overlay early explorers' spatial perceptions of the infinite latitude of the horizon of land with the enforcement of economic futures. This figuring of the horizon as a spatial and temporal field of endless potential is key to the settler colonial imaginary that includes and is fortified by the impulse to conquest.[3] It harnesses the future itself as a kind of property rendered out of the wilds, making possible the upkeep of settler hope and ambition for wealth accumulation. As William Ospina suggests, in Colombia the "invention of the future has served to create of time a region" onto which society has projected its hopes and values.[4] The conditions of possibility for this future require the continual dispossession of the self-determined futures of black, indigenous, those living in poverty, mestizo, and other subjugated groups in the face of military, economic, and environmental

violence. The negligence of present conditions of poverty, inequity, and violence in the name of better futures for the country reflects settler capitalist orientations to the speculative, both symbolically and fiscally. As Libardo Sarmiento Anzola confirms, "The current developmental model favors economic speculation and the benefits of capital, postponing the satisfaction of social needs."[5]

In Colombia, geographic speculation—as both scientific and economic projection of potential accumulation of topographical and cultural knowledge, land, and wealth—served the settler colonial project both before Independence from Spain in 1810 and afterward, in the post-Independence development of the political landscape. As I explore in chapter 3, the post-Independence national territorialization of Colombia finds an affinity of perspective with the earlier European romanticization of discovery and conquest, fueled by speculative fantasies of finding and possessing land "knit with gold." This affinity continues to the present through scientific and megadevelopment projects backed by international finance and military force.

In this context, I propose "speculative geography" as a term that names the ways that geography and its practices of mapping are always already a (con)fabulative projection onto both space and time, toward the production of place, its senses and affects, its potency, its potentiality for psychosocial, technological, political, and economic machinations. I suggest that all geography is, in a way, a speculative process that opens onto the "could-be" of place and the selves and worlds produced there—also often requiring the erasure or ambiguation of what place has been. To encounter a place, to assimilate its visual and semantic field into meaning through language, to name it, to force its terrain into epistemic legibility and economic viability, is always already to dominate it, to steal it, to assimilate it into the confines of the operative epistemological frameworks, their temporal and spatial linearities.

In its (post)colonial iterations, the speculative implicates colonial-capitalist fantasies of accumulation. What has been clear in the militarized regions in which I've worked is that when the state aligns with elite and capital interests, it conflates peace and security with economic growth. The question of "Colombia's future" is one that thus has always been of an extractivist order. It operates through settler colonial time and requires ongoing violence against vulnerable populations in order to clear land for the exploitation of resources and labor.

This book writes against those rationalities, their obliterative politics of coloniality, and their contemporary deployment through militarism—what Donna

Haraway calls "that dream science/technology of perfect language, perfect communication, of final order."[6] Differing conceptions of the future and their political attachments are crucial to analytics of racial and gendered subjugation and the dissent arising in response. As racial-colonial legacies and their histories of capitalism are interwoven with environmental and cultural devastation of diverse forms of life, addressing their intersections is a necessary component not only of fighting environmental and sociohistorical racism but also of collectively imagining and building sustainable, peaceable futures. Colombia's attempts to "repair the future" through mechanisms of transitional justice remain fraught, and "peace" remains not only elusive but also a means for violation, coloniality of (bio)power, and an apparatus of death-boundedness for the country's most vulnerable people and ecological terrains.[7]

I view this book project as an expression of counter-memory that resists hegemonic and state-military narratives of Colombia's conflict as a protracted process of insurgency/counterinsurgency. I interpret specific archival materials created within a Colombian settler colonial–capitalist imaginary to illuminate their implications for Colombia's national becoming as a liberal settler colonial state shaped by processes of envisioning that collapse the present with the past of 1492. Counter to dominant reads of the archive as a self-contained and value-neutral documentation of the facts of history, I read the archive as a culturally constructed and culturally embedded form; a material and figurative technology of governance and national memory; a "fantastic representation of an epistemological master pattern"; a metaphor of unfulfilled imagination; "a repository of codified beliefs"; and a hegemonic ordering of evidence that allows the state to affirm its own self-serving fictions.[8] The archive is also what Diana Taylor calls "a living repertoire."[9]

Today the dominant narrative in the government, the media, and across Colombia's bourgeois public imaginary often roots the country's affliction with violence in key historical events that are discursively represented as isolated expressions of belligerent criminality. In particular, the mainstream media and government discourse have focused on the 1964 emergence of the FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarios de Colombia—Ejercito del Pueblo; Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—People's Army) as an insurgent group, as well as the drug trade's peak in the 1980s and 1990s as an effect of a few key players (most notoriously or heroically, depending on your position, Pablo Escobar). This allows for the demonization of particular actors as threats to freedom, national

stability, and peace; and the shaping of the national narrative around a need to purge rogue enemies from the country's political and geographical terrains.

Historiographically, this narrative relies on the construction of these events as the isolated origins of surges in violence, producing a collective sense of the armed conflict as terroristic. In fact, despite the violence perpetrated by Colombia's insurgent groups, the state and its parastate institutions have perpetrated 75–80 percent of human rights violations throughout the armed conflict. What the hegemonic narrative ignores is an entire political economy of state violence as an ongoing project of the nation's social and economic "maximization."

Ongoing threats, extrajudicial killings, massacres, enforced disappearances, physical and psychological torture, arbitrary detention, and sexual violence have been rendered in the national imagination as isolated events, collateral damages of the necessary work of counterinsurgency, or the momentary failures of military institutions to control its own rogue figures within abidance of national and international law. As violent technologies of governmental normalization, such "events" hide behind the rhetoric of national security to elide the systematization of land expropriation and forced assimilation as an essential element of the expansion of an economy that benefits the state of Colombia, its ruling classes, and international corporate alliances. It renders invisible the institutionalization of normalizing processes within a national political economy: of bodies and their languages, identities, histories, practices, knowledges, investments, and the futures they make possible.

This book counters that dominant narrative, tracing a longer genealogy that exposes how such "events" are not bounded but are points of historical convergence. Together they constitute a series of contingent and continuous practices that are rooted, routed, and rerouted through the apparatuses of coloniality and capitalism in the afterlives of Discovery, Conquest, and Slavery. They are a part of a much longer and deeply embedded system in which the speculative attention to infinite possible returns underlies the justification of latitude, of license taken, in reinforcing the order of things within the regime of settler coloniality and its temporal attachments. No less important are the continually invented and reinvented subversive and fugitive modes of life challenging and turning away from the total hold of coloniality on space and time. The conquistador's grip on the lived everyday and the imaginative work of living's otherwise possibilities is never as tight as it is claimed to be.

This interpretation of Colombian archives reveals how the arbiters of political and scientific national becoming extend the Demographic Catastrophe of

Discovery well beyond the event of 1492 into the structure of liberal governance itself. Including the (post)colonial archives and the archives of liberal modernity as constitutive of the archives of the armed conflict in Colombia expands our collective understanding of the constellatory networks of power shaping the country's histories of violence. Across this book, I read for convergences between global archives of coloniality and the Colombian "archive of liberalism" to unsettle the normative prose of national becoming and histories of violence.[10]

My interpretation of a series of nineteenth- and twentieth-century historical moments and their objects of speculative cultural-geographic production highlights how the foregrounding of liberal formations tends toward an erasure of its constitutive violence, its continuities with colonial unfreedoms, its transnational and transtemporal entanglements. Specifically, my analysis focuses on an 1807 geographical report by Francisco Caldas, Colombia's first creole-born scientist known in the national mythos as the "father of engineering"; a widely popular 1913 painting, *Horizontes* by Francisco Antonio Cano, and its prolific cultural impact; *10 luces sobre el futuro*, a 1930s state proposal for mapping and territorialization written by statesman Manuel Roca Castellanos; and materials related to "the Great Human Expedition," a 1990s genetic project from the Institute of Human Genetics at the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana in Bogotá. I challenge claims that such texts are purely evidence of liberal progress and technoscientific innovation. Inflected by an imaginary of discovery and its speculative investments, they show how the process of postcolonial nation-making was not a mere replacement of feudal and colonial governing structures and cultural landscapes. Rather, it has been as much about continuity as it has been about rupture and emergent forms of life. It has been and remains an ongoing "accommodation," as Lisa Lowe notes, "of both residual practices of enclosure and usurpation with new innovations of governed movement and expansion."[11]

I read these materials and their surrounding discourses chronologically, not to impose a linear trajectory so much as to "show some sides or edges" and view Discovery through a "reflexive prism," suggesting a cumulative effect of Discovery's continuities and meanings across time—an effect that also produces silences or absences in the archive by way of "transcultural corrosions" of already and continually subjugated knowledges and formations of being.[12] Accumulations of meaning remain inextricable from material accumulations of settler colonial power.

This archive as "living repertoire" foregrounds an inventory of presences and absences enacting material and embodied memory of colonial and postcolonial

modes of the "geo"/"graphic": the writing of Colombia as a New World space and time. As a process of world-making, the geographic has functioned, and continues to function, at least in part, to enclose the realm of the fully human through reifying settler colonial futurity *as* human futurity, with genocidal effects. But as Edgar Garcia shows us, as a living repertoire, the archive's liveliness also renders its subjugated knowledges into a kind of agential force in interdependency with the reader through which the cultural signs that have been silenced, delegitimized, or made illegible by official state archives can be refabricated as "vehicles of poetic indeterminacy and contextual metamorphosis."[13]

I explore Colombian indigenous Misak response to Discovery's enduring proliferation toward this latter point in my final chapter, with a turn toward critical speculative geographic fabulation as an aesthetic-political anticolonial mode for geographies otherwise. Analyzing their September 2020 toppling of a conquistador statue in the city of Popayán, I foreground this moment of Misak activism as what Katherine McKittrick calls "a geographic act," for the End of Discovery, opening space-time onto a horizon of the not-yet, unfettering the land and the future from Discovery's spatial-geographic and temporal regime.[14] As a poetic and political gesture in the long-term joy work of caring for history and planetary well-being, this demonumentalization rewrites the material and figurative landscape against the (neo)colonial enchantment with Discovery. It reinscribes into the city of Popayán's psychic and topographic plenum what Garcia calls a "poetics of kinship" that "blurs the hierarchical distinctions of qualified life and unqualified nonlife . . . and alienates—if provisionally, yet powerfully—the biopolitical tiers on which racial lines are drawn."[15] Methodologically, this poetics of kinship extends into the topographic plenum of the archive itself, as demonumentalizing approaches to archival research also blur the distinctions between qualified and unqualified knowledges, the stakes of which any sense and artistry we might cultivate for the marvelous real of liberatory futures.[16] To demonumentalize the archive and its claims is also to topple the monument of Man, which is to say, both the Settler-as-Conquistador and the Western, liberal, individualistic Human.

Whereas the official archive remains monumentalized, the architectures of present systems of violence and their continuities with the past are obscured by the laws of settler space-time as much as by the dust and convolutions of centuries. Saidiya Hartman's notion of the "afterlife of Slavery" illuminates the past as a time-place from which the violence of Slavery continues, having "established a measure of man and ranking of life and worth that has yet to be undone."[17] Further, as Patrick

Wolfe has suggested in writing about programs for elimination of indigenous peoples as an organizing principle of settler colonialism, "invasion is a structure and not an event."[18] In other words, though the historically periodized Ages of Discovery, Conquest, and Slavery are deemed past, as constitutive elements to the structure of invasion and colonial domination, they live on and metamorphose, permeating the everyday as liberalism's underbelly.

