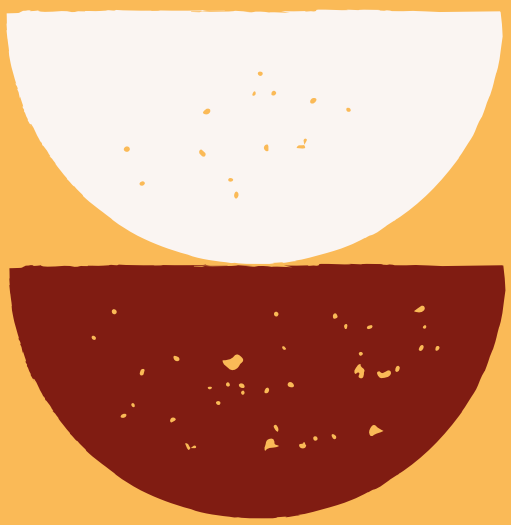
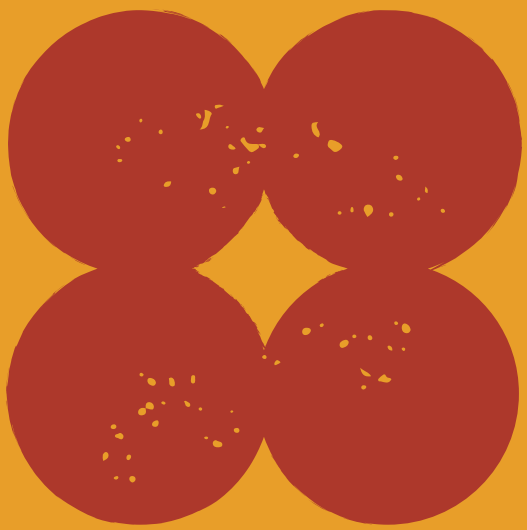
MALUNGA
NETWORK FOR GLOBAL JUSTICE AND AGAINST ANTIBLACKNESS

PATTERNS OF ANTIBLACKNESS AND MOVEMENTS AGAINST ANTI-BLACK RACISM IN THE CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

AGUSTÍN LAÓ-MONTES





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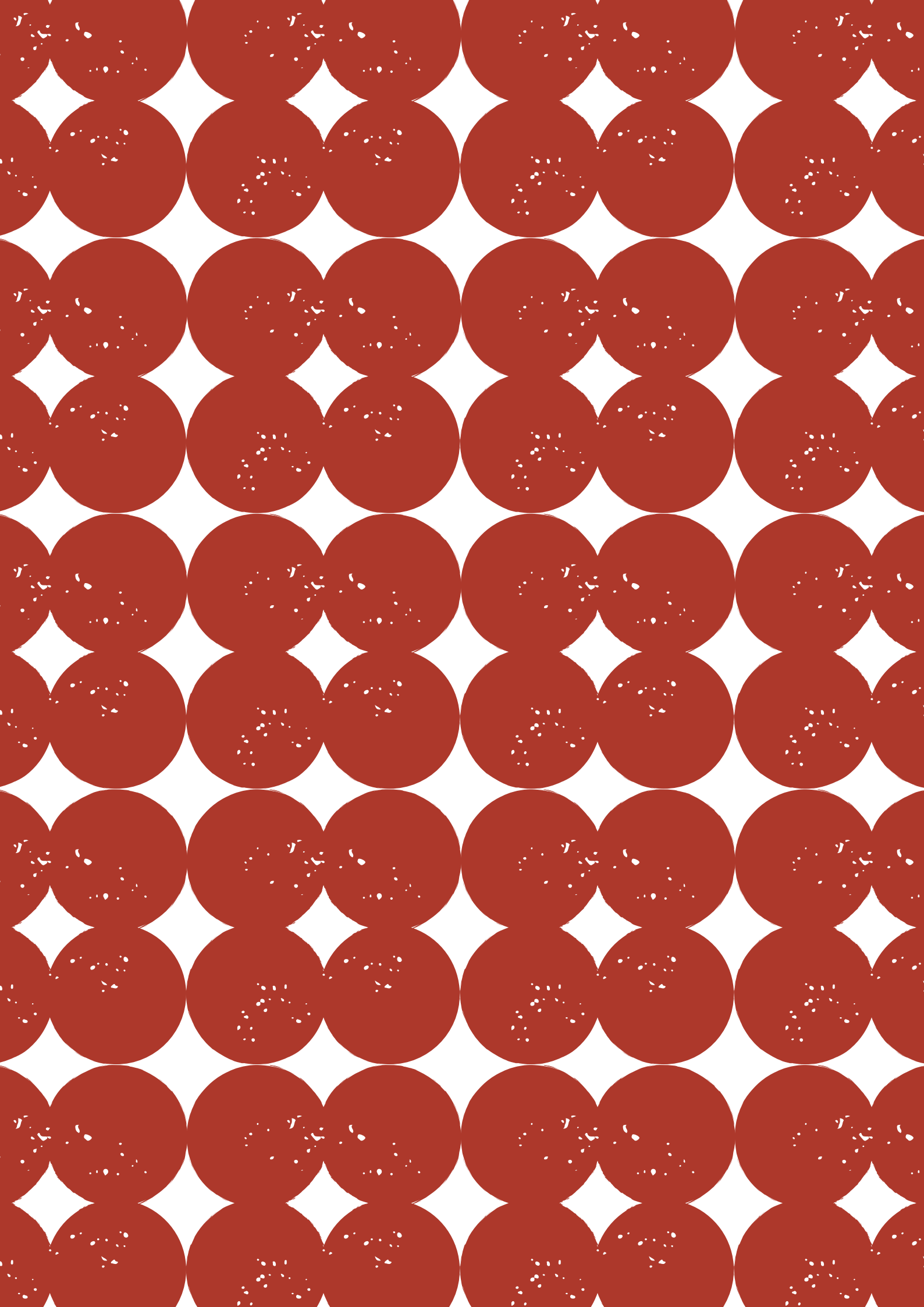

