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## Indiscretions of a World Order

Christian Imaginations, A Racialized Europe, and a Religionized Latin America

#### Zusammenfassung

In diesem Artikel untersucht der Autor die Beiträge von Marianne Moyaerts *Christian Imaginations of the Religious Other* (2024) zur Erforschung der Verflechtungen zwischen dem, was sie Racialization und Religionization in Europa und Lateinamerika nennt. Er meint, dass Moyaerts Buch zu geopolitischen Indiskretionen einlädt, indem es europäische Critical Race Studies und lateinamerikanische Dekoloniale Theorie in einen Dialog bringt, zwei Forschungsansätze, die aus unterschiedlichen und ungleichen, aber doch eng verflochtenen Bereichen des Denkens und der Praxis hervorgegangen sind. Der Verfasser vertritt die Auffassung, dass ein Dialog zwischen beiden Strömungen die Tendenz unter Wissenschaftler:innen, die Bedeutung der Religionization in Amerika und der Racialization in Europa herunterzuspielen, hinterfragen wird – eine Praxis, die problematische geopolitische Silos schafft und letztlich Strukturen verstärkt, statt sie zu bekämpfen. Wenn man diesen Dialog stattdessen in einem Rahmen verortet, der als vooloniality at large konzipiert wurde, kann dies verdeckte Geschichten aufdecken und fruchtbare Erinnerungen mobilisieren, die es ermöglichen, dass politisch verantwortliche Solidaritäten entstehen.

#### Summary

In this article, the author explores the contributions of Marianne Moyaert's *Christian Imaginations of the Religious Other* (2024) to the study of the entanglements between what she calls pracializations and preligionizations in Europe and Latin America. He argues that Moyaert's book is an invitation for geopolitical indiscretions, putting into dialogue European Critical Race Studies and Latin American Decolonial theory, two scholarly approaches that emerge from different and unequal, yet still deeply entangled, locations of thinking and praxis. The author argues that putting both currents into dialogue will interrogate the tendency among scholars to minimize the role of preligionizations in the Americas and of pracializations in Europe, a practice that creates problematic geopolitical silos and ultimately reifies rather than combats the structure. Instead, situating this dialogue within a framework that has been conceptualized as problematic geopolitical silos and ultimately reifies rather than combats the structure. Instead, situating this dialogue within a framework that has been conceptualized as problematic fruitful memories, enabling the emergence of politically responsible solidarities.





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## 1. Prescribing Indiscrete Imaginations

The end of the twentieth century and the turn of the twenty-first witnessed two normative narratives claimed to describe the new world order. The first proclaimed the ultimate triumph of Western civilization, where end of history«, following the implosion of the Communist Soviet Union (Fukuyama 1992). The second claimed that the »Clash of Civilizations« was unevitable and foreshowed an uncertain future for the same Western civilization, which it portrayed as threatened by the forces of two allegedly hermetic alternatives (>Islamism« and >Confucianism«) and by an >impure«, mixed-race threat (>Hispanic« Catholicism) (Huntington 1996; 2005). Prima facie, both narratives appear to be in conflict, yet these were largely collaborative enterprises as they share a key premise. These social constructs were more prescriptive than descriptive, as they presumed the desirability of Western power given the naturalization of its moral, economic, political, racial, religious and/or social superiority. Since then, a growing interdisciplinary critical scholarship has inquired into how this naturalized superiority was imagined conceptually and throughout history. Today, explaining how the West has been constructed and reproduced is a crucial discussion within transnational studies.

Marianne Moyaert's new book, I contend in this article, offers an important contribution to this debate. In *Christian Imaginations of the Religious Other*, the author insists that the only way to offer an accurate description of the West is by examining the construction of its others. This methodology, of Saidian inspiration, is actualized in Gil Anidjar's (2003; 2016) understanding of the Western construction of others as one that is »self-referential« (Id. 337). In other words, we need to understand that the description of alterity from a Western standpoint reveals more about the West than about any essentialized conception of non-Westerners. By adopting this premise, Moyaert is able to extend the scope beyond a traditional Postcolonial chronology that identifies the late eighteenth century as the watershed of modern imperialism and the construction of its others. Instead, she is interested in seeing long histories in which White supremacyand Christian hegemonya worked in tandem or mutually informed each other. Or, more precisely, how descriptions of what counts as race and religion were entangled as Western self-referential constructs.