In naming "the afterlives of Discovery," I point to this structure and to the temporal remains of the Age of Discovery. This includes, but is not limited to, its doctrine and epistemic imperatives, its aesthetic design and political technologies: it has established its own distinct measure of the human and of land (to elaborate on Hartman) in a racial-geographical ranking of human and nonhuman, terrestrial and planetary life and worth, that is yet to be undone. As Lisa Lowe suggests, modernity's liberal institutions inherit fifteenth-century processes of Discovery through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and into the present, including the hierarchical valuations of certain lives over others. She writes, "We see the longevity of the colonial divisions of humanity in our contemporary moment, in which the human life of citizens protected by the state is bound to the denigration of populations cast in violation of human life, set outside of human society."[19] Given Discovery's relevance as a precondition of conquest, its doctrine and repertoires, its haunting of colonial and postcolonial endeavor deserves deeper examination as key to understanding the ways that, as Tiffany Lethabo King has noted, "the settler also becomes the conquistador/a (human)."[20]

DISCOVERY'S ROLE IN SUBJECT FORMATION AND (DE)HUMANIZATION

King traces how becoming-conquistador/a happens "through Native genocide and Black dehumanization."[21] I suggest that it is additionally through black genocide and native dehumanization. Though it has been common in North American scholarship to examine the enslavement of black people and genocide of indigenous people as two major prongs of conquest and colonial domination, I want to complicate these categories of subjectivity against which settler-conquistador ontology has been formed. First, we understand that in the mid-fifteenth century, Portugal was the first European power to land on African soil and, by authority of the Discovery Doctrine (which I discuss in greater detail in chapter 1), was legitimized by the Catholic Church in its conquest of African land and enslavement of African people in Guinea. Which is to say, this encounter with black people was also an encounter with native people of the African

continent, such that we need to consider the ways the constitution of black and native ontologies within Western epistemes are far more entangled than has been allowed for, even as what shaped the European imagination of the "Indio"-as-native of the Western Hemisphere had its own specificities of place.

Second, the enslavement of indigenous peoples in the New World is much less documented than the enslavement of black people, but as Andrés Reséndez shows,

> Christopher Columbus' first commercial activity in the New World consisted of sending four caravels to Europe with 550 indigenous slaves each to auction them in the Mediterranean markets. Other countries followed in the admiral's footsteps. English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese played a key role in the indigenous slave trade. However, by virtue of its wide and densely populated colonies, Spain became the dominant slave power. Without a doubt, Spain was for the indigenous slave trade what Portugal and England were for African slaves.[22]

Though the enslavement of indigenous peoples was outlawed in the sixteenth century, generations of conquerors, colonists, and capitalists enslaved native peoples across the planet. Reséndez estimates that between the arrival of Columbus and the end of the nineteenth century, between 2.5 and 5 million indigenous people were enslaved in and beyond the New World through a vast global political-economic network. This doesn't take into account twentieth-century enslavement and forced migration of indigenous people in contexts such as the Amazonian Rubber Boom across Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, and Peru, which would increase the numbers.

Common approaches to scholarship understand that though the practice of their enslavement did not stop entirely, the outlawing of enslavement of indigenous people in the Americas nonetheless did legalize opportunities for their entry into colonial society as "less-than-human," in contrast to the "nonhuman" position of blackness, which continued throughout the transatlantic slave trade and plantation systems. While this may be the case, explorations of the afterlives of Discovery (including Slavery and Settler Colonial Genocide) can't exclude this early reduction of indigenous life to property and objecthood as it continues to shape settler articulations of black and indigenous ontology and haunts the material experience, life, death, subjection to violence, and strategies of resistance of both groups. It is therefore important to note that my point here is neither to conflate black and Western Hemisphere indigenous phenomenological experience of these systems

of violence nor to collapse the systems of enslavement and indentured servitude instituted and practiced by each empire. I mean, rather, to suggest that contrary to commonplace ideas about the differences between black and indigenous experiences, the role of Discovery in shaping Western constructions of the ontological (non)positions of "native" and "black" in both cases has, in different ways, been formed through the negation of their humanity by way of being dominated, objectified as property, and subject to social death, first in the black African *as* native, and later in the New World "Indio" *as* slave. It is to propose that there remain numerous conversations and collaborations in thought to be had between Black studies and Native studies, particularly regarding individual and collective-national processes of settler self-actualization, the making of "the human" and its others, and Western practices of ontological and physical subjugation—what King calls the "violent and mutable procedures that reproduce Man."[23] It is in the afterlives of Discovery that the settler also embodies elements of the figure of the conquistador-as-human, transfiguring whiteness into human being, against the constructed foil of indigenous and black life as less-than-human and nonhuman property. If there is a contribution to be made by *Afterlives of Discovery* to Black studies and Indigenous studies, it is in nudging both interdisciplinary fields to further entangle with each other, particularly in exploring these overlaps of philosophical and political import, as well as the historical intimacies between the two groups and the disciplinary and decolonial knowledges that have arisen from their unique experiences responding to and claiming power, from which solidarities for the work of justice might deepen.

THE AFTERLIVES OF DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST

In *Lose Your Mother*, Saidiya Hartman theorizes "the afterlife of slavery" as the ongoing entrenchment of "racial calculus and political arithmetic" in everyday life, resulting in the enduring devaluation of black life.[24] I theorize the afterlives of Discovery as a conceptual sibling of Slavery's afterlife, insofar as the three projects of Discovery, Conquest, and Slavery coconstituted each other. However, they have shifted in their expression across centuries.[25]

Conquest, the process of militaristic invasion and subjugation, though a phenomenon stemming further back than the fifteenth century, carries a different valence in its ties to European colonial endeavors of accumulation of wealth. Conquest in Europe was not only a historical process attendant to violent expansionism but was also a moral and legal claim to entitlements to rule in which customary

rights and obligations were overturned in the name of a new order.[26] Europeans viewed Conquest as the divine and economic imperative of European civilization, in which freedom was founded as the right to expand property (of goods, of territory, of self) and to defend it.[27] With the fifteenth-century enslavement of indigenous Africans by the Portuguese sanctioned by the Discovery Doctrine and the subsequent transatlantic slave trade spanning from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, Discovery and Conquest merged to open room for colonizing powers to stake claims not only to land but also to black and indigenous life and labor.

Acknowledging antiblackness and anti-indigeneity as a cornerstone of liberalism and its institutions is pivotal to seeing the continuities between Discovery's implementation of a property regime, Slavery's hold, and the unfreedoms of liberal progress. The transformation of the chattel slave-as-property into a rights-bearing subject deployed strategies of liberal individuation that defined not only a legitimate subject deserving of rights but also the proper mode of expressing those rights. This process was, and remains, intimately intertwined with a political and carceral economy of capitalism that harnessed disciplinary and biopolitical forms of power based on exploitative and subjugative race relations.

As Saidiya Hartman has shown, the structural and systemic congruities between slavery and emancipation reflect the afterlives of slavery, its ideologies, and institutions.[28] She writes, "The entanglements of bondage and liberty shaped the liberal imagination of freedom, fueled the emergence and expansion of capitalism, and spawned proprietorial conceptions of the self" such that the definitive divisions between freedom and slavery were confounded through their elision.[29] Freedom could thus not be imagined without its corollaries of constraint, personhood, and autonomy as fundamentally reliant on property and self-possession—constitutive qualities of freedom. Underpinning this conception of freedom was slavery's authoritarian power as "fundamentally defined by black subjection."[30] Liberalism's envisioning and implementation of the free subject's sovereignty, right, and power relied on race and the foil of the unfree, objectified other of enslaved black life. As such, in the context of abolition and emancipation, liberty and bondage constituted one another.

In other words, black emancipation gave rise to a humanizing discourse that propagated the idea of freedom as a human right: to be human was to be free, and to be free was to be human. This threatened the social and legal order of freedom as a racial privilege, and of whiteness as synonymous with the human, inciting a series of legal and sociopolitical measures deployed in the effort to reinstate the

previous taxonomic order of the human.[31] "The illusory universality of citizenship once again was consolidated by the mechanisms of racial subjection that it formally abjured."[32]

In Colombia, though slavery was finally abolished in 1851 after a slow process of gradual emancipation law, the hold of antiblackness and anti-indigeneity and their ontological and political-economic forms of violence extends into present-day struggles. Yesenia Barragan reconsiders the "nineteenth-century project of emancipation by arguing that the freedom generated through the gradual abolition of slavery constituted a modern form of rule that paradoxically birthed new forms of racial domination while consolidating de facto slavery."[33] Through the debt-bondage economy and its conditions of impunity for continued captivity, torture, and general tyranny of former enslavers over the lives of the formerly enslaved, gradual emancipation hinged on the continued unfreedoms of black people.

The expression of Discovery, Conquest, and Slavery, in their afterlives, in the Colombian context, can be seen in various social, economic, and political processes extending from and exceeding their periodization as temporally cohesive events that have been relegated to the past. I show in chapter 4 how the territorialization of Colombia as a project of exploration into the interior for the purpose of discovery mimetically orients itself through earlier European endeavors into the unknown fueled by orientalist fantasies of wealth and power that painted the East as teeming with wonders.[34] In chapter 5, I throw into relief how, just as the territorialization of Colombia finds an affinity of perspective with the earlier European romanticization of processes of discovery and conquest, so too does the territorialization of the body—both fueled by speculative fantasies of discovery and its attendant property regimes. For example, such an affinity and invocation of the regime, repertoire, and romance of Discovery is also found within the terrain of more contemporary scientific discovery funneled into the interior of the body, fueling the fantasy of biocapital as its own "El Dorado."

While the manifestation of the afterlives of Discovery, Conquest, and Slavery in Colombia differs from that in the United States, the proliferation of liberal mechanisms and institutions (for instance, constitutional rewrites, the founding of national and international banks tied to endeavors of global commerce and free trade, and immigration policies encouraging internal settlement) in the wake of each suggests that the hold of antiblack and anti-indigenous subjugation across the Western Hemisphere shares certain legacies through the global intimacies of these systemic historical forms of violence. The afterlives of Discovery, Conquest,

and Slavery ultimately can be understood as what Eduardo Galeano has called "the contemporary structure of plunder" in which "today's imperialism radiates technology and progress," rooted less in national liberation than in global capital, as it, among other things, "takes over the internal market and the mainsprings of the productive apparatus" and "assumes proprietary rights to chart the course and fix the frontiers of progress."[35] This notion of plunder is reflected, too, in the critiques I heard from Afro-Colombian social movement leader Héctor Marino Carabalí: that the ongoing struggles of Afro-Colombian, indigenous, and mestizo campesinos are overdetermined by the encroachment of multinational extractive projects supported by militarism deployed in the service of capital—"these pirates who come to steal from us."[36] The plunder of colonialism is carried on through the plunder of capitalism; the plunder of human bodies knotted with the plunder of territories and the natural resources within them.[37] In his characteristic poetics, Galeano further illuminates the contemporary structure of plunder by identifying the infiltration of the International Monetary Fund and technocratic governance into Latin America as one that "helps the conquerors to land."[38] The founding colonial moment of a conquistador's futurism is collapsed into the contemporary neoliberal violence of global capital.