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Agustín Laó-Montes

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SUMMARY

PROLOGUE

THE LEGACIES OF SLAVERY AND THE PURSUIT OF JUSTICE

AURORA VERGARA-FIGUEROA, PHD

It is with great honor that we present the report *Patterns of Anti-blackness and Movements against Anti-Black Racism in the Caribbean and Latin America*, authored by Agustín Laó-Montes, as part of a crucial discovery project on the global manifestations of anti-Blackness. This report reflects an in-depth exploration of the systemic violence and enduring legacy of anti-Black racism across the African diaspora, specifically in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The report begins by establishing that anti-Blackness is not a localized or isolated phenomenon, but a deeply rooted global issue, stemming from the historical structures of colonialism, slavery, and capitalism. The manifestations of this dehumanizing system — mass incarceration, forced disappearances, lynching, statelessness, land dispossession, urban apartheid, and the drowning of Black migrants, among others — are interconnected and systemic. These practices continue to affect Afrodescendants around the world, perpetuating the marginalization and oppression that began centuries ago.

Scholars and activists involved in this initiative since 2021 have emphasized that understanding anti-Blackness requires a global perspective. Although often framed through the lens of the United States, the roots of anti-Blackness extend far beyond its borders, tied to a shared history of imperialism and slavery. It is in this context that Laó-Montes calls for a focused academic agenda that will explore the theoretical and conceptual foundations of anti-Blackness and its manifestations within Latin America, the Caribbean while recognizing the global dynamics that bind these regions together.

One of the key contributions of this report is the urgent need to create transnational networks of scholars, activists, and communities across these regions. Such networks are essential for sharing knowledge, advancing action research, and fostering solidarity between movements with shared histories of racial inequality. These collaborations will be critical in articulating global strategies for dismantling anti-Black racism.

A central theme of the report is the call for reparative justice. The legacies of

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THIS REPORT REFLECTS AN IN-DEPTH EXPLORATION OF THE SYSTEMIC VIOLENCE AND ENDURING LEGACY OF ANTI-BLACK RACISM ACROSS THE AFRICAN DIASPORA, SPECIFICALLY IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN.

slavery and colonialism are not just historical memories but present-day realities that continue to shape the social, economic, and political landscapes of Black communities. Laó-Montes highlights initiatives such as CARICOM's reparative justice efforts and the ongoing African proposals for restitution and decolonization. These initiatives represent a necessary and transformative path toward addressing the material and symbolic harms of anti-Blackness and restoring dignity to Black communities worldwide.

Furthermore, the report underscores the importance of collective knowledge production and the creation of inclusive educational resources. These resources, which will include collaborative publications, audiovisual materials, and cultural expressions, are critical for educating future generations and fostering a collective, critical consciousness. They will serve as tools for social transformation, helping to build a world that recognizes the humanity and contributions of Afrodescendent peoples.

In addition, the report provides key strategic recommendations to contest anti-Blackness. These include the development of anti-racist legal frameworks, the promotion of redistributive policies, the creation of global observatories to monitor anti-Blackness, and the strengthening of anti-racist education at all levels. These steps are vital in creating a more just and equitable global society.

As we look to the future, the legacy of Pan-Africanism offers a powerful guide to building solidarity, transforming injustice, and advancing a global vision for racial, social, and ecological justice.

Through its efforts, the *Malunga Network* exemplifies the power of global collaboration, bridging historical struggles with contemporary movements, amplifying Black voices, and driving meaningful progress toward a more equitable and anti-racist world.

We express our gratitude to the Ford Foundation for its generous support of this work and acknowledge the valuable contributions of the Center for Afrodiasporic Studies (CEAF), the Regional Center for the Promotion of Books in Latin America and the Caribbean (CERLALC), and the Hay Festival for their role in making this phase of the project possible.

PATTERNS OF ANTIBLACKNESS AND MOVEMENTS AGAINST ANTI-BLACK RACISM IN THE CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

AGUSTÍN LAÓ-MONTES
University of Massachusetts at Amherst & ARAAC[1]

They agreed to kill us, we agreed not to die.
CONCEIÇÃO EVARISTO

I am not the slave of the Slavery that dehumanized my ancestors.
FRANTZ FANON

Latin America emerged as a leading world region on causes for racial justice and against racism, at least since the last decade of the 20th century. Afro-Latin American movements developed national and regional networks in the 1990s and rose up to the forefront of struggles against antiblackness in the context of the Continental Campaign of 500 Years of Indigenous, Black and Popular Resistance against Colonialism, in 1992, and the Third World Conference Against Racism and Connected Discriminations held at Durban, South Africa, from 31 August to 8 September 2001. A wave of collective actions from across both regions generated research, public policy, and, to some extent, changed common sense about history, culture, and identity, especially in Latin America where, in most countries, there was a denial of racism and

1. ARAAC is the *Articulación Regional Afrodescendiente de América Latina y el Caribe* (Regional Articulation of Afrodescendents in the Americas and the Caribbean).

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a lack of recognition of Black people as meaningful historical actors and political subjects. Even though there were important instances that connected the two regions, the organized webs maintained distinct networks and relations in each regional constellation. While Caribbean movements and intellectuals have undoubtedly always been a generative force of pan-African solidarity and action, Latin America remained relatively invisible in cartographies of Blackness and, as a result, of antiblackness until the late 20th century. In fact, a 1995 publication, titled *No Longer Invisible: Afro-Latin Americans Today* (Minority Rights Group, 1995), highlighted how Blacks from Latin America were rising to the forefront of global movements for justice and freedom against centuries of denial of their relevance and even of their very existence (De la Fuente y Andrews, 2018; Martínez Montiel, 1988; Moreno Fraginals, 1974; Reiter y Sánchez, 2022; Rout, 1976).[2] Therefore, in this report, we will assess patterns of antiblackness and movements against anti-Black racism in the Caribbean and Latin America, as related yet distinct regional processes. These are connected to broader landscapes of global antiblackness as well as to translocal webs of scholarship and activism committed to social and racial justice. We will locate antiblackness and the struggles against it, in each

2. The scholarship about Black (or Afrodescendent) politics in Latin America, and about Afro-Latin America as a field of knowledge, is now vast.