This is not to say, she clarifies, that white supremacy and Christian hegemony are necessarily the same. But in keeping with scholarly lines of inquiry over the last sixty years that place racial capitalism and/or racialization as a product of the so-called late medieval times – from Cedric Robinson (1963) to Geraldine Heng (2018) –, Moyaert argues that white supremacy and Christian hegemony have functioned as entangled strategies of identity-production that created a naturalized normativity of the West as the West (5). Thus conceived, it is not simply what counts as race that is a social construction, but also what counts as religion. She explains that the occlusion of this facet of Western history – a key question explored by up-and-coming scholars such as Matthea Westerduin (2020) – leaves us with a very partial account of what has constituted the West as such.

»This separation between religion and race« the author writes, »ignores not only how, historically, the patterns of religionization have functioned in similar ways to patterns of racialization, but also how patterns of racialization in fact feed on patterns of religionization while also adapting them to new needs« (171).

## 2. Constructing >Europe< and the >Americas<

This analytical separation between race and religion leads Moyaert to establish an alternative dialogue not only with Postcolonialism but also with Decolonial theory, which is usually understood as presenting the long sixteenth century as the seminal moment in the construction of the Western world order through the generation of racial stratifications. For almost three decades, scholars in the Latin American and Caribbean school of modernity/coloniality have identified 1492 as the landmark moment in the trajectory of racialization. The fruitful work of Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2014) – who has intersected the fields of religious studies and decoloniality – has deepened this line of inquiry by exploring the role of coloniality in the construction of race, in what has been conceptualized as the xontological turns. Prior to the ontological turn, Moyaert voices to decolonial interlocutors across the Atlantic, Europeans distinguished others based on theological differences. Jews and Muslims were seen as espousing a xwrong faiths. The ontological turn, however, enabled Europeans to portray as anthropological different those peoples whom they described as xIndians and xBlacks who were seen as existing outside the boundaries of Christendom. Such a distinction allowed their humanity to be interrogated, a precondition for the exploitation of their resources and/or labor (Moyaert 2024: 171).

As a complement to the importance of the ontological turn in the construction of race, Moyaert asks whether the theological construction of others (or what counts and what does not count as religion) is as stable as it seems to us from the lenses of the >World Religions
paradigm that coalesced centuries later (Id. 249). Following the groundbreaking scholarship of Anya Topolski (2018), particularly the latter's framework revealing what is occluded in the >Race-Religion constellation
Race-Religion constellation
Replains that the changing roles of race in general and the dehumanization, demonization, and allegorical confusions of different populations in particular were already in play from at least the tenth to the fifteenth centuries. Their presence, however, may have been



occluded by the West's subsequent refashioning of itself as founded by a recently constructed »Judeo-Christian tradition« (Id. 319). Key developments included the Crusader spirit that deeply influenced the Catholic narratives of »Reconquest« of the Iberian Peninsula and then Colonialism (Id. 133), the Fourth Lateran Council that declared all enemies of Christendom »different manifestations« to be of »the same root« (Id. 106) and the Purity of Blood statuses that, following the innovative work of Maria Elena Martinez (2011) with Moyaert's terminology, were key in the process of mutually influencing processes of racialization and religionization of >Indians< and >Africans< which simultaneously emphasized the normativity of gender binaries across the Atlantic (Martinez 2011: 129).

Moyaert's book, therefore, is an invitation to fostering the dialogue between European critical race theory and Latin American and Caribbean decolonial theory. There are, however, in the first generation of South American decolonial theorists, already incipient connections for this conversation. Anibal Quijano and Walter Mignolo, two leading Peruvian and Argentinean theorists respectively, emphasized the distinction produced by the emergence of coloniality in what would later be termed Latin America and described the »colonial difference« as a product of racialization and the »imperial difference« as a product of what Moyaert calls »religionization« (Mignolo 2000: 57–65). But, as they were deeply conversant not only with Latin American but also with European history, they complemented their analytical distinction by explaining that the crusader spirit that fueled the so-called >Reconquest of Spain and the processes of expulsion, forced conversion, and suspicion/persecution of converts on the basis of their biological inability to overcome their alleged impurity, inflicted on >Jews and Muslims<, those disciplined by religionization, constituted »the first experience of ethnic cleansing exercising the coloniality of power in the modern period« (Quijano 1992: 558). And ultimately, they argue that the genocides suffered by these populations along with those of >Natives< and >Africans< are »analytically distinctive«, but nonetheless »logically linked to the colonial matrix of power« (Mignolo 2009: 77–79).