In many cases, the structures supporting unbridled European entitlement to penetrate new land, plunder, and obliterate human life in the service of the colonial project, as Galeano points out, remain in present-day iterations of political and economic life. These, too, are the afterlives of Discovery. When we furnish the name of Columbus and his 1492 landing in the New World; or Alonso de Ojeda and his 1499 landing in what is now Colombian territory—we have to acknowledge the role that their speculations, their projections of an accumulating colonial desire (a desire that accumulates, and a desire *to* accumulate), played in the emergence of the myth of El Dorado—the lost city of abundant gold and precious stones—which sparked further Spanish exploration and settlement of those lands. Rodrigo de Bastidas's 1525 initiation of the first official Colombian settlement of Santa Marta relied on a genocidal clearing of lands for Spanish colonization. As Aníbal Quijano suggests, "What is termed globalization is the culmination of a process that began with the constitution of America and colonial/modern Euro-centered capitalism as new global powers."[39] Moreover, for Mary Louise Pratt, it is imperative to apprehend "imperial dynamics in their continuing adjustments, transformations, and permutations" to elucidate how a "colonial legacy . . . has been and continues to be ongoingly renewed and reintegrated

into a changing world through continuing permutations of its signifying powers, administrative practices, and forms of violence."[40] And as Philip Potdevin tells us, "the two hundred years of the First Republic were marked by forces inherited from the Colony that, transformed, adapted or renewed, are rooted in the present of Colombia," citing issues such as economic disparity; the criminalization of social protest; economic, political, and social dominance of the creole elites; systematic looting of natural resources; and widespread violence, among a long list of other contemporary problems that can be traced to colonial formations of power and practices of dominion.[41]

CHRONO-LOGICS IN CONFLICT: OFFICIAL FUTURES AND FUTURES OTHERWISE

The dominant (center to right-wing) historiography on Colombia's conflict tends to focus on the 1964 Cold War–era emergence of the FARC, seen as the spontaneous uprising of an insurgent group of armed peasants threatening national peace.[42] This narrative represents the FARC as an irrational Marxist enemy of the people and the state, as a group that for decades has terrorized the Colombian public through human rights abuses, killings, kidnappings, and the use of psychosocial terror. From this perspective, the FARC and Colombia's smaller armed insurgent groups, such as the Ejército de Liberación Nacional, are painted as criminals, the primary threat to national well-being and progress, who need to be eradicated or quelled for the country to find peace. They have been the primary basis of the state's sense of necessity for internal militarization and counterinsurgency doctrine.

By contrast, progressive and leftist accounts of the protracted internal war tend to focus on the decades of liberal-conservative conflict over land and political power resulting in the FARC's formation as a Marxist people's army that initially stood for the rights of the dispossessed and sought agrarian reform but which, across the last sixty-plus years, has splintered and grown corrupt.[43] These accounts focus on the corruption of the Colombian state, the documented disproportionate percentage of human rights abuses perpetrated by the Colombian military and military-supported paramilitary forces, and the links between these forms of state violence and capital profit, both through the drug trade and through transnational megadevelopment projects. From this perspective, which I share, the armed conflict is less an internal war and more a systematic and perpetual counterinsurgency operation that conflates the figure of the state's internal enemy with anybody who dares to challenge the state's authority and investment in its violence as a mechanism of so-called peace, as well as technological and economic progress.

This is an important critique, and one put forth by scholars, social movements, and a number of human rights–focused NGOs. With one of the largest humanitarian crises in the Western Hemisphere, Colombia's subaltern populations have for decades collectively organized against the onslaught of disappearances, extrajudicial killings, torture, sexual violence, arbitrary detentions, forced displacement, and other human rights violations perpetrated by the Colombian armed forces, paramilitaries, insurgent groups, and organized "criminal gangs."[44] Colombia's black and indigenous populations have been disproportionately affected by these atrocities. Their communities reside in territories coveted for their strategic location in the context of armed conflict and drug trade routes, as well as for their biodiversity, which has drawn multinational development and raw material resource extraction interests such as large-scale mining, oil drilling, hydroelectric dams, and palm oil plantations. Where coloniality and capitalism converge, state discourse positions these communities as targets for counterinsurgency and national security policy, paving the way for political violence as a tool of discipline, death, and both cultural and economic assimilation—enacted in the name of peace, democracy, and national progress.[45]

While the country has seen advances in addressing both ethno-racial rights and the rights of victims, the implementation of legislation intended to attend to the needs of these communities has been limited. Even as the ethno-racial rights framework in Colombia has shifted the terrain of rights-based justice by moving away from a universal liberal subject toward the particular demands and needs of indigenous and black populations, multiple constraints remain, resulting in continued violence against Colombia's vulnerable populations. More to the point of this book's thesis, insofar as rights-based frameworks remain embedded in Western, liberal models of autonomy and/as self-possession, the afterlives of Discovery permeate the most well-meaning of institutional arrangements that remain important to justice work amid ongoing organizing to dismantle the system at large. In other words, it is no surprise that community-based organizations fighting for social justice make an emphatic distinction marking Colombia's contemporary political environment as post–Peace Accords, but not postconflict.[46]

Though I find this latter framing of the Colombian context important and necessary, its scope is limiting. Even those formidable works that trace the roots of the conflict further back into the nineteenth century of Colombia's nation-building antagonisms—of the political left versus the right; the church versus the state; the peasantry and working people versus the elite governing classes—tend

to focus primarily on land conflict as an issue of labor, resource, party politics, and governance, a contentious national becoming pocked by peasant uprisings, shorter-term wars, and ever-evolving state responses in collusion with capital. I am compelled by what happens to our scope of understanding through a deeper and broader genealogy of "New" and "Old" World intimacies that approaches intellectual and political history through colonial and capitalist networks, as well as the epistemic continuities and discontinuities flowing through their global and local manifestations. As historical affinities coalesce in the import of western European and US-American scientific knowledge, subject formations, and technology, we might better respond to the armed conflict as itself a system of power and knowledge oriented through the most vile speculative fabulations of settler futurity and New World desires for an infinite accumulation of wealth and power. From this perspective, human rights—as a field of legal advocacy and as its own disciplinary and institutional arrangement of global powers—might be enriched by settler colonial studies, Black studies, Indigenous studies, and feminist and decolonial thought.

The phenomenon traditionally called forced displacement, for example, can be understood as a settler colonial process of removal, constitutive of genocide and the elimination of racialized communities. As Eve Tuck and Ruben Gaztambide-Fernandez note, settler futurity "always indivisibly means the continued and complete eradication of the original inhabitants of contested land."[47] Through dispossession, assimilation, eradication, and incarceration, the settler state orders and arranges the future as one that is necessarily about the removal of black and brown life from the material and metaphorical landscape.[48] As of December 2023, with a population of 6.9 million internally displaced people (IDPs), roughly half of whom have been displaced by conflict-related violence, Colombia ranked among the highest counts of the world's countries with IDP crises.[49] Forced displacements are continually occurring, not as collateral damage or mere consequence of the conflict, but as a strategy central to it.[50] Forty-three percent of social leaders killed in Colombia in 2018–19 were black and indigenous leaders—demographics that respectively make up roughly 10–25 percent and 4.4 percent of the country's population.[51] In 2021, 90 percent of those forcibly displaced were from black and indigenous communities along the Pacific Coast. Their displacement is often understood as being primarily about these communities living in some of the most biodiverse regions desired for large-scale development projects, but the racialization of life and land and the arrangement of political economy

and state power can't be separated from the status of the land.[52] Massacres and enforced disappearances are deployed as mechanisms of dispossession, pushing communities out of their ancestral lands for fear of further violence.

I want to ask how we might view the eliminationist rhetoric and strategies of the twentieth century as an extension of older settler colonial strategies of genocidal elimination: both are enforced by the compulsion to remove an internal enemy threat and secure power and hold on land. Conceptions of enmity between liberals and conservatives seeking to secure electoral hegemony leading up to the mid-twentieth-century period called La Violencia—which was rife with political genocide and which saw, in its afterlives in the 1980s and 1990s, the political genocide of over six thousand members of Colombia's communist party, Unión Patriótica—function congruously with state conceptions of indigenous and black communities organizing for their rights as threats to capital and therefore to national security. (This is illustrated, for example, in the case of the Alto Naya Massacre, on which I elaborate in chapter 1.) The eliminationism imbued in each of these cases could be understood as yet another iteration of settler removal.[53]

Despite agrarian reforms such as the Victims and Land Restitution Law (Law 1448 of 2011), and the expansion of identity-based rights that came with the new Colombian Constitution of 1993, their implementation has largely failed to protect those seeking their rights to ancestral lands. As Glen Sean Coulthard has shown, the state's recognition of rights and cultural protections of specific ethnic groups is not akin to sovereignty.[54] Historically subjugated groups are positioned precariously insofar as they often rely on the state and its legal mechanisms for survival, while also needing to challenge the state's still-unjust organization of law and life. The politics of recognition that constructs indigenous and black subjects as limited political formations to a degree inscribes those subjects into the folds of liberal-human rights. But it does not preclude the enduring anti-indigenous and antiblack social and political architectures structured for settler power and dominion over land and life.[55]

As a liberal settler state, Colombia's government has been variously responsible for, complicit in, and neglectful toward human rights violations, enabling them as methods of removal, replacement, and elimination. Even across liberal-conservative regime changes, a settler colonial structure has permeated national culture and politics: as Wolfe has noted, "settler colonialism is relatively impervious to regime change."[56] Combined with the assimilative mandates of liberal governance, Colombia's political landscape has as its organizing principle racialized

elimination and forced assimilation for the purpose of continually expropriating territory. It has not entirely aimed to eliminate indigenous and black *people*—they have been positioned as necessary labor and as psychosocial foils to the properly white, bourgeois citizen subject. But governance has been organized through what Wolfe calls the maintenance of "the refractory imprint of the native counterclaim," which persists in allowing settler society to substantiate its claims to racial-cultural superiority in contrast to black and indigenous people.[57]

Knowledge has also been subject to territorial control and eliminative chrono-logics. Marisol de la Cadena makes clear that the encounter between Andean indigenous and non-indigenous political practices and formations results in the disqualification of indigenous politics in the sphere of nation-state politics insofar as the indigenous epistemologies informing those politics are seen as "excessive" to politics in their difference.[58] Andean indigenous politics integrates nature and spirituality just as the ecology of relations between human and more-than-human life shapes rituals of protest and the political more generally. More-than-human entities are "conjure[d] to the political sphere" as participants for whom there are stakes.[59] "Earth-practices" constitute indigenous relations "for which the dominant ontological distinction between humans and nature does not work."[60] Historically, inclusion in the political sphere of the nation-state has required at least a degree of assimilation and erasure. For many Andean indigenous groups, Cadena writes, what are conceived as "political skills include the relations between human beings and other-than-human beings that together make place: mountains, rivers, crops, seeds, sheep, alpacas, llamas, pastures, plots, rocks—even dogs and hens."[61] Unlike Western subject formations, identity, selfhood, and temporal orientations cannot be separated from this ecology of relations. "And as the new liberal state (unable to see these relations) dismisses this place, abstracts it, and legally reterritorializes it (e.g., by declaring it 'empty' or 'unproductive' space) to make room for mining and the economic benefits it would potentially generate," the impulse to face the destruction of these relations finds itself moving toward politics.[62]