THEREFORE, IN THIS REPORT, WE WILL ASSESS PATTERNS OF ANTIBLACKNESS AND MOVEMENTS AGAINST ANTI-BLACK RACISM IN THE CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA, AS RELATED YET DISTINCT REGIONAL PROCESSES.

region, within mappings of global antiblackness, while focusing specifically in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, for the Caribbean, and in Brazil and Colombia, for Latin America. A comprehensive cartography of formations of Blackness, patterns and practices of antiblackness, and of activism against anti-Black racism in Latin America and the Caribbean is a collective endeavor that should be part of the agenda of this important initiative.[3]

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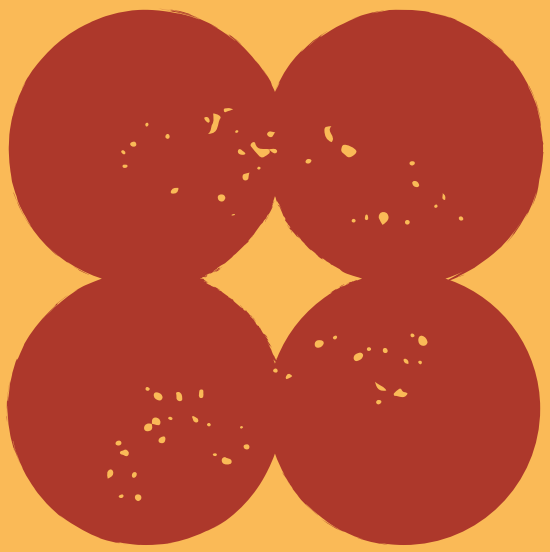
3. This was initially a report commissioned by the Ford Foundation for a discovery project on global antiblackness. The initiative led to the creation of Malunga: Network for Global Justice and against Antiblackness, which now includes a working group named "Liberating Knowledges" that is developing a research agenda for the network.

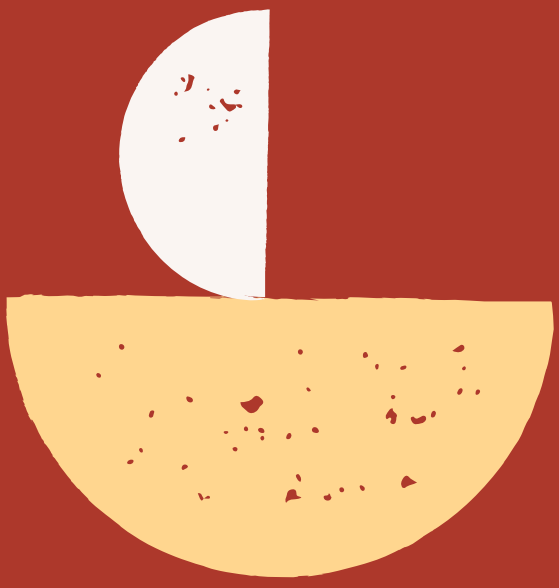
1.

WHY ANTIBLACKNESS?

The captain of one slave ship was seen throwing them by the hundreds into the sea. Another of these monsters, disturbed by the cries of the child of a negro woman, tore it away from its mother bosom and threw it into the waves, the incessant groans of the poor mother annoyed him still more, and if she did not experience a similar fate, it was only because this slave trader hoped to profit by her sale.

JEAN LOUIS VASTEY





A project focused on global patterns, processes, and practices of antiblackness, and on how to investigate it in order to oppose it, deserves a minimal reflection on the intellectual and political relevance of antiblackness. This entails examining the various meanings of antiblackness and their corresponding epistemic and political implications. The very language of antiblackness is more current in English than in Creole, French, Spanish, and Portuguese. In the anglophone world, which includes the Caribbean, North America, the United Kingdom, Australia and parts of the African continent, the term "antiblackness" is now used in the rhetoric of activism, as well as in academic discourse either as a shorthand to signify the specificity of anti-Black racism or as a category to conceptualize the particular modes of dehumanization and forms of violence that characterize the Black condition in the modern/colonial world (Jung & Vargas, 2021). However, without necessarily using the language of antiblackness, anti-Black racism has been a matter of epistemic and political engagement and debate since at least the nineteenth century throughout Latin America and the Caribbean.

In this schema, there are significant differences in the meanings of antiblackness, as a category that accounts for Black oppression and suffering considering the epistemic and political stakes involved. A full account, and/or positioning ourselves within corresponding debates, is beyond the scope and intent of this report. Instead, we will draw, in broad strokes, a general map of discourses about antiblackness and their political implications, as far as necessary to inform our exercise of facilitating a space for dialogue in order to look into the possibilities of building regional and transnational/translocal webs against glo-cal antiblackness.

WITHOUT NECESSARILY USING THE LANGUAGE OF ANTIBLACKNESS, ANTI-BLACK RACISM HAS BEEN A MATTER OF EPISTEMIC AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT AND DEBATE SINCE AT LEAST THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THROUGHOUT LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN.

Our principal premise is that antiblackness is a key structuring principle of the modern world. Antiblackness, meaning a long-term process of dehumanization, overexploitation, expropriation, dispossession, and abjection of bodies (the very hegemonic definitions of self, or the subject, are anti-black), cultures, and territories, signified as "Black" and "African", is constitutive of the modern/colonial capitalist world-system. Antiblackness is a fundamental category to understand the patterning of the world-historical process that we call racial/patriarchal capitalism, hence it should be con-

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sidered a key construct in the Black radical tradition.[1] This is the fundamental sense in which it is argued that we live in an "antiblack world", namely a historical universe wherein the main institutions — such as the capitalist world economy, modern nation-state, and structures of power/knowledge, dominant cultures, and hegemonic definitions of self — are antiblack.[2]

1. The concept that is commonly used in the Black radical tradition is racial capitalism, as Robinson (1983) coined the notion of "Black radical tradition" and framed it in terms of "racial capitalism" which is a category that emerged from the South African Black consciousness movement of the 1970s-1980s. I modified it as racial/patriarchal capitalism to construct a category which centers, the imbrication (or intersectionality) of class, ethnic-racial, gender and sexual dimensions of the modern/colonial matrix of power that Vargas (2018) conceptualizes as "gendered antiblackness".