This project of seeing the global implications of the ontological turn has played a crucial role in contesting narrow frameworks of coloniality and favoring analyses of »coloniality at large« (Moraña et al. 2008). This exploration understands that coloniality may have initially shared common »points of origination« but then expanded throughout the world, creating links beyond monopolies of universal consciousness that can inadvertently collaborate with the systems that they critique. Although the illusion of univocality may be strategically helpful in local struggles at some points in history, at the global level it ultimately fosters competitions of victimhood among communities wounded by coloniality and erodes possibilities of resistance and solidarity. »Coloniality at large«, therefore, looks at global influences to describe this matrix of power and its distinct manifestations in order to think of identities and processes simultaneously, without emphasizing one over the other, which would further deepen the hierarchical differences that the system constructed, reified, and occluded. This approach notwithstanding, dialogue need not imply the downplaying of differences between European critical race theory and Latin American and Caribbean decolonial studies (or European and Latin American experiences) nor the recognition that systemic incentives may have fostered collaborationism in certain communities wounded by coloniality through the racialization of others.



We can still ask whether the crusader spirit, while definitively influential in Mediterranean and Atlantic colonialism, already heralded a change in the world-system during the sixteenth and seventeenth-century conquest of the Americas. Or whether the tabula rasa conception developed as part of the ontological turn and the subsequent justification of economical exploitation on that basis represent a different path or manifestation of communities being declared simpures and difficult to assimilate within a modern nation-state paradigm. These are important objections that should be further explored. They could be addressed via the decolonial interrogation of economical reductionism or through the lens of the discourses of racist anti-Blackness that existed prior to the transatlantic slave trade (Tembo 2022 and Benjamin, forthcoming). »Coloniality at large«, therefore, is a promising framework to study the interconnections of »knotted histories« (Gilroy 2004) or »multidirectional memories« (Rothberg 2009). The analysis of histories and memories ought not occlude the diversity of perspectives that emerge in different geopolitical locations of knowledge. After all, our intention is not to generate a new universal meta-narrative but to conceive of the world from a multiplicity of locations (what the Zapatista movement characterized as »a world where many worlds can fit«). But it does require us to consider the tools of analysis we have to study what has been occluded by a divide-and-conquer strategy that provides intertwined aspirational incentives for collaborationism. Prioritizing the study of implications without productive interconnected histories or multidirectional memories may end up anachronistically portraying enmities as eternal, leaving untouched the system that created them, a third party »too big to be seen« (Hochberg 2016).

Considering that critical scholarship should be at the service of demystifying what has been reified and naturalized in the Western global project of domination, the possibility of investigating racialization and religionization as part of the same matrix encourages us to interrogate whether the methodologies we employ may not limit our possibilities for seeing the relationships among different processes of Western self-referential construction of others. This is a necessary project that Ella Shohat and Robert Stam have provocatively undertaken and carried out for decades. In lieu of comparative frameworks, they favor relational methodologies that do not essentialize all manifestations but instead put these relationships in »productive relationality«. This ingenious methodology explores how systemic processes function beyond claims of pure exteriority. It understands that, notwithstanding all differences among experiences, there is an »Orientalist unconsciousness« within the Occidentalist project and vice versa. In the Americas, for example, Natives were identified as the Lost Tribes of Israel in Perú and Mexico, and Portuguese settlers identified >mosques< on the Brazilian coastal landscape (Shohat/Stam 2012: xiii-xv and 154). Furthermore, once the notion of »impure blood« was transferred to the Abya Yala, it operated as a means to assess the humanity of people described as >Indian< or >Black< and variously characterized as desalmados (soulless), and was then quickly transferred to the metropolis and them disseminated in the colonies to persecute Jewish and Muslim converts thereby reinforcing narratives associating them with impurity and desalmados as part of the process of religionization (Perceval 1992; Grosfoguel 2013). An exhaustive understanding of this matrix requires that historical experiences and the mobilizations of memory exist in productive relationality to one another. In other words, we need to emphasize as par indiscrete studies of »coloniality at large«.