Though Cadena is writing here about Ecuador, the concerns she raises are relevant to Colombia's political terrain. Relational ecologies that exceed the purview of nation-state politics have always been integral to the diverse cultural formations of blackness and indigeneity across Colombia. Arturo Escobar's rigorous attention to *cosmovisiones* (worldviews), ontologies, and epistemologies otherwise offer numerous rich examples, including of communities of the

Colombian Pacific region. He notes that "in the river settlements, black groups have historically enacted a grammar of the environment . . . embedded in rituals, languages, and forms of classification of natural beings that might look strange to moderns" and that "constitutes the cultural-ecological basis of how they farm and utilize the forests."[63] The predominant model for understanding nature for these communities of the black Pacific is centered on plants as actants and mediators "between the natural, the human, and the supernatural between life and death, masculine and feminine, past and present."[64] Further, for the Timbiquí,

> visible natural entities like animals, plants, trees, and gold . . . are both abundant and thus can never be exhausted, but they may also grow distant in space and time and can thus disappear from the reach of people. When pressured too much or put under siege, for example, by too much fishing, hunting, noise, or forest destruction, natural beings go far away or may even transform themselves into espantos [frights] or animales de monte [untamed forest animals].[65]

Additionally, in the Embera relationship to place in the Chocó, "certain places such as caves and river sources are also locations of communication between worlds. . . . Moreover, the boundaries between the many worlds are not rigid and distinct. More than a radical separation, there is continuity between what moderns categorize as the biophysical, human, and supernatural worlds."[66] But the more-than-human worlds of these groups are also viewed as being in excess to what is relevant for politics. As Cadena notes, "Analogous to dominant science, which does not allow its objects to speak, hegemonic politics tells its subjects what they can bring into politics and what should be left to scientists, magicians, priests, or healers—or, as I have been arguing, left to dwell in the shadows of politics."[67]

Inclusive legislation hinging on the universality of the liberal political human subject will never be adequate in addressing the historical exclusions of particular forms of life from the purview of right under the force of law, its discursive truth-effects, and material architectures of the everyday. Legal liberalism and its juridical subject of rights institutionalize the maintenance of violence insofar as juridical human rights tend to focus, Saidiya Hartman tells us,

> on the exclusion and marginalization of those subjects and bodies marked as different and/or inferior. The disadvantage of this approach is that the proposed remedies and correctives to the problem—inclusion, protection, and

> greater access of opportunity—do not ultimately challenge the economy of racial production or its truth claims or interrogate the exclusions constitutive of the norm, but instead seek to gain equality, liberation, and redress, within its confines.[68]

Within the confines of liberal epistemic and political structures, the law dehistoricizes and decontextualizes justice. This is what Jacques Derrida points to in deconstructing the (im)possibility of justice: that to speak to the other "in the language of the other is, it seems, the condition of all possible justice, but apparently . . . it is not only impossible . . . but even excluded by justice as law [*droit*], inasmuch as justice as right seems to imply an element of universality."[69]

But the point is not, I think, for these groups, to subsume themselves or their more-than-human relations into the force of law and its legibility of what is defined by white, Western modernity as human or person. In fact, the demands of the river settlements of the Pacific "went well beyond the desire for integration and racial equality" and aimed at consolidating black social movement and defending the environment.[70] Rights claims amounted to a kind of protest, constituting "a rupture with the political and developmentalist formulations of the Left, past black urban organizations, and traditional political sectors."[71]

Across the following chapters of *Afterlives of Discovery*, I focus more on the networks of power/knowledge that have proscribed black and indigenous lifeworlds and attempted to prescribe national futures through settler regimes of the speculative geographic in the afterlives of Discovery. This isn't to render invisible these widespread grassroots efforts and the revolutionary and decolonizing work of these groups, work that has been ongoing since the moment known as "first contact" between European and "New World" lives. It is to illuminate, in solidarity with these communities, some of the proscriptive and prescriptive fabulations of settler colonial fantasy and territorialization that continue to fortify the legacies of Discovery as the backbone of dominion over material life, land, knowledge, and being. Indeed, the human suggested in human rights is always already configured through racial capitalism and the exploitation of black and brown land and life. Eliminative violence persists. Even seven years after the signing of the Peace Accords, the threat of physical and cultural extermination of black and indigenous populations, memory, knowledges, and lifeways continues.[72] Moreover, the threat of extermination places the elimination of *indigeneity* and *blackness* on the national horizon in both subtle and spectacular ways, aligned with the ongoing project of

mestizaje, on which I elaborate in chapter 3. Both physical-geographical territories and the symbolic territory of knowledge and configurations of "the real" remain in reach of settler desire for possession and its mechanisms of expansion. Discovery's dispossessive logics trumpet in brutal refrain.

To this point, I ask, what if we understand Colombia's armed conflict as an iteration of settler colonial tactics that is less an anomalous event resulting in over six decades of war primarily between two main factions (the state and insurgent groups) within the nation, and more as a continuation of settler colonial processes through which government and commerce (or government *as* commerce) wield political and economic power toward (dis)possession and wealth accumulation within a five-hundred-year-old property regime? As dispossessive violence against black and indigenous communities remains ongoing, what does exposing the continuities between colonialism and liberalism tell us about how Colombia's land and subaltern people continue to be treated as a resource for primitive accumulation, a "blank space" and "no-thing" onto which the geographic as a colonizing mode may construct a vision of, and will to, settler futurity? To understand the protraction of violence in Colombia through this lens, we need to consider this five-hundred-year-old property regime from its roots: Discovery remains an ongoing political-historical process; a legal and extralegal doctrine; and a system of thought yoked to a vast repertoire of languages, images, knowledges, gestures, affects, ontological orientations, desires, and becomings.

INTIMACY AS METHODOLOGY

In *The Intimacies of Four Continents*, Lisa Lowe investigates the "obscured connections" of colonial and liberal endeavor across and between Europe, the Americas, Asia, and Africa toward an "unsettling genealogy of modern liberalism."[73] The organization of official archives, she notes, discourages the drawing of links across space and time.[74] Counter to historical work that seeks historical and geographical comprehensiveness or teleology, her approach emphasizes the interconnectivity—the *intimacies*—of people, cultures, societies, ideas, knowledges, and economies.[75] Following Lowe's concept of intimacy, I hope to make evident some of the residual and emergent flows of contact between geopolitical and economic formations of power, the knowledges and technologies they've produced, and the forms of violence they continue to enable in Colombia.

Part of the territoriality of disciplinary knowledge-making has involved cordoning off histories at their national boundaries, or, in the comparative method,

bringing into contrast two or three different areas. As Alexander Weheliye has noted, comparativity tends to reproduce valuations that reflect the socioeconomic and epistemological hierarchies of the current global order, pitting subjugated groups against each other as they vie for access to full humanity.[76] Instead, he suggests, we might think difference "in relational terms rather than through the passages of comparison."[77] Following Lowe, an approach that takes seriously the relational terms of global powers and "the New World," as well as their intimacies of colonial and postcolonial flows of power/knowledge, will recognize the "dynamic relationship among the always present but differently manifest and available histories and social forces."[78] Such methodology based on intimacy can be both abolitionist and queer, insofar as it tears down the wall at the borders of disciplinary territories and areas of study, yielding a more complex understanding of the proximities and affinities not only across the range of governing formations of violence but also across social movements and patterns of resistance in their wake. It unsettles the normatively privatized domesticities of intimacy as they appear in the territories of both the liberal, bourgeois home and the disciplinary field.

Intimacy as methodology is vital to an ethics of justice and freedom. It deprivatizes otherwise sequestered fields of intellectual inquiry and begins to move knowledge away from the property relation through a queering that blurs what is otherwise seen as separable. This is a critical intervention on individuation's divisive and dividing force, which liberalism exerts on being and knowing. It also opens up greater possibilities for political solidarity work among vulnerable populations, as it helps cultivate an understanding of how the forces and rationalities undergirding the subjugation and subjectivation of diverse groups are far more entangled than is often assumed. As Kris Manjapra proposes, it is neither similarities between intellectual and political systems, histories, or national bodies that is at issue here, nor cross-cultural exchange—it is their entanglements.[79] These entanglements—the intimate assemblage of transnational alignments, alliances and rivalries, circulations, concentrations, connections, intensities, encounters, shared fantasies and transferences of worldviews, and interdependencies—open the scope of our understanding of local and global processes beyond the simple binaries of "dualistic approaches" that reify power and powerlessness through dominator and dominated, "Westerners" and "colonial subjects," or Global North and Global South. Entanglement as a kind of intimacy of continents helps us see the complex global expanse of settler colonial logics at play within Colombia and transnationally.[80]

Relatedly, rather than viewing colonization as a series of nationally bound projects and linear-causal events, I approach coloniality, following Wolfe, as a global structure shaped by the intimacies of continents and the entanglements of their spatial and temporal assemblages of power and knowledge. This, I believe, makes evident how a nuanced approach to Colombia's history of violence requires that we view the anti-indigeneity of dispossessive and genocidal colonial projects of settlement as entangled with the antiblackness of the dispossessive and genocidal transatlantic slave trade and its plantation economies dispersed across the Americas, as well as the lesser-documented enslavement of native peoples. It also requires an understanding of the transnational flows of human bodies, commerce, politics, technologies, and intellectual life established through New World routes that were pivotal to Colombia's becoming as a young nation in the nineteenth century and remain so in the present day.

We see these New World intimacies shaping Colombia as a potential utopian configuration, in diverse manifestations across time and space. These manifestations are not limited to the remnants of Spanish influence carried over from the colonial era. Consider the import of French positivism into Colombian political thought in the nineteenth century. Or the influence of and training with European artists and thinkers that figures like Antonio Francisco Cano and Simón Bolívar sought out in their sojourns to study abroad: the latter spent time in Haiti, and his understanding of anticolonial liberation movement work was heavily impacted by witnessing the Haitian Revolution. We see the intimacies of coloniality in Discovery expeditions documenting the Colombian landscape, like that of the Prussian naturalist and explorer Alexander von Humboldt—as well as economic commissions like that of the US American economist Edwin Walter Kemmerer, who helped establish the first Colombian State Bank—and in the development of import and export economies. Consider also the entry of Colombia into the international stock exchange, which brought whole new waves of speculation, international commercial presence, and capitalist endeavor. This change necessitated an increase in access to laboring bodies to support the production of goods within the country. This was first a justification used for the enslavement of indigenous people, then of black people stolen from their countries and sold to plantation owners. It later required the incentivization of migration into the country for multiple waves of internal settlement that would help establish both working and middle classes to uphold the burgeoning economy and its requisite industrialization of the countryside.