2. There are substantive differences among analyses of the ontological meaning as well as of the epistemic dimensions and political implications of arguing that we live in an "antiblack world". For two contending arguments, see Gordon (2020), and Wilderson III (2021).

OUR PRINCIPAL PREMISE IS THAT ANTIBLACKNESS IS A KEY STRUCTURING PRINCIPLE OF THE MODERN WORLD.

This kind of analysis is not only a way of highlighting the centrality of antiblack racism in the patterning of the modern/colonial world, but furthermore represents a move to conceptualize antiblackness as a pillar in the very constitution of capitalist modernity and its main institutions, processes, cultures, epistemes, modes of being, and formations of the self. Therefore, as put by Vargas (2018), "antiblackness as a structuring principle [is] fundamental, ubiquitous, and transhistorical".

The historical groundings of antiblackness are to be found in the rise of transatlantic slavery as a pillar of racial modernity in the long sixteenth century, along with the nascent formation of transoceanic European empires with their colonial enterprises, the making of a capitalist world-economy, and the corresponding processes of racialization and colonization of bodies, histories, and geographies. Antiblackness (or antiblack racism) is a keystone,[3] a principal element, in this history that connected and created the world as we know it, which scholars define as globalization in its *longue duree*.[4] As demonstrated in Ford's discovery report, titled *An Anti-Black World: Global Impact of Anti-Blackness*,[5] the facts of antiblack-

3. Whether antiblackness and antiblack racism are equivalent categories is a matter of debate that we should explore as one of the theoretical tensions that can be generative in our collective exploration. While for Afropessimists, antiblackness (founded on chattel slavery and its "afterlife" in an antiblack global ontology) signifies a reality on its own which is not commensurable with other processes of oppression — such as settler colonialism that accounted for genocide of those called "indigenous" during the process; a number of critical traditions such as "critical race theories" within the Black radical tradition — for instance Black Marxism as iterated in Du Bois (1933), James (1938), and Rodney (1972) — as well as decolonial critique, understand anti-Black racism as fundamental yet related and therefore commensurable to a matrix of domination that includes other forms of racism — Orientalism, anti-Indigenous, etc — and which are structurally linked to class exploitation, heteropatriarchy, and imperial power. Taking a position in such debate transcends the objectives of this report. However, I will very quickly state that there is a need to find between antiblackness and other modes of oppression and build bridges between different subjugated subjects, in order to elaborate effective epistemic and political strategies.

4. See, among others, Abu-Lughod (1989), Amin (2010), Braudel (1992), Cox (1964), Dussel (1996), Gunder Frank (1966), Rodney (1972), Trouillot (2004), and Wallerstein (1995). The historical temporality of antiblackness is a matter of debate. Some arguments trace antiblackness to the slave trade from sub-Saharan Africa to the Maghreb.

5. *An Anti-Black World: Global Impact of Anti-Blackness*, authored by Awino Okech and Aurora Vergara-Figueroa (n. d.), is a report of a "discovery project" commissioned by the Ford Foundation, to identify global patterns, processes, and practices of antiblackness, in order to inform research and action to fight antiblackness. This regional report is part of the second phase of the project sponsored by the Ford Foundation, where we are exploring the possibilities of promoting global and regional networks against antiblackness as suggested by participants in the two convenings

AS DEMONSTRATED IN FORD'S DISCOVERY REPORT, TITLED *AN ANTI-BLACK WORLD: GLOBAL IMPACT OF ANTI-BLACKNESS*, THE FACTS OF ANTIBLACKNESS ARE MANIFEST THROUGHOUT THE PLANET IN SEVERAL SOCIETAL AREAS SUCH AS: "MASS INCARCERATION, DISAPPEARANCE, STATISTICAL ERASURE, LYNCHING, TARGETED KILLING, STATELESSNESS, LAND DISPOSSESSION, DERACINATION, URBAN APARTHEID, UNTOUCHABILITY, AND DROWNING".

ness are manifest throughout the planet in several societal areas such as: "mass incarceration, disappearance, statistical erasure, lynching, targeted killing, statelessness, land dispossession, deracination, urban apartheid, untouchability, and drowning". Together, these facts of antiblackness constitute what I call *the antiblack condition*, a fundamental feature of modernity itself. In light of this, research on antiblackness, stemming from academy and activism, is extremely relevant in our collective endeavor against entwined oppressions, entangled inequalities, and interlocking violence, and therefore in favor of justice, equality, and substantive democracy, in short, toward liberation and the good life.

There are potentially productive tensions in different perspectives on the character and the implications of antiblackness. Arguably, the very concept of antiblackness is a fundamental and foundational offspring of the Black radical tradition and consequently of Africana/Black studies. Two distinct, and to some extent, contending epistemic and political postures, which are germane to our conceptualization and investigation of antiblackness, are decolonial critique and afropessimism. There are various positions in both camps. They are not monoliths, but we can draw some general defining lines and distinctions among them. While the afropessimist perspective is based on the specificity and incommensurability of antiblackness, the decolonial posture understands antiblack racism as a key mode of racial oppression that needs to be related to other forms of racial and sexual domination, as well as to labor exploitation and territorial expropriation, for instance of indigenous people. Afropessimist analyses rely more on a deep critique of Black abjection, focusing on the ontological dimensions of denial of being and

that informed the report of the discovery project as well as by participants in two regional meetings — one for the Caribbean held in Santo Domingo, and another one for Latin America held in Rio de Janeiro — which were part of the second phase.