# 3. Indiscretions: Racialization in >Europe<, Religionization in >Latin-America<

This encounter between European critical race theory and Latin American decoloniality through a relational method is possible because strong imagery of Jews and Muslims within Spanish and Portuguese colonies — despite their prohibition by law from these territories — was very different from the more active role they played in the English and Dutch enterprises (Bernardini/Fiering 2001). The legal prohibitions of Jews and Muslims from settling in Spanish and Portuguese colonies meant that the vast majority of what constitutes the Americas today was understood first as monopolistically and then as hegemonically Catholic for most of its history until at least the late nineteenth century. This was accomplished through the above-mentioned prohibition of Jews and Muslims and through the invisibilization of other cosmologies of Indiana and Africana populations negated as religions including, in some instances, Islam and Judaism. But even those New Christians who were able to circumvent the legal requirements (and who were indubitably in a higher hierarchal position than the great majority of >Indians< and surely all >Africans<, so long as they were not found out) were always at risk of being denounced, tried, tortured, and murdered by the Inquisition. The late sixteenth-century case of Luis de Caravajal y de la Cueva, perhaps one of the most prominent New Christians who offered the most efficient service to the empire as governor of Nueva León, is instructive as he was persecuted, sentenced, and ended his days in jail awaiting his auto-da-fe (Perelis 2016). This shows that racialization was pivotal in the social stratification of the colonies and the religionizing of the metropolis. But the processes of religionization in the colonies and racialization in the metropolis is also relevant and they continue to this day (El Tayeb 2011). What we therefore understand as early modern >Christianity( and >Europeanness existed in a state of flux and contestation and, as a result of this process, racialization and religionization defy discrete geopolitical circumscription.

I focus on the experience of the Iberian empires in part because, as Moyaert shows through a close reading of Columbus's letters, this was a state-mandated Christian project (Moyaert 2024: 134–142). But I also adopt this perspective because these locations have been formative for Latin American decolonial studies. A key premise of the latter is that reading colonialism only from British (and to a lesser extent Dutch) experiences will occlude the historical role of coloniality that ineluctably emerged from a discussion of what theological discourses could or could not explain. Thinking about race without thinking about religion in the early modern Atlantic world will leave us with a less-than-partial account of regional and larger global processes. The scholarly downplaying of religionization in the Americas and racialization in Europe creates problematic geopolitical silos that will undergird rather than combat the occlusions that both European critical race theorists and Latin American and Caribbean decolonial theorists are seeking to shed light on.

A dialogue between these two currents of thought can reveal that >Europe< as a geopolitical construction was never historically stable and has always been in process. While racializations within Europe may not have attained the economic height and the cruelty of the colonies, the latter can be put in productive relationality with these processes. For example, in the first phase of moder-



nity the redistribution of the lands of Muslims by Catholic >re-conquistadors< predated some of the extractive practices that were later put in place in the Americas (Garcia Fernandez 2019). In the second phase of modernity, the former colonizers will be trapped by their own construction as is illustrated by the dictum »Europe ends at the Pyrenees« that became popular in late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This was employed to re-draw the conception of what Europe was with three core objectives. The first was to reconceptualize the boundaries of Europe in order to bring racialization into a religionizing Europe and enable Northern Europeans to disengage from Southern Europeans, populations that were seen as impure given their miscegenation first with populations of the >Mediterranean (Jews and Muslims) and later with the Americas and Africa (>Indians< and >Blacks<). Secondly, it sought to disavow the material accumulation and epistemological advantage that Europe obtained during the first modern stage of colonialism under Spain and Portugal and that helped spur British, Dutch (now independent from Spain), and >secularized< French colonialism. And finally, the statement intended to distinguish the »impure« fanatic methods of the first stage of colonization (the Black Legend) from the civilizational mission of the second. In other words, a Europe already deeply immersed in religionization pushed those who were >mixed<, >Catholic<, and >Southerners< beyond the boundaries of a Europe that represented itself as disengaged from its previous activities reifying its growing dominion as the product of natural or even divine election.