In the twentieth century, the intimacies of coloniality as a global structure are evident in the architectural shaping of cities: for instance, in the midcentury work of Swiss-French "father of modern architecture" Le Corbusier, who was invited to serve as the plan director for Bogotá in 1947. Corbusier developed a master plan for redesigning Bogotá that aimed to establish the urban capital as a utopian European-style metropolis of social order—a plan later taken up by Colombian president and short-term dictator Gustavo Rojas Pinilla.[81] The intimacies of coloniality are evident, too, in the flows of militaristic knowledge and training and the economic and technological resources that make them possible. We see this in the global proliferation of Cold War rhetoric deepening the collective fear of Marxist ideology and insurgent figures, which fueled the racialized and class-political targeting of dissidents suspected of any subversion of state power or capitalist norms. The imperialist dissemination of military counterinsurgency training and technologies from the United States to other political contexts extended the US military knowledge apparatus and economy into Colombia as well as places as far-reaching as the anti-Kurdish terror campaigns in Turkey, Indonesian commandos perpetrating massacres in East Timor, and the scorched-earth practices of militaries in Guatemala and El Salvador, to name a few.[82] Plan Colombia (2000–2015) essentially opened up avenues for the United States to fund the training of Colombian military and paramilitary forces in counterinsurgency tactics that resulted in some of the country's worst atrocities of the late twentieth century.[83] The networks of tactical and operational entanglement run wide:

> The Colombian armed forces began purchasing weapons technologies from Israel in the 1980s, at the same time Colombian paramilitaries began training in Israel. While the United States has been the Colombian Army's main supplier, Israel has been its second most important source of weaponry and logistical technology, approximately 38 percent of all weapons purchases made by the Colombian state. Wikileaks reveals that since the turn of the century, the Colombian government has intensified its relationships with private Israeli military contractors owned and managed by retired IDF officers.[84]

We see these global flows, too, in the use of enforced disappearance to terrorize communities and produce a culture of fear in order to evoke submission to militaristic power—a tactic first documented as a systematic practice in Nazi Germany, then fleshed out in its theories and strategies through the French colonial-military occupation of Algiers, further developed by the United States

military during the Vietnam War and by Southern Cone dictatorships, and taken up in Colombia to the effect of over ninety thousand people disappeared between 1958 and 2021, primarily by paramilitary forces in collusion with or support from the military.[85]

My focus on the effect and presence of these global intimacies in Colombia is not meant to assert that Latin America has only been on the receiving end, as if the country and its continent's rich history have not also impacted diverse global becomings. The multidirectional mobility of capital and ideology is nothing new. As Germán Arcienagas notes, the Americas influenced Europe as much as Europe influenced the Americas. "America," he writes, "makes Copernicus, Galileo, and Descartes possible."[86] William Brandon suggests that it was at least in part the encounter with New World indigenous societies that birthed early modern European ideas about liberty, inspiring seminal works such as Thomas More's *Utopia*, as sixteenth-century literatures depicted indigenous life on American soil as free of private property, "free of toil and tyranny, free of masters, free of greed and the struggle for gain."[87] Some sixteenth-century European histories of the New World equated the Aztecs and Incas with the Greeks and Romans, suggesting that Europeans would benefit from giving them as much heed as those Western ancient civilizations in developing government and law.[88] As Aviva Chomsky has shown, the reproduction of a global workforce benefiting international capital relies on local-national resources to reproduce that workforce. New England's textile industry has relied on the influx of Colombian immigrant workers and products as much as Colombia has relied on the influx of products from the US defense industry. Unionization efforts in both places have impacted each other, creating what Chomsky calls "linked labor histories."[89]

What is more, rather than the reductive framing of New World experience as one of colonizer and colonized, it is important to understand creole participation in nation-building as one filled, José Antonio Mazzotti writes, with "ambivalences" and "creole agencies," negotiations with power that incorporated and repurposed both Spanish and indigenous formations of power and knowledge.[90] Crucially, according to Yesenia Barragan, "in his opening speech during the congressional debate over the Colombian [Gradual Emancipation] law in 1821, [José Félix de] Restrepo referred to the examples of Pennsylvania, which 'abolished slavery and is one of the most thriving states in North America,' in addition to Chile and Buenos Aires, which had 'declared the freedom of the womb.'"[91] But, Barragan elucidates, the political influence was reciprocated: Colombia "served

as a model of emancipation during the first half of the nineteenth century for abolitionist politicians from England, the United States, Portugal, and Brazil," including in London, where "knowledge of Colombia's 1821 law was facilitated by the publication and circulation in 1823 of a voluminous English translation of Colombia's constitution and laws, which included the gradual emancipation law."[92] As Barragan also notes, scholars have largely missed or overlooked the matter of Colombia's influence on global emancipation efforts, presumably because the dominant narratives of empire under racial capitalism give credit of freedom's exemplar to Global Northern nations.

These examples provide mere glimpses of the wider web of entangled relations contouring modernity's landscape. For Pratt, "the postcolonial optic continues to colonize to the degree that it identifies everything with respect to European-dominated power relations, as if coloniality were the only axis along which ex-colonial or colonial places could be known. The object of knowledge gets defined and easily monopolized by its relation to the dominant."[93] Responding to a similar phenomenon in the historiography of Latin America, Enrique Dussel has argued that critiques of modernity tend to be Eurocentric. He proposes instead a concept of transmodernity, in which "modernity is not a strictly European but a planetary phenomenon, to which the 'excluded barbarians' have contributed, although their contribution has not been acknowledged."[94] Nonetheless, to acknowledge the complexity of global intimacies of power, knowledge, technology, and capital isn't to ignore the power differences at play. Black, indigenous, and mestizo unpaid labor and white European and creole control of commodities like silver and gold and agricultural products, Aníbal Quijano reminds us,

> granted whites a decisive advantage to compete for the control of worldwide commercial traffic. The progressive monetization of the world market that the precious metals from America stimulated and allowed, as well as the control of such extensive resources, made possible the control of the vast pre-existing web of commercial exchange that included, above all, China, India, Ceylon, Egypt, Syria—the future Far and Middle East.[95]

Decolonization and independence led to power shifts away from colonizing powers to the nation's internal settler creole elite, nonetheless maintaining the social, economic, and cultural relations with those powers.[96] In fact, Pratt writes, "independence struggles, though conducted within ideologies of liberation, served to relegitimize and refunctionalize colonial hierarchies," including state and mili-

tary efforts toward domination of the global economy.[97] For example, for British and French troops aiding Spanish American independence as hired mercenaries and state-sponsored emissaries, independence "meant nothing more or less than access for French and British capital, commodities, and technology to Spanish American markets, raw materials, and financial collaborators."[98] The concentration of power in Europe and later in the United States has been inextricably interwoven with the "social geography of capitalism," and sustaining the coloniality of extractive labor relations has required ongoing dispossession of land.[99]

Decoloniality has also cultivated entangled, global networks of anticolonial thought, political work, and social movements, from the aforementioned influence of the Haitian Revolution on Bolívar to the circulation of abolitionist work seeking the end of the institution of slavery across the nineteenth century; to the infusion of early twentieth-century Colombian labor movements with Marxist ideologies brought by Russian unionists seeking to disseminate the lessons of the Russian Revolution; to the international impact of mid- and late twentieth-century discourses and institutions of human rights, as well as, for example, collaborations between different indigenous social movements from countries across the world, which have at times provided Colombian indigenous movements with much-needed solidarity.

The seemingly infinite points of contact through these intimacies are impossible to detail in their totality, but acknowledging them as extant and multitudinous foregrounds coloniality as a global structure with local specificities that, in their excavation, can elucidate for us the extent of the system and its violence, its "successes" and failures at fulfilling its own completion as a speculative project. Its totalitarianism seeks to leave no stone unturned in the search for the possible accumulation of profit and property. Yet the proliferation of decolonial and critical speculative world-building projects also means that the reach and force of global coloniality has not totalized into every crevice of life. The intimacies of possibility for the otherwise also flow.

Along with the spatial-geographical intimacies of coloniality, we are faced with temporal intimacies asking us to denaturalize epochal divisions that are central to dominant practices of historiography and knowledge production. The epochal divisions on which the state builds its identity as a progressively developed historical entity rely on causal and linear temporal frameworks that utilize periodization schemes to illustrate its own evolution and contemporary successes. For all the critiques liberal human rights discourse aims at the state,

this point also shows how discourses of transitional justice, too, reify epochal divisions such as conflict/postconflict, peacetime/wartime, past/present—in such a way that they elide the continuities across these fictive divisions as well as the construction of "paradigmatic pasts" that are deployed to define the present as distinct and separate, while naturalizing the present as a logical outcome of what came before.[100]

Two things are ignored by these hegemonic "chrono-logics": the mobilizing capacity of constructed historical "events"; and the spatiotemporal intimacies and afterlives of still-unfolding historical processes such as Slavery and Genocide, Discovery and Conquest.[101] In the critical literatures I engage with, these processes are understood not as anomalous ethical blips in the evolution of global culture but as central constitutive political processes key to nation-building and the cultivation of Official Futures and their potential dividends. In light of this temporal axis, the notion of afterlives of Discovery, Conquest, Slavery, and human property reframes more contemporary social and political configurations as extensions of these earlier practices, and thus also extends coloniality beyond the foundational premises of early colonization.

My approach to writing this book is thus grounded in Christina Sharpe's injunction to "become undisciplined" and the commitment to "undisciplinarity" that emerged out of the Latin American group on modernity/coloniality/decoloniality.[102] In approaching this task genealogically, I draw on Michel Foucault's proposal "to de-subjugate historical knowledges, to set them free . . . to enable them to oppose and struggle against the coercion of a unitary, formal, and scientific theoretical discourse . . . to reactivate local knowledges."[103] The critique laid out in *Afterlives of Discovery* is an antiscientific, undisciplining ("disorderly and tattered," in Foucault's words) engagement with the disqualified knowledges of these social-scientific fields and the local knowledges of indigenous, black, and campesino lifeworlds, working toward "insurrection against the centralizing power-effects that are bound up with the institutionalization and workings of any scientific discourse organized in a society such as ours."[104] As I delineate across the first five chapters, Discovery has circulated as a productive and disciplinary mechanism through its rhetoric and attendant political formations, which have enforced its centralizing power-effects, as they are deeply bound up with the institutionalization of settler governance and geographic discourse.

If we relate to books as living texts and toolboxes rather than sites of enclosed and commodified knowledge, *Afterlives of Discovery* moves with feminist

and decolonial thought, critical geography and political theory, settler colonial studies, Black studies, and Indigenous studies without being intended to make a concerted disciplinary intervention in any specific disciplinary field. In staking a claim in undisciplinarity, this project is also entirely indebted to the work and contributions of those fields, and humbly offers a few more tools to the cache of possible apparatuses of subversion that might be taken up for liberatory purpose. It offers a way of seeing what has happened and what continues to happen—which is also a way of relating differently, of gathering (of ghosts, of minds, of political and affective formations in differing space-times) in world-making endeavor for futures otherwise and otherwhere than what has been intended from within both totalitarian and liberal imaginaries.

If there *is* any disciplinary intervention to be made, it is in the historically colonial fields of anthropology, sociology, geography, psychology, political science, and history—not to *improve* them as disciplines, but to produce a critique that attempts to fracture their norms and dominant modes of thinking and to erode boundaries, canonical understandings, and inherited truths that have been central in shaping what and how we can know about our collective present, and how we might act to change it. Certain threads of positivism and the violence they effect remain significant in these fields, especially where academic knowledge production is pursued in the service of governance, enterprise, and status quo social formations. Within hegemonic frameworks and epistemes, even approaches that disavow positivism and its fascist past still often rely on conventions of positivism and its claims to universal truth. Deconstruction's challenge to practices of truth production—practices that assume an always-immediate access to meaning and therefore authority over spatial and temporal arrangements of power/knowledge and its valuations of certain lives and places over others—is crucial to this text's desedimentation of hegemonic narratives about the history of violence in Colombia that are used to justify neocolonial subjugation and death-making. This is vital to the broader work of undisciplining as decolonial practice.