social death, installed in slavery until today, manifest in the sheer violence against Black bodies and the despair for Black lives; while the decolonial position tends to frame antiblack racism as a key component of the coloniality of power (or the modern/colonial matrix of domination), where political-economy — class inequality and capitalist development — is central, and Black suffering is a principal but not incommensurate kind of oppression, which as such is imbricated with gender, sexual, ethnic-racial, and class injustices. Indeed, there are different analyses of the very meanings and values of colonialism in the two perspectives, as well as the relationship between colonialism, slavery, and modernity. However, both postures stand from the premise that antiblackness is foundational to the modern world, that it is a long-term enduring problem, and that combating it is necessary for any substantive possibility for historical transformation looking for liberation and a new social contract.[6]

In short, both outlooks contribute to our analysis of antiblackness as a central determinant of the world where we live, as a set of patterns, processes, and practices we need to oppose in order to build justice, equality, and substantive democracy for all, in a few words, to forge radical change. The practical meanings of dismantling an antiblack world and building alternatives is a thorny epistemic and political question that will necessarily be a matter of much debate, in its theoretical as well as in its pragmatic iterations.

A challenge to any epistemic and political agenda for investigating and combating global antiblackness is theorizing and researching discourses and significations of blackness in time and space, historicizing it. In this inquiry, it is important to ask the question: What does it mean that the 1804 Haitian constitution declared all its citizens "Black", all those who actively opposed slavery, beyond considerations of color? In turn, analyzing who are the Black subjects of global antiblackness, it is pertinent to look into how to conceptualize global discourses of blackness. For instance, Du Bois's conception of the "color line", refers to a global divide marking what he named as "the darkest peoples of the world". This is a global color line that he drew from the first utterance of the oft-quoted maxim, "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line — the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea", during the first meeting of the American Negro Academy in 1897. A half century later, in the middle of the wave of antisystemic movements of the 1960s-1970s, the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a generative formation of the U.S. Black movement of the period, issued a manifesto advo-

6. A full comparison between decolonial and afropessimist perspectives is beyond the scope of this report. Some of us also engage in a dialogue between the two perspectives intending to learn from each of them and transcend their differences, building a critical perspective incorporating their insights without falling into loose eclecticism. Here we could just highlight some divergences and convergences to lay-out the field in very general terms.

A CHALLENGE TO ANY EPISTEMIC AND POLITICAL AGENDA FOR INVESTIGATING AND COMBATING GLOBAL ANTIBLACKNESS IS THEORIZING AND RESEARCHING DISCOURSES AND SIGNIFICATIONS OF BLACKNESS IN TIME AND SPACE, HISTORICIZING IT.

cating for "World Black Revolution" in which the radical Black subject was equivalent to the "third world" subject that was common sense in the tri-continentalism of the era wherein the principal source of historic transformation was located in the triad of Africa, Asia, and Latin America/the Caribbean, which included "third world peoples" in the United States, namely Blacks, Asian-Americans, Latinx (at the time mostly Chicanos[7] and Puerto Ricans), and Native Americans. We can go on providing examples, but the point here is that we cannot take for granted the meanings of blackness ("scripts of blackness", as put by the Puerto Rican scholar Isar Goudreau) nor the subjects of antiblackness. This should not diminish the tremendous significance of hierarchies of color, of pigmentocracy, in the patterning and the practices of antiblackness. At the same time, blackness and antiblackness should not be reduced to hierarchies of color, which are themselves mediated by an array of elements including class, gender, and the historically defined racialized body and color itself. These are questions that are problematized in different strands of Africana/Black Studies and Critical Race Theory, but not fully explored, either in Afropessimism or in Decolonial Critique.[8] However, before

7. Chicano is a term emerging from the social movements of the 1960s in the United States to positively describe individuals, communities, and populations of Mexican descent, in an attempt to replace a pejorative term for Mexican Americans with a positive one.

8. A fuller problematization of differential yet related significations of blackness across the planet will require a historical cartography of discourses of blackness and how they emerged from patterns of domination and resistance in different parts of the world in distinct historical periods. A number of outstanding moments come to the surface such as the historical emergence of the concept of race, associated with the category of Blackness in the context of the conquest of the Americas and the initiation of the transatlantic slave trade in the long 16th century when both "African" and "Black" became negatively signified terms imagined to be at the antipodes of "Western civilization", "Europeanness", and eventually "Whiteness"; the rise of the signifiers "Negro" and "Colored" to signify a global identity in the Pan-Africanism that emerged in the late 19th and early 20th century; and the emergence of the term "Black" in the 1960s-1970s as a signifier of collective empowerment as in movements for "Black power" in the U.S. and for "Black consciousness" in South Africa such as the one led by Steven Biko in the 1980s. Another key consideration is the differential attributions of Blackness depending on phenotype, not only by means of hierarchies of color, but also through detailed examinations of bodies to make racial characterizations on the basis of ways of looking and interpreting parts of the body — hair types, lips, noses, etc. — which inform a long tradition of comparison of racial formations in the U.S. — associated with a "one drop rule" to be Black — with Latin America — associated with a "one drop rule" not to be black. The coining of the term

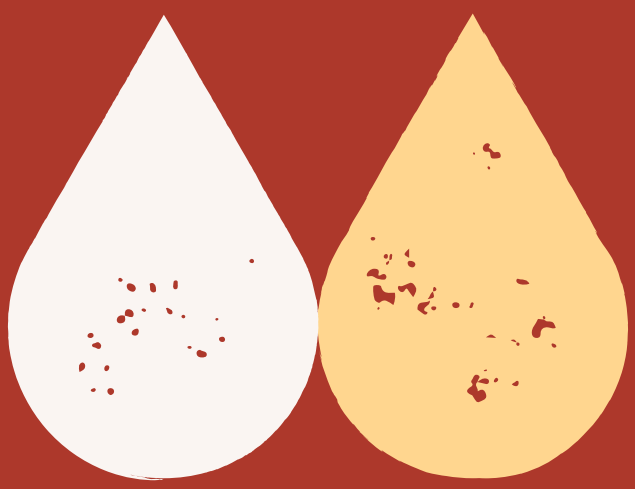
advancing further in our analysis of antiblackness, I want to offer another fragment of Vastey (2018) *El sistema colonial develado*, arguably the first published decolonial text written from an Africana experience, which Marlene Daut calls a "monstruous testimony", to exemplify the everyday terror that nurtured antiblackness on the necro-universe of the plantation, in the living hell of chattel slavery, which, Ayti as argued by Aimé Césaire and Frantz Fanon, differentially dehumanizes both the colonizer and the colonized.