### 4. Conspiracism and Coloniality Across the Atlantic

If racialization found its way back to re-racialize the first modern colonizers in the metropolis, religionization can also be found in the colonies. As we have observed, the ontological turn enabled the dehumanization of Indian and Black populations across the Atlantic as well as the subsequent pillaging of their natural resources. Racialization is thus a key factor in the study of colonialism in the Spanish/Luso-worlds. But it is important to note that since the projects of Spain and Portugal were state- and para-state-mandated Christian projects, religionization was never absent from these enterprises. The dynamic movement between metropolis and colonies was not straightforward because, as Moyaert well explains, the concepts and regimes were retrofitted to geopolitical »needs« (Moyaert 2024: 140). Among the most silent and usually forgotten indicators of this reality is the role that conspiracism played in the framework of coloniality. In an ambitious historical recollection, Moyaert recounts the long history of associating Jews with conspiracism, ranging from plots to kill Jesus in the first century to poisoning the wells during the fourteenth-century Black Plague. Subsequently the increasing decline of a traditional Augustinian reading of Jews (which enabled Jews to stay condemned as Jews until the parousia) led to both an increasingly forceful process of conversion and to the subsequent fear of the contamination of the social body given the innate inability of Jews (and Muslims) to overcome their >race‹ (Chapters 1-4).

In the long sixteenth century, per Francoise Soyer, there was a full development of a »genea-logical turn« that elevated »antisemitic« conspiracism to a central program in the early modern



Iberian world. Arguing for a periodization that runs in productive relationality with Latin American decolonial theorists' ontological turn, Soyer argues that the conspiracism emerging during this time was not a reformulation of »traditional anti-Jewish folklore« nor, as is typically understood by dissociating northern Europeans, religious Iberian »popular irrationality«. It was rather a political program, »a conscious and sustained effort by some members of the ecclesiastical and secular authorities« to create what Sarah Ahmed termed an »economy« of fear in-within Christendom. This economy was sustained by state- and para-state institutions, propaganda, and especially forgeries. Well before the post-nineteenth century *Discourse of the Rabbi* or *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, there are already forgeries in the late-fifteenth century such as the *Letters of Constantinople* in which Ottoman Jews allegedly advised European Jews to accept conversion to Christianity in order to infiltrate its institutions and destroy civilization from within. Conspiracism, the historian argues, was not a »marginal social phenomenon« but instead a central component of Iberian political programs (Soyer 2019: 13–14).

This racist turn of the allegedly religionist program already contained »antisemitic« imagery (usually recognized only in post-nineteenth-century developments), indiscreetly transferred to the Americas and, as Moyaert explains, »adapted« for new needs. In the seventeenth century, Inquisition authorities »uncovered« two »Great Conspiracies« in the most important vice-royalties of the Americas (Perú and Mexico), detaining, torturing, and ultimately killing the alleged converso conspirators. The justification of these persecutions that culminated in state- and para-state torture and murder was that Jews were not acting alone, but instead gathering support from »Indians« and »Africans« to expel Catholic Spaniards from the Americas. While this connection has great currency today (for example in the theories of »white replacement« that intertwine Jewish masterminds and racialized people's bodies), it has been occluded in a post-Holocaust era by multiple transformations such as the normative Western role of the State of Israel and American Jews under a newly conceived Judeo-Christian-tradition, or the deeply problematic blanket statement that the Americas were a product of »New Christian's« (that is to say, Jews and Muslims) colonization when it was, in fact, a Christian project with an active Inquisition, or imperial disavowal strategies that signal Jews as having masterminded the crimes central to Christian expansion (such as slave-trade).

Irene Silverblatt (2004) stands on firm, historically grounded terrain when she reads with deep insight the documents of the Inquisition about the Great Conspiracies. The combination of religionizing and racialization (or alleged Jewish association with Natives and Blacks), according to Silverblatt, not only helps to account for entangled histories, it also helps to explain how the first modern bureaucracy, the Inquisition, was based on racial thinkings, illuminating the matrix of colonial domination. Silverblatt's work in South America creates a productive relationality that Sarah Phillip Casteel (2016) and Dalia Kandiyoti (2020) also found in the study of memories in the Caribbean and along the Mexico-US border. These modes of reading show that illuminating the occluded relation and existing beyond what Rothberg critiques as "competitive frameworks" so common in US academia, can help to unsettle dominant narratives of slavery, empire and race from the sometimes obscured and often "absents" archives. This unsettling may be fruitful beyond the Atlantic, as the current work of Adam Stern (forthcoming) shows, offering in-depth insights



into the strategies of coloniality that entangle and occlude relations among Jews and others in the context of French »mondialisation« in North Africa.