I seek a decolonizing praxis of writing and thinking that undoes the strict and isolating territorial borders of traditional disciplinary knowledge rooted in colonial endeavor. This book is meant to be not a historical treatise but, rather, an invitation to reflect on how we might encounter our colonial past and collective future-making.[105] To be undisciplined is not to imply a lack of rigor, or a kind of chaos, but a "liberating path of thinking guiding our doing and becoming on the planet."[106] In the spirit of dismantling borders as both geopolitical and

ideological formations of enclosure and privatization, the underlying feminist, deconstructive, anticapitalist, and decolonial ethos in this work strives to stake a claim in knowledge production as itself a speculative project of world-making.

The primary intention of *Afterlives of Discovery* is to interrupt settler capitalist notions of progress that continually assume a universality and givenness to Discovery as a beneficial and beneficent moral and political quality, and to show how Discovery has been wielded as a mechanism of power/knowledge to regulate and produce the hold of coloniality on Colombia's national space-time. While I want to be careful about this approach being read as assuming a lack of resistance or concerted organizing by black and indigenous communities across the centuries, neither do I want to reify blackness or indigeneity as singular; *Afterlives of Discovery* emerges in proximity to black, indigenous, and mestizo campesino struggles through the research, advocacy, and community-building I've done in Colombia, particularly in Bogotá and across the department of Cauca. The relationships I built with social movements in the country in the wake of military incursions into, and paramilitary occupations of, their lands—our lengthy conversations in community healing and justice spaces, as well as the direct appeals and petitions they made for scholarly and activist solidarity—have brought me to the questions and analysis unfolding across these pages. It is with those black, indigenous, and mestizo campesino voices, and from those relationships, that this project turns the gaze back onto empire and liberal formations of capital and strives to create space, through thinking and writing, for the questions these communities ask regarding our collective inheritance of Discovery, its legacies of dispossession, its ongoing impacts on all our lived realities. In doing so, the hope is to open the present and future to new possibilities that interrupt the repetitions of these legacies in Discovery's afterlives, to invite legal scholars, activists, artists, and others to make use of the knowledge herein in "contemporary tactics" of anticolonial endeavor.[107]

CHAPTER OUTLINE

The first chapter, titled "Figuring Discovery and Dominium: A Lingering Mythopoetics and Property Regime," begins by tracing the emergence and development of the Discovery Doctrine as the basis for contemporary settler colonial regimes of property and dispossession. At the center of that overview is the figure of Columbus as a malleable representation that has time and again been mobilized for Discovery's ongoing and ever-transforming romance and repertoire. The "Columbian Encounter" and its entrenchment in the collective Western imagination—

combined with the philosophical, spiritual, juridical, and political milieu from which European empires justified the colonization and conquest of lands unoccupied by Christians—is directly implicated in the ongoing dispossession of black and brown life and land, perpetrated by "Old World" institutions bearing "New World" skin. Discovery's discourses and rituals of dominium—claims to total and complete power to claim, use, enjoy, and dispose of property at will—continue to embolden and serve the colonial project through its use in justifying the subjugation of groups of people and their dispossession from their land, history, and lives.

This chapter touches on some of the key tenets of liberalism in Latin America, and in Colombia specifically, to show how Europe's evolution and imposition of Discovery's property regime has morphed into liberal modes of governance imported and transformed through the specificities of Colombian political life and thought, extended into the armed conflict and its attendant forms of violence of forced displacement and massacre. Responding to this violence, black and indigenous groups have shifted organizing strategies from a focus on labor relations and the status of the worker, to claims to ethno-racial rights and expanded political power. This has resulted in new strategies of domination by state and elite interests. Ultimately, we see how settler colonial fantasy remains entangled with capital as twentieth- and twenty-first-century state securitization and peace efforts, which can be read as extensions of the fifteenth-century Discovery Doctrine—a mechanism that allocated rights of conquest to Columbus and his successors and has subsequently been used across the world to justify the dispossession of indigenous people. Security and Peace, their discourses, policies, and practices, reproduce Discovery's rituals of dominium and the *propter nos*, or division between an "us" and "them," on which Discovery's violence has relied.

Chapter 2, "Writing the Earth into the World: Speculative Geography and the Emplacement of Futurity," begins by elaborating the historical and theoretical context for how I am conceptualizing the notion of "speculative geography" across this project. I consider geography one of many European formations of scientific, philosophical, and technological knowledge imported in Colombia's postcolonial nation-building endeavors. Influenced by black feminist and decolonial scholars, I suggest that all geographic endeavor is speculative, insofar as it is a process of spatial invention constructing space into place, and projecting place into a temporal position in relation to both past and future. With capital's need for Western imperial expansion came the concern of settlement in the New World and the production of speculative geographies infused with the desire to

locate previously mythological utopian sites and conquer them, gaining the biodiverse riches they allegedly hid. This effort was energized by the fantasy of, and appetite for, infinite resources and abundance that continued to shape the earth sciences and their role in political and economic ventures well into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

I offer a close read of an 1807 report by noted creole geographer Francisco Caldas, showing how a specifically Colombian geographic knowledge was beginning to be produced in the years preceding independence from Spain, through which that knowledge hinged on political speculation as well as an invocation of Discovery-oriented desire toward the country's terrain. I argue that Geography, as a mode of writing the "wretched wastelands" of the earth into the "civilized" world, also writes the human into relational hierarchies that make possible that world, its epistemes and material arrangements. Geography, as a speculative mode subject to and fueled by political and economic foretelling, writes a map of coming time. It *emplaces* time, producing the ontological and economic status of place on the horizon.[108] The speculative geographic is therefore a means through which colonial fantasy is projected onto the racialized space and place of the colonized other as a site of potency, of rendering earth into world. The future itself becomes a land, a territory subject to property regimes while being contingent on the relations established with and through land as property. The land and territory are conceptualized and produced through future-making endeavor *and* are imagined *as* the future itself.

Chapter 3, "Settler Horizons, Colonizing Affects: Repetitions in the Archive and the Psychosocial Mapping of Colombian National Identity," examines *Horizontes*, a 1913 oil painting by Francisco Antonio Cano Cardona. A canonical visual text of Colombian national pride, the painting has played an important role in the Colombian national imaginary and processes of subject formation. Though in recent years it has been critiqued for its idealization of colonization and its founding myths as a golden age birthing modernity, its primary role has been to solidify those myths and a national sense of self predicated in European political and intellectual history.

This chapter excavates the mythologies and subjectivating processes *Horizontes* upholds—those relations between the living body, political forces, and the production of settler colonial futures through visual symbolism, social history, ontological impact, and affective modes. It contributes an anticolonial interpretation of the visual archive of Colombian national art as a sensory invocation

of settler colonial affect, a psychosocial cartography that orients the Colombian public toward a geographic, ontological, and temporal horizon. Drawing on global affective intimacies, the painting ties Colombia's early twentieth-century public to the Renaissance-era image of Man, made in the Christian God's image, as well as to images from the Age of Discovery that glorify European exploration and settlement. Colombian modernity is entangled with early European modernity as the meaning-making imparted through *Horizontes* renders the painting a social-political and cultural apparatus mimetically producing affective orientations and desires in the service of settler formation and its constitutive projects of New World genocide and land dispossession.

Chapter 4, "Rediscovery in Light of the Future: Territorialization and the Demographic Catastrophe in Colombian Geographic Speculation," reads a 1935 Colombian text by statesman Manuel Roca Castellanos, *10 luces sobre el futuro* (*10 Lights on the Future*)—an expression of geographical speculation in the form of a treatise arguing for the consolidation and mapping of Colombia's political-geographic terrain. I argue that the project he proposes is shaped by a scope of envisioning that collapses the present of the 1930s with the past of 1492. The treatise recommends countrywide processes of internal exploration and territorialization via a fourth major wave of internal colonization and settlement while it calls on and reproduces the exploratory and conquering energy of the Age of Discovery as the zeitgeist for the Colombian national project. This includes a racialized pathologization and criminalization of black and indigenous groups resisting invasion of their territories, converging national territorialization processes with tenets of racial capitalism. The state projects a cartographic fantasy of settler futures, for which geographic discovery has always been a central endeavor. In modeling the project of territorialization in the rhetoric and spirit of Columbus's Discovery of America, it also extends the Demographic Catastrophe of Discovery well beyond the event of 1492, into the structure of governance itself.

Chapter 5, "Corpus Nullius and the Traffick in Blood: Biocolonialism and Human Futurity in the Afterlives of Discovery" analyzes "The Great Human Expedition," a project of the Institute of Human Genetics at the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana in Bogotá, inaugurated at the 1992 celebration of the Fifth Centenary of the Discovery of America. Under the pretext of mitigating disease for the people of Colombia, the project, which numerous pharmaceutical companies funded, extracted thousands of blood samples, the majority from indigenous patients. Indigenous organizations have claimed that these samples were taken for

purposes to which they never consented. In their view, the project constitutes biopiracy, or theft of biomatter, in which the profitability of their genetic coding is prioritized over the collective well-being of indigenous groups, as they continue to face cultural genocide and human rights violations that threaten their social fabric, generational reproduction, and futures.

This chapter considers how bioprospecting operates as a kind of temporal governance, the regulation of genomic futures and generational possibilities, and the denial of indigenous and black autonomy, through the rendering of their biological matter as property. The subjection of black and indigenous Colombian communities to this project sustains the violence of biological extractivism as a neocolonial expression of conquest framed by discourses that position these communities across the human/nature divide, speculating their value as biodiverse, natural resources. Such practices, I contend, extend the afterlives of fungibility of racialized populations established in the Age of Discovery and proliferated in its subsequent political economies of slavery that rendered those populations disposable and replaceable as commodities.

The concluding section, "Un futuro sin conquistadores (A Future Without Conquistadors)," examines the September 2020 toppling of the statue of Sebastián de Belalcázar, Spanish conquistador and "founder" of the Colombian southwestern city of Popayán. A symbolic act by indigenous Misak leaders, the toppling took place in the wake of many years of indigenous organizing against the persistent impacts of the five-hundred-year-old Discovery Doctrine. I read the demonumenting action as performing a speculative mode for alternative geographies and futures, against the predetermined teleologies of settler futurity, which cast indigenous and black Colombian life as death-bound. The demonumenting is, in itself, what feminist geographer Katherine McKittrick has called a "geographic act," a liberatory respatialization of the material and political landscape amid the unfreedoms of ongoing settler colonial violence and government failures to transition Colombian society into any true shape of collective peace and justice.