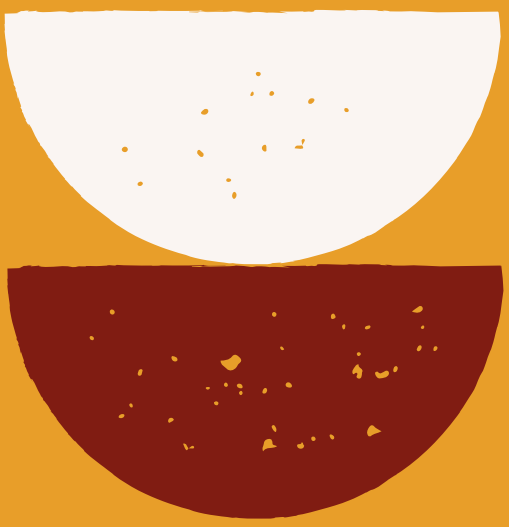
"All one ever heard there was the cracking of the whip and the cracking of the poor souls being subjected to those acts of torture. This monster had all his house slaves castrated, along with one of his quadroon offspring. After committing incest with his natural daughter, he had her put to a most excruciating death, along with her mother, by placing boiling wax in their ears and leaving it to melt... The repressive laws were not made for the colonists, and especially not for the big planters; everything was permitted them." (p. 109)

"Afrodescendent" by Afro-Brazilian feminists in the 1980s, its wide use as a political identity by Afro-Latin American movement webs in the early 21st century, and its adoption by the U.N. and supranational organizations like the World Bank, shortly thereafter, is another key utterance of the interplay between Africanity and Blackness in the Americas. A comparative and combined methodology for analysis of racial regimes and formations of Blackness in the Americas will require a much more complex schema, as we have argued in other investigations.

2.

PATTERNS, PROCESSES, AND PRACTICES OF ANTIBLACKNESS





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If chattel slavery installed a pattern of antiblackness at the core of the matrix of domination that shapes modernity/coloniality, antiblack patterns of historical continuity that Hartman (1997) terms "the afterlife of slavery" conceptually account for a *longue duree* of denial of human value and social being to Black subjects, through enduring violence that constantly threatens and annihilates Black lives, and persistent inequalities that undermine the minimal quality of life and exclude Black people from citizenship. Such sort of structural antiblackness is what many now conventionally call structural or systemic racism. The concept of structural racism is mostly used in reference to antiblack racism, but without necessarily acknowledging its specificity, let alone theorizing it. This is one of the main reasons for working with the concept of antiblackness: to historicize and investigate the specificity of antiblack racism, to calibrate its significance, and devise ways of fighting against it and overcoming it.

In the Ford sponsored discovery report *An Anti-Black World*, Okech and Vergara-Figueroa (n. d.), after looking into "salient manifestations of anti-Blackness, and common patterns and logics that are present across different parts of the globe" concluded that "the cases presented demonstrate that anti-Blackness is global, and structural racism impacts Black people and their quality of life and freedoms everywhere". In Latin America and the Caribbean, statistics of disparity in the distribution of death and wealth, in conditions of life — education, employment, envi-

ronmental hazards, health, housing, water, etc — in cultural recognition, and political representation, show tremendous inequality and disadvantage faced by Black communities and subjects.[1] In our research agenda, we should include key indicators of antiblackness — for instance premature death, rates of incarceration, health vulnerability, socio-economic marginalization — revealing important asymmetries between Black and White individuals, and between Black and non/Black people. We already have important databases and a body of scholarly research in Brazil and Colombia, drawing from a longer tradition of quantitative and qualitative investigation of the entangled inequalities (especially class, race, and gender intersections), but there is a need to develop a research program for the two regions — Latin America and the Caribbean, which should be part of our project for researching antiblackness and developing strategies for overcoming it.[2]

There is still a lot of work to be done, such as developing empirical categories to guide data collection, for instance, in national surveys like census and statistics on households and families, seeking to build databases to inform quantitative research on what we will call the *facts of antiblackness*.[3] We also need to engage in historical investigation, qualitative research, and theoretical analysis to sharpen, deepen, and develop a more nuanced and comprehensive analytical program. All of this should nurture the research agenda we need to forge collectively in this project.

In this report, we will first concentrate on four intertwined patterns of antiblackness which are currently salient both globally and in the two regions. We characterize them as: 1) Accumulation by Dispossession and Annihilation; 2) Securitization, Policing, and Necropolitics; 3) Border Walling and Racial/Labor Migratory Regimes; and 4) Epistemic Erasures and Antiblack Representations. After briefly introducing these four types of antiblackness — which could be intertwined, we will look into two pairs of cases, one in the Caribbean and the other in Latin America, which reveal, in-depth and with clarity, the significance and magnitude of antiblackness. In the Caribbean, we will examine Haiti and the Dominican Republic, two nation-states which share an insular territory and are strongholds of Africana history in the Americas from the times of slavery to the present. In Latin America, we will analyze Brazil and Colombia, which have the two largest

1. This is demonstrated by a growing corpus of social research as well as in reports issued by multilateral institutions such as the Economic Commission of Latin America, the Interamerican Development Bank, the Organization of United Nations, and the World Bank.

2. *Malunga's* working group named "Liberating Knowledges" is putting together a database ofthis information for the region.

3. This kind of intellectual work has been carried out across several sites in the academy, in social movements, and in government. For instance, Brazil's Ministry for Racial Equality and Colombia's Ministry of Equality and Equity are developing empirical categories and indexes to measure racial, class, and gender inequalities.