Decolonial theorists, therefore, are right in identifying in the long sixteenth century a beginning that would prove to be a structural change. To analyze it, we need to employ the lenses of »coloniality at large« to illuminate how imageries have entangled the ontological and the genealogical turns as well as the racializing and religionizing strategies. I will not deny that with time, this particular entanglement may not have completely transferred to British colonies, opening spaces for other relations (even though theories of white replacement may interrogate this assertion). After all, Jews and philosemitism have played redemptive roles in some Protestant branches that are largely absent in Catholic theology. But the role of conspiracism found its way in legal structures in South America that, despite its alleged liberalism, reproduced key tenets of coloniality. Argentina, where as much as half of Latin American Jews lived for most of the twentieth century, enshrined religious hierarchies in an allegedly liberal constitution. Since the 1870s, even before the massive immigration of Jews from the Russian and Ottoman empires, conspiracies about Jews abounded in printed form and other discursive formats influenced by Catholic nationalism(s). In 1919, in the context of global uprising and worker strikes led locally by socialists and anarchist immigrants, the state »uncovered« a conspiracy led by Jews, detaining the alleged conspirators while para-state organizations identified with the Church marched into a Jewish neighborhood beating, torturing, and raping alleged >conspirators<, killing 700 and injuring around 4,000. From the 1930s-1970s, different waves of nationalist state- and para-state organizations in Argentina made the »Jewish Question« a central aspect of the public debate as Jews suffered attacks from government, part of the intelligentsia, the press, and on the streets. The establishment of the state of Israel and its political decision to >extract< Adolf Eichmann from a suburb in Buenos Aires only served to reproduce the figure of The Jew, an eternal foreigner who will conspire for its own gain against a pure, Catholic, Argentinean sovereignty (Rock 1995; Lvovich 2003; Weisz 2023).

Ultimately during the last military dictatorship (1976–1983), although Jews represented less than 1 percent of the population, they constituted 12–13 percent of the activists kidnapped, tortured, raped, and killed in the illegal detention camps of the US-backed »Dirty War« during the alleged »Cold War«. How to interpret these numbers and the antisemitic character of the regime continue to be topics of discussion and debate, there is little doubt that Jews suffered »tratos especiales« (special duress) in the clandestine camps. Sessions of torture using Nazi symbols demanding information about Jewish conspiracies (especially the >Plan Andinia< or the forgery of Jews trying to capture the Patagonia) were staples in these camps. It is important to clarify, however, that the experience of Jewish Argentineans is not limited to antisemitism. The Left, even with Catholic tenants, was largely open to Jewish participation and in socio-economic terms, despite living in a society that was considered dependent from a global perspective, locally Jews were not at the bottom of the hierarchy given the reproduction of anti-Native/Black coloniality. And perceptions changed following the late 1980s and early 1990s due to a diversity of factors, including the public mobilization of memory of the Holocaust memory to discuss the dictatorship, the reform of the constitution that challenged religious hierarchies, and the public outcry following a carbomb attack against the AMIA, the central Jewish community, that took the life of 85 people.



Paradoxically, conspiracism sometimes ended up protecting the local community since the fear of alleged international Jewish power spared some local Jewish institutions from the ravages of the dictatorship, and the most radical Jewish newspapers were exempted from the proscription typically imposed in the country and are remembered in collective memory as vanguards in the struggle against the dictatorship (Khan 2014; Finchelstein 2017; Zaretzky 2020; Pridgeon 2020). One way or another, however, conspiracism from colonial to contemporary times, from the Great Conspiracies of Mexico and Perú to the Plan Andinia in Argentina, shows the longstanding role that religionization has played in South Atlantic societies, deeply stratified by the racialization of coloniality.

It is precisely these indiscretions between race and religion that Moyaert's *Christian Imaginations* of the Religious Other invite us to explore. Her book is an invitation for a geopolitical indiscretion putting in dialogue trends that emerge from different and unequal, yet still deeply entangled, locations of thinking and action. If we read carefully with Moyaert, we can explore the matrix of beyond narrow projects. A »decoloniality at large« that studies these imaginations can help illuminate the political processes that augment the power of discursive representations of race and religion. And it is precisely from such a critique of the occluded relation that a set of solidarities can emerge.

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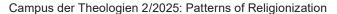
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