In *The Great Ages of Discovery: How Western Civilization Learned About a Wider World*, environmental historian Stephen J. Pyne examines what he calls the three Great Ages of Discovery, beginning with the fifteenth-century circumnavigational endeavors of European powers, moving into Enlightenment-era colonial endeavors, and leading up to the twentieth century through present-day oce-

anic and space exploration made possible by more recent technological innovations.[109] Connecting the three Great Ages through an overarching epic quest narrative that has shaped Western civilizational imperatives, Pyne emphasizes the triumphs as much as the tragedies of discovery. He traces for his readers a history of the construction and production of a global geography through a combination of political rivalry, utopian fantasy, and "ravenous curiosity."[110] Despite what was terrifying and life-threatening in European encounters with New World geographies, Pyne writes, "there was a sense of newness and of the unexpected, and a willingness to dare to find out what that might mean, a passion for geographic discovery that infected larger culture, reinforcing trends that would question inherited learning and authority, and that was worth something besides fame and riches."[111] The challenges made to regimes of power and knowledge through Discovery's world-building, he reminds us, deeply transformed reigning paradigms of science and art, politics and law, religion and morality.[112]

Attending to certain legacies and continuities of Discovery's ethos are central to both Pyne's and my own understanding of its ongoing impact on, and destruction of, human and planetary life. But my emphasis on a decolonial and anticolonial read of Discovery's legacies and ongoingness is less celebratory, less tuned in to the cultural triumphs emerging from its complex ecologies of power and knowledge, and more focused on illustrating Discovery's continued authorization of violence toward historically subjugated peoples as well as more-than-human life in the name of, and in teleological orientation toward, progress. This is partly because the narration of Discovery as heroic triumph has itself been hegemonically disseminated as a mode of erasure of subaltern histories and experiences of Discovery as a death-and-devastation-producing apparatus. In imagining what could have been otherwise, I hold to the notion that world history, encounter, invention, and liberatory political contestation could have unfolded through a different ethic and ethos organized around mutual regard, solidarity, and collective flourishing. And in imagining what could have been otherwise, I also share with others looking toward what could be otherwise: an otherwise that would bring an end to Discovery and its doctrine, abolishing its politics of dominion and white supremacy, calling in a future that includes those who've historically been relegated to the (no-)place of no future.

Calling in a future without conquistadors.

Notes

PREFACE

1. *Mestizo* means "mixed" and has been used as a racial designation in Latin America to indicate mixture of white/European and indigenous blood.
2. Wade, "Language of Race," 45.
3. Ferreira da Silva, *Toward a Global Idea of Race*.
4. Sargamiento, "Consolidating Power."
5. I've served as community volunteer, intern, and/or researcher on diverse projects, including an off-the-grid school for Karen-Burmese Refugees on the Thai-Burmese border; the struggle for federal tribal recognition of the Juaneño Band of Mission Indians of the Acjachemen Nation in my hometown of San Juan Capistrano in southern California; the East Bay Sanctuary Immigrant and Refugee Rights Clinic in Berkeley, California; the Fellowship of Reconciliation Colombia Office; the International People's Tribunal for Human Rights and Social Justice in Indian-Administered Kashmir; and the Jesuits Massacre Documentation Project on El Salvador, with the Center for Justice and Accountability and the Cardozo Law School Human Rights Atrocity Prevention Clinic.
6. False positives are one example of military practices of violence against civilians. They involve killing of an individual or small group of civilians in rural areas, dressing their bodies in the uniforms of insurgent groups and claiming them as advances in counterinsurgency, particularly as body counts have been considered an indicator of military success in the conflict. See Chris Kraul, "Colombian Civilians Caught in War Against Insurgents," *Los Angeles Times*, March 21, 2008, http://articles.latimes.com/2008/mar/21/world/fg-colombia21.
7. I'm grateful to my friend mónica teresa ortiz, a poet, for extended conversations on the idea of post-hope.
8. Adriana Castaño Román, conversation with author, March 1, 2010. Red Juvenil is a community-based organization in Medellín that centers on nonviolence and advocates for youth rights, especially those of conscientious objectors refusing forced conscription into Colombia's armed forces, police, and illegal armed groups.
9. Frank B. Wilderson III, "Wallowing in the Contradictions," pt. 1, interview, *A Necessary Angel* (Percy Howard's blog), July 9, 2010, https://percy3.wordpress.com/2010/07

/09/frank-b-wilderson-%E2%80%9Cwallowing-in-the-contradictions%E2%80%9D-part-1.

INTRODUCTION. SPECULATIVE IMAGINARIES IN THE AFTERLIVES OF DISCOVERY

1. Across this book, "Columbian" refers to Christopher Columbus, while "Colombian" refers to the country of Colombia.
2. Throughout this work, I capitalize "Discovery," "Conquest," and "Slavery," when referring to them as eras, events, repertoires, and regimes, whose afterlives persist in the present-day expressions of coloniality across the globe. I use the lowercase "discovery" to refer to discovery as a general scientific process and aim of science and economy. The distinction is never perfect, as the blur between the two shows itself often.
3. In "New World Grammars: The 'Unthought' Black Discourses of Conquest," Tiffany Lethabo King notes that settler colonial studies has privileged "a theoretical and ethical engagement with settlers, settlement and settler colonial relations that displaces conversations of genocide, slavery, and the violent project of making the human (humanism)." For King, the "focus on the settler and their relationship to land displaces the way the settler also becomes the conquistador/a (human) through Native genocide and Black dehumanization." King, "New World Grammars."
4. The future, he suggests, is also made an instrument for deferral and negligence of the country's needs, leading many to believe "it was possible to reach abundance in exchange for deprivation, universal fraternity by way of relentless violence, and the extinction of the state through infinite fortification of the state." Ospina, *Colombia y el futuro*, 12.
5. Sarmiento Anzola, "Bases económicas," 6.
6. Haraway, "Situated Knowledges," 589.
7. On the language of "repair of the future," see Potdevin, "Nuevas culturas."
8. See Foucault, Gonzalez Echevarria, Richards, and White, cited in Stoler, "Colonial Archives," 96–97.
9. On the archive as repertoire, see D. Taylor, *Archive and the Repertoire*, 20.
10. Lisa Lowe writes about the "archive of liberalism" as "the literary, cultural, and political philosophical narratives of progress and individual freedom." As the archive of liberalism foregrounds "liberal forms of political economy, culture, government, and history," it tends toward an erasure of its constitutive violence and its continuities with colonial unfreedoms. Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*, 3–4.
11. Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*, 15.
12. See Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 9.
13. Garcia, *Signs of the Americas*, 12.
14. McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*, 138.
15. Garcia, *Signs of the Americas*, 13.
16. Carpentier, "On the Marvelous Real." Thank you, also, to Aimee Bahng for provocation on this thought.

17. Hartman, *Lose Your Mother*, 6.
18. Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," 388.
19. Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*, 6.
20. King, "New World Grammars."
21. King, "New World Grammars."
22. Andrés Reséndez, "La historia descubierta de la esclavitud indígena en América," *Confabulario*, October 29, 2016, https://confabulario.eluniversal.com.mx/la-historia-descubierta-de-la-esclavitud-indigena-en-america/; Reséndez, *Other Slavery*.
23. King, *Black Shoals*, 52.
24. Hartman, *Lose Your Mother*, 6. Following contemporary scholarship on blackness by Saidiya Hartman, Fred Moten, and Hortense Spillers, among others, I have chosen to write of black life, experience, and people, using a lowercase "b." This choice, I understand as aligned with a radical black feminist refusal of an appeal to liberal humanism to incorporate blackness into its fold of liberal subjectivity—an anticonvention of orthography, toward a politics of black fugitivity. In the last couple of years with Black Lives Matter protests, most major news media outlets have made statements about a choice to capitalize "black," but this choice is often seen in more radical spaces as a performance of multicultural liberal equality and inclusion on the page, without the actual practice of justice for black life. Toward this radical politics, I have kept the words "indigenous" and "indigeneity" lowercase as well—though I capitalize references to specific indigenous groups, such as the Muisca and Misak. The debate over this orthographic choice remains ongoing.
25. Brief portions of this section were published as part of a chapter in an edited collection. See Rhodes, "Blood That Has Dried in the Codes."
26. See Yves Winter, "Conquest," *Political Concepts: A Critical Lexicon* 1 (2011), http://www.politicalconcepts.org/issue1/conquest.
27. Moreover, "the story of the consolidation of conquest as a juridical institution . . . spans roughly the sixteenth through the eighteenth century—from the early colonial period, an age, as Benjamin Constant would later write, defined by the 'spirit of conquest' to the Enlightenment's disavowal of conquest. It is during this time that conquest is debated most fiercely and that it reaches the peak of theoretical development and complexity. The proliferation of conquest as a mode of colonial expansion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries introduced a new set of questions into European political discourse and decisively shaped the political and legal imaginary. In the early decades of the sixteenth century, the colonization of the new world inaugurated a string of debates concerning the validity of conquest and the rights and obligations that follow from it, setting in motion a jurisgenerative process that fundamentally shaped the modern era and determined, for 400 years, the structure of European international law." Winter, "Conquest."
28. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 115–24. Hartman undertakes a rigorous genealogy of liberal rights under slavery in the United States, examining postemancipation

legal shifts that ultimately maintained the less-than-human position of freed slaves. Her work unveils the lamentable cohesions between slavery and freedom: the performances of power in the latter find continuity from the former, despite discursive and ideological shifts that articulated black subjects as newly freed and endowed with individual responsibility and will.

29. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 115. She is, in this chapter, working with two lectures from Foucault's *"Society Must Be Defended"* series, which were the only lectures published from that series at that point in time. See Foucault, "Two Lectures," in *Power/Knowledge*, 78–108.
30. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 115.
31. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 183.
32. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 118.
33. Barragan, *"*To the Mine I Will Not Go."
34. Across this book, when I use "interior" and "exterior" in reference to Colombia, they both refer to regions within Colombia's political borders. According to Peter Wade, "the interior" refers to "the Andean mountain chains and their intermediate valleys. These are seen as high up, central, wealthy, powerful, civilized, educated, urban (and urbane), *culto* (cultured), and orthodox with respect to religious, family, and sexual behavior. They are also identified as largely white and mestizo. The coastal areas are generally seen as low-down, peripheral, poor, dependent, rustic, rural, uncultured, and with a tendency to deviate from standard patterns of religious, family, and sexual practice. They are also seen as the black areas of the country. Finally, the Amazon [viewed as Indio] is seen as even more peripheral and poor than the coasts, and here real primitivity and savagery reign, with both inhabitants and their surroundings being in a 'natural' state, barely touched by civilization." Wade, "Language of Race," 4.

    Generally speaking, "the interior" within Colombia meant the regions that had been populated through settlement, developed with technology, and rendered governable through the presence of political and administrative powers. The "exterior" comprised the more limitrophe regions within the country—largely located in the physically exterior regions of the country's map—and were viewed as wastelands, the unsettled, more sparsely populated, not-yet-governed, wild and untamed, frontier borderlands. Internal borders, governmental regulation, and political-administrative terms changed many times across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as power shifted through the conflicts between the Liberal Party and its capitalist allies, and the Conservative Party and its allies in the Catholic Church. An inheritance of the French Revolution, the entity of "the department" was intended to centralize political power while decentralizing administrative duties. The main organization of Colombian internal borders at the time of Roca Castellanos's writing included the capital "special district" of Bogotá; the departments of Antióquia, Atlántico, Bolívar, Caldas, Cauca, Cundinamarca, Huila, Magdalena, Nariño, Norte de Santander, Santander, Tolima, and Valle del Cauca—the "interior"; and the intendencies and

commissaries (police stations) that were collectively called "the exterior" or "the national territories" but, unlike the departments, had not been instated with their own local official governing bodies and institutions. As Roca Castellanos indicates, they included the intendencies of the Chocó, Meta, San Andrés y Providencia, and Amazonas; and the commissaries of Caquetá, Arauca, Putumayo, Guajira (which Roca Castellanos spells "Goajira"), Vichada, and Vaupés. Only with the 1991 constitutional reforms were the national territories given status as official departments. See, for example, Contreras, "Conflictos territoriales y gestión pública," 129–60. See also DANE, "Reseña Histórica" and "División Politica-Administrativa."