IN THIS REPORT, WE WILL FIRST CONCENTRATE ON FOUR INTERTWINED PATTERNS OF ANTIBLACKNESS WHICH ARE CURRENTLY SALIENT BOTH GLOBALLY AND IN THE TWO REGIONS. WE CHARACTERIZE THEM AS: 1) ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION AND ANNIHILATION; 2) SECURITIZATION, POLICING, AND NECROPOLITICS; 3) BORDER WALLING AND RACIAL/ LABOR MIGRATORY REGIMES; AND 4) EPISTEMIC ERASURES AND ANTIBLACK REPRESENTATIONS.

concentrations of Black people in the region, and where antiblack violence is particularly dramatic.

Antiblackness, understood as a set of positions and dispositions that constitute structured modes of domination and oppression, which runs across social spaces and shape social process over time, is an important dimension of neoliberal regimes of capitalist development and state rule that becomes exacerbated with the current multiple crises of neoliberalism. The contemporary crisis integrates economic, ecological, epistemic, ethical, geo/political, and onto/existential dimensions. It is called a civilizational crisis as far as neoliberal capitalism, as a way of life, is jeopardizing the very integrity of existence on the planet. The strategies to violently restore the profitability of transnational capital include a repertoire of actions, such as the rise of predatory extractivism, land grabbing, agribusiness that erodes the soil and undermines food sovereignty, urban gentrification, and coerced dispossession of people from territories enforced by military and paramilitary armed actors. Together, all of these processes disproportionally affect Black communities and subjects, who experience ruthless practices of violence. Such neoliberal pattern of entangled inequalities and entwined violences reveals the character of antiblackness as a "gratuitous" form of antiblack violence, which both exploits Black labor and expropriates and dispossesses Black peoples from their territories, in a complex and contradictory way, but also annihilates Black bodies and cultures. Here, "accumulation by dispossession"[4] is compounded in

4. The strategy of promoting profitability by dispossessing people from their land, territories, and means of survival, which have been pursued since the very origins of capitalism in the long 16th century, which Marx called primitive accumulation, until today's expulsions from common lands, collective territories, and gentrification of working-class/marginal urban neighborhoods is called "accumulation by dispossession" by Harvey (2006). Nonetheless, similar arguments had been advanced before by Frank (2005) and Amin (2010). Most recently, Federici (2010) included a gender / sexual dimension to the ongoing process of accumulation by dispossession, and Edna Martínez elaborated the argument further also highlighting its ethnic-racial components.

Black territories such as Buenaventura, a city in Colombia, with what Alves and Ravidran (2020) named "accumulation by evisceration", in which, as in the heyday of transatlantic chattel slavery, the disposability of Black bodies becomes profitable. Accumulation by dispossession and annihilation is the combination of two forms of antiblackness that could be contradictory or complementary: a *racism of exploitation and expropriation*, which seeks to overexploit, displace, and force Black subjects into conditions of under-consumption; and a *racism of annihilation* that dehumanizes Black bodies and devalues Black lives deemed unworthy and disposable.

The vulnerability of Black people in rural and urban communities makes them the most prone to suffer from forced displacement, which Vergara-Figueroa (2017) calls "deracination", the particularly violent forms of expulsion that often involve not only dislocating but also "killing black bodies" (Roberts, 1997). These actions make them casualties of the combined strategy of accumulation by dispossession and annihilation. This is one of the most dramatic expressions of the antiblack condition in today's policrisis. Brazil and Colombia are prime examples of this pattern of antiblackness, as we shall see. We must become attuned to the fact that antiblackness is a daily cause of death, as evidenced by the cadavers floating in the bays and rivers of Buenaventura, Colombia, and lying on the streets of the favelas of Rio de Janeiro.

ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION AND ANNIHILATION IS THE COMBINATION OF TWO FORMS OF ANTIBLACKNESS THAT COULD BE CONTRADICTORY OR COMPLEMENTARY: A RACISM OF EXPLOITATION AND EXPROPRIATION, WHICH SEEKS TO OVEREXPLOIT, DISPLACE, AND FORCE BLACK SUBJECTS INTO CONDITIONS OF UNDER-CONSUMPTION; AND A RACISM OF ANNIHILATION THAT DEHUMANIZES BLACK BODIES AND DEVALUES BLACK LIVES DEEMED UNWORTHY AND DISPOSABLE.

The same communities confront the second antiblack pattern, which is Securitization, Policing, and Necropolitics.[5] As shown by an increasingly robust body of scholarship, Black neighborhoods have always been targets of

5. The concept of "necropolitics" was coined by Achille Mbembe to conceptualize the significance of logics of death in modern/colonial regimes of biopolitics, this based on its primary significance in Africana/Black lifeworlds. See especially Mbembe (2020).

particularly intense policing,[6] as sites historically associated with "barbarity", "insecurity", and "crime". An antiblack unconscious nurtures this imaginary of Black spaces as places of danger, matched with an ideology that represents them as zones inhabited by Black denizens, outside the domain of respectability of the nation. This ideology informs a coercive praxis of policing, which is conceived on viewing the Black subject as a criminal enemy. Such conception of the Black denizen, compounded with widespread negrophobia, as staples of structural racism, has led police officers, over the years, to kill Black people alleging that it was in self-defense, especially evidenced by social research in Brazil, South Africa, and the United States.

These long-term patterns of policing and antiblack violence deepened with the current planetary policrisis. Neoliberal modes of governmentality, paradoxically mix discursive defense of an alleged minimal state with an increase in state-led securitization, militarization, and policing, especially of so-called "dangerous communities" inside national spaces, and of so-named "rogue states" through international geopolitical hierarchies. A global antiblack geopolitical racial order that privileges the western imperial heart of whiteness, centered in Europe and the United States, places the African continent as its antipode, conceived as the heart of darkness and home of the primitive. This antiblack schema operates, not only in representations of Africa by means of tropes of the jungle — exemplified in recurrent racial insults in *soccer* games where Black players are called "monkeys", but also in a geopolitical regime that relegates African countries to subordinate members of the international community, smoothly, allows and overlooks military interventions by the West, and promotes the view of African nation-states as incompetent and failed. Increased militarism, and offspring of neoliberal securitization, the militarization of policing, and

AN ANTIBLACK UNCONSCIOUS NURTURES THIS IMAGINARY OF BLACK SPACES AS PLACES OF DANGER, MATCHED WITH AN IDEOLOGY THAT REPRESENTS THEM AS ZONES INHABITED BY BLACK DENIZENS, OUTSIDE THE DOMAIN OF RESPECTABILITY OF THE NATION.