35. Galeano, *Open Veins*, 207. Citations refer to 1997 edition.
36. Héctor Marino Carabalí, personal communication with author, 2010.
37. Cecilia Zamudio, "De la barbarie colonial al presente saqueo capitalista: Abya Yala en Lucha," America Latina en Movimiento, la Agencia Latinoamericana de Información (ALAI), December 10, 2020, https://www.alainet.org/es/articulo/209276.
38. Galeano, *Open Veins*, 219.
39. Quijano, "Coloniality of Power," 181.
40. Pratt, "In the Neocolony," 461.
41. Potdevin, "Nuevas culturas."
42. Brief portions of this section were published as part of an article. See Rhodes, "Right to the Future."
43. Postcolonial scholars also uphold this framing of the conflict in their analyses. For example, Ranajit Guha's "Prose of Counterinsurgency" condemns historiographical accounts of peasant uprisings in the colonial context of India, which describe those rebellions as unthought, spontaneous events. Such moments in history, Guha contends, must be understood as premeditated and organized, often following less militant forms of mobilization, and with the full knowledge that an uprising as such posed a direct threat to the colonial order under which the peasant's subalternity itself was structured through property, law, religion, and tradition. Dominant historiography, Guha writes, has been "content to deal with the peasant rebel . . . not as an entity whose will and reason constituted the praxis called rebellion . . . triggering off rebellion as a sort of reflex action, that is as an instinctive and almost mindless response to physical suffering of one kind or another." Guha, "Prose of Counterinsurgency," 46–47.
44. *Bandas criminales* (criminal gangs) is the contemporary term being used by government and dominant media, as well as grassroots organizations representing communities victimized by their violence. From an abolitionist perspective, it feels important to note that who and which acts are both legally and socially criminalized are filtered through the state's (and therefore capital's) carceral imperatives deemed necessary to its own self-preservation. Similarly, the notion of these gangs as groups of "organized" violence erases the historical and ongoingly systematic organization of violence by and through mechanisms of the state.

45. On "coloniality" as a term: scholars such as Aníbal Quijano refuse liberal, hegemonic conceptions of modernity that assume a progressive-evolutionary movement of history placing us out of the "more barbaric" era of colonial rule, into the "more democratic" time of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. As Castro-Gomez and Grosfoguel write, "Quijano uses the term 'coloniality' and not 'colonialism' for two main reasons: to bring attention to the historical continuities between colonial times and those which are errantly called 'post-colonial'; and to point to the colonial relations of power that are not limited only to economic-political and juridical-administrative domination from the centers to the peripheries, or empire to colony, but also possess an epistemic dimension situated in culture and constitutive of the political economy of capitalist world-systems." (Unless otherwise noted, all translations from original Spanish-language texts are my own.) See Castro-Gomez and Grosfoguel, "Prólogo: Giro decolonial," 17–19.
46. "Post–Peace Accords but not postconflict" is an idea expressed by Héctor Marino Carabalí in a November 2017 conversation between me, him, and Alejandro Urruzmendi. Héctor, a black human rights leader, is cofounder and legal representative of the victims' rights group Asociación Renacer Siglo XXI, in northern Cauca, Colombia; cofounder and coordinator for the Committee of Human Rights of the Municipality of Buenos Aires; speaker for the National Coordination of Afro-Descendant Organizations and Communities (CONAFRO); and national delegate for Marcha Patriótica, situating his perspective in multiple political and social movement spaces.
47. Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernandez, "Curriculum, Replacement, and Settler Futurity," 80.
48. See Gushiken, "'Know Where You Stand.'"
49. See UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), "Colombia, El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, and Mexico: Internal Displacement Factsheet," December 2023, https://reporting.unhcr.org/document/6543.
50. A high number of internal displacements are also due to Colombia's common floods and landslides. Far from seeing these as effects of "natural hazards" and "natural disasters" outside of human control, I would argue that these events are effected through the devastations of planetary ecologies wrought by the unsustainable and irreversible disruptions of capitalism and its extractive endeavors.
51. See Katia Yoza, "Indigenous Peoples in Colombia Accuse Ivan Duque's Government of Repression," *Cultural Survival News*, May 14, 2021, https://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/indigenous-peoples-colombia-accuse-ivan-duques-government-repression. Regarding racial demographics in the country, there has been much discrepancy between the state's reported numbers through census counts, and the numbers reported by local grassroots and international organizations. On these discrepancies, see, for example, the opening section of Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada Research Directorate, "Colombia: Situation of Afro-Colombians."
52. Luis Jaime Acosta, "More Than 11,000 Displaced by Colombia Violence This Year: Ombudsman," Reuters, March 8, 2021, https://www.reuters.com/article/us

-colombia-violence/more-than-11000-displaced-by-colombia-violence-this-year-ombudsman-idUSKBN2B02E6.

53. On the rhetoric of eliminationism between the liberal and conservative parties leading up to La Violencia, see Williford, "Two Competing Nationalisms."
54. See Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*.
55. See Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*. See also Rhodes, "Blood That Has Dried in the Codes."
56. Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," 402.
57. Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," 389.
58. Cadena, "Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes."
59. Cadena, "Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes," 336.
60. Cadena, "Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes," 341
61. Cadena, "Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes," 355.
62. Cadena, "Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes," 356.
63. Escobar, *Territories of Difference*, 115.
64. Escobar, *Territories of Difference*, 116.
65. Escobar, *Territories of Difference*, 111.
66. Escobar, *Territories of Difference*, 117.
67. Cadena, "Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes," 359.
68. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 234n8.
69. Derrida, "Force of Law," 17.
70. Escobar, *Territories of Difference*, 222.
71. Escobar, *Territories of Difference*, 223.
72. See, for example, Francisco Quintana, "El exterminio de los pueblos indígenas de Colombia," *El Tiempo*, August 26, 2019, https://www.eltiempo.com/opinion/columnistas/otros-columnistas/el-exterminio-de-los-pueblos-indigenas-de-colombia-columna-de-francisco-quintana-404566; and UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, "Concluding Observations on the Combined Seventeenth to Nineteenth Periodic Reports of Colombia," International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, January 22, 2020.
73. Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*, 1.
74. Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*, 3.
75. Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*, 6. On her use of "intimacy," Lowe writes, "I use the concept of intimacy as a heuristic, and a means to observe the historical division of world processes into those that develop modern liberal subjects and modern spheres of social life, and those processes that are forgotten, cast as failed or irrelevant because they do not produce 'value' legible within modern classifications. . . . I employ the concept of intimacy as a way to develop a 'political economy' of intimacies, by which I mean a particular calculus governing the production, distribution, and possession of intimacy. This understanding unsettles the meaning of intimacy as the privileged sign of liberal interiority or domesticity, by situating this more familiar

meaning in relation to the global processes and colonial connections that are the conditions of its production." Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*, 17–18.

76. Weheliye, *Habeus Viscus*, 13.
77. Weheliye, *Habeus Viscus*, 13.
78. Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*, 20.
79. Manjapra writes that entanglement as a concept "is especially valuable as it captures both the multiplication of boundaries and claims of difference, as well as the accelerated mutual implications and transnational feedback loops developing among discrepant national groups around the world in this period despite their power differences." Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement*, 4.
80. See Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement*, 7–8.
81. See Gabriela Gómez, "Una utopia de Corbusier Llamada Bogotá," *Arch Daily*, June 7, 2017, https://www.archdaily.co/co/872193/una-utopia-de-le-corbusier-llamada-bogota; and Díaz Torres, "Gustavo Rojas Pinilla en Bogotá (1953–1957)."
82. See N. Chomsky, *Rogue States*, 75–81.
83. For more on this, see, for example, Poland, *Plan Colombia*, as well as the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Colombia-Europe-U.S. Human Rights Observatory, "Rise and Fall of 'False Positive' Killings."
84. Field, "Colombia-Israel Nexus," 647.
85. Regarding recent and evolving statistics on Enforced Disappearance in the country, as of April 2021, of the over 90,000 documented victims of disappearance in the country, "the remains of 7,732 individuals had been given to families of the victims," and 84,330 victims remain disappeared. See UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, "In Dialogue with Colombia, Committee on Enforced Disappearances Asks about the Number of Victims and Missing Persons and about the Definition of Enforced Disappearance" (meeting summary), April 20, 2021, https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2021/04/dialogue-colombia-committee-enforced-disappearances-asks-about-number. See also Colombia Reports, "Forced Disappearance."
86. Arcienagas, *America in Europe*, 6.
87. Brandon, *New Worlds for Old*, 6.
88. Brandon, *New Worlds for Old*, 12.
89. A. Chomsky, *Linked Labor Histories*.
90. See Mazzotti, "Creole Agencies."
91. "José Félix de Restrepo, the revolutionary republican lawyer and architect of Gran Colombia's gradual emancipation law that led to the abolition of slavery [however, that abolition was mediated by extended unfreedoms in the afterlives of slavery], was influenced by the earlier precedents established during the first and second waves of gradual emancipation." Barragan, *Freedom's Captives*, 19.
92. Barragan, *Freedom's Captives*, 19.
93. Pratt, "In the Neocolony," 461.
94. Mignolo, "Geopolitics of Knowledge," 225.

95. Quijano, "Coloniality of Power," 185.
96. Pratt, "In the Neocolony," 462.
97. Pratt, "In the Neocolony," 463.
98. Pratt, "In the Neocolony," 463.
99. Quijano, "Coloniality of Power," 187.
100. On paradigmatic pasts, see Eliade, *Cosmos and History*.
101. Denise Ferreira da Silva has critiqued the hegemonic "socio-logics" of Western law and its universal, liberal subject of right as one which, among other factors on which she elaborates, is organized through causal, contingent, linear, teleological temporality—made possible through the science of life, the science of man, and the sociology of race relations. I use the term "chrono-logics" here in a nod to her work, as well as a way to specifically attend to the temporal element of the socio-logical. See Ferreira da Silva, "Towards a Critique."
102. Sharpe, *In the Wake*, 13; Walsh, Castro-Gómez, and Schiwy, *Indisciplinar las ciencias sociales*.
103. Foucault, *"Society Must Be Defended,"* 10.
104. Foucault, *"Society Must Be Defended,"* 9–10.
105. Thank you to Alejandro Jorge Urruzmendi and Jih-Fei Cheng for conversations helping me articulate this distinction.
106. Mignolo and Walsh, *On Decoloniality*, 233.
107. Foucault, *"Society Must Be Defended,"* 8.
108. I elaborate on what I mean by emplacement in chapter 2, but at the core of it, I mean emplacement as the construction and production of place, as well as the disciplining of "blank spaces" of the earth into place.
109. Pyne, *Great Ages of Discovery*.
110. Pyne, *Great Ages of Discovery*, 32.
111. Pyne, *Great Ages of Discovery*, 32.
112. Pyne, *Great Ages of Discovery*, 293–94.

CHAPTER 1. FIGURING DISCOVERY AND DOMINIUM

1. Notably, with the emergence of the Land Back and Black Lives Matter movements, and their related actions toppling statues regarded by the movements as symbols of colonization and white supremacy, as well as national intertribal efforts to push for Indigenous People's Day to replace Columbus Day, increasingly wider shifts in classroom curricula are taking place.
2. H. Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves*, 47.
3. Pagden, *European Encounters*, 5–6.
4. Verdesio, *Forgotten Conquests*, 14–15.
5. H. Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves*, 45. As Bennett has shown in his work on early modern European-African encounters and African sovereignty, in attending to major questions regarding the historical treatment of the role of the Atlantic history