6. This argument refers both to rural and urban Black communities. In the case of Black rural spaces, the very beginnings of modern policing can be traced to vigilance of slave quarters, perceived as places of danger in so far as chattel slavery was "govern" by means of terror, informed by rationalities that combined fear, hate, and desire for the enslaved. In turn, Black urban neighborhoods, perceived as primordial sites of the urban primitive, have been also, since the inception of the modern/colonial city, conceived of spaces of danger and mystery, to be submitted to intense policing and therefore as primary targets of state violence.

a spiral growth of the military-industrial complex in the U.S., catalyzed conditions of political instability, mass migrations, and refugee crises in the African continent, which, in turn, fed an African exodus to fortress Europe, and deepened a developing slave trade from Sub-Saharan Africa. The deeply dramatic snapshots of dead Black bodies on European shores unsuccessfully trying to enter Fortress Europe, and of captive African bodies submitted to the new slave trade, portray the subjugated flesh of a new middle passage, which, as such, represent the blunt and naked images of antiblackness.

In the Americas, racial neoliberal securitization entails a mode of government that links militarized policing, and a growing carceral state, to antiblack practices of state violence. The rise of the security state involves an increase in a militarized kind of policing of places classified as "uncivil", "problematic", and "dangerous", because of their social location and ethnic-racial profile. Scholars and activists demonstrate continuities in racialized policing of Black territories since the age of chattel slavery until antiblack patterns and practices in the current neoliberal era.[7] The parameter was established by the United States, which by far has the highest numbers and percentages of incarcerated people, making almost half of the Black male population of the country. The so-called "War on Drugs", since the 1980s, became an alibi for accelerated militarized policing largely in U.S. Black urban neighborhoods, while it justified militarization of rural communities in Colombia, many of them also Black, thus contributing to sharpening the armed conflict in the country. The ascending trend in urban violence in Black communities in the U.S. since the 1980s, and particularly of police killings of Black people, is not only a result of a long history but also largely a product of racial neoliberal securitization, that proved to be a principal device of an antiblack necropolitics by its intent and its effects. In the next section, we will see the ways in which such antiblack necropolitics operates in Brazil and Colombia.

The insecurities and instabilities that constitute the social fragility of Black majorities in an antiblack world, exacerbated by the policrisis of neoliberalism, catalyzed an endemic situation of mass migration, a contemporary exodus that we characterize as an antiblack condition of deracination and rediasporization. The forced uprooting, dispersion, and dislocation, provoked by transatlantic chattel slavery and colonization, which account for the making of a global African diaspora in the first place, continue as a process exacerbated by the policrisis. Now antiblackness is manifest in the disdain for Black lives in the receiving metropoles in Europe and the United States, where Black subjects are either led to die or allow to live in virtual conditions of social death — in precarious situations and without legal status.

7. The scholarly literature on the continuities of antiblackness from chattel slavery to racial neoliberalism is growing (Alexander, 2010; Blackmon, 2009; Hartman, 1997; Jung & Vargas, 2021).

In the context of this new exodus of the African continent and the African diaspora, antiblack racism is a major determinant of what we call border walling, as in a fortress: Europe closing its doors to African migrants, and in literal attempts to build a wall in the southern border of the United States. The paths of pilgrimage to such walled metropoles are becoming increasingly dangerous, as terribly exemplified by the "Darien", a "jungle" region in the border between Colombia and Central America, where thousands of people from the African continent and the African diaspora in the Americas are literarily stuck in a hell zone of danger and death outside the law and visibility (a la Fanon), trying to reach the southern border of North America.

Such pattern of antiblackness is also present in processes of rediasporization of Black subjects in intra-regional and intra-national migratory waves. This situation is exemplified by intra-regional migrants from Venezuela, Haiti, Colombia, or from African countries, who suffer from antiblackness in countries like Argentina, Peru, Chile and Brazil. In this scenario, anti-Haitianism, as a prime expression of antiblackness, is practiced against Haitian immigrants (as well as against national citizens of Haitian descent) in several countries, including Chile, Dominican Republic, France, Puerto Rico, the United States, Venezuela and Brazil.

IN THE CONTEXT OF THIS NEW EXODUS OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT AND THE AFRICAN DIASPORA, ANTIBLACK RACISM IS A MAJOR DETERMINANT OF WHAT WE CALL BORDER WALLING, AS IN A FORTRESS: EUROPE CLOSING ITS DOORS TO AFRICAN MIGRANTS, AND IN LITERAL ATTEMPTS TO BUILD A WALL IN THE SOUTHERN BORDER OF THE UNITED STATES.

Regarding intra-national antiblackness, it is noticeable the antiblack racism experienced by people (mostly black) who emigrate from the Northeast of Brazil to more "developed", elitist and Eurodescendent (or Whitened) regions of the country, such as the Southeast and the South regions. In Cuba the "imaginary discriminatory secularism" (Pons-Giralt et al., 2025), from the west to the east of the country, which nurture a regional-racial divide between "habaneros and orientales", who are called "Palestinos" in such discriminatory schema.[8] This kind of intra-regional mode of antiblackness also informs prejudices against "costenos", namely people from the Caribbean coast of Colombia, in the hegemonic Andean

8. I am grateful to Pons-Giralt (2025) for calling to my attention the need to explicitly account for this type of antiblack racism in this report.

region of the country which is dominantly defined as White-Mestizo.

We call this form of antiblackness "Racial/Labor Migratory Regimes" because the majority of the migrants come from the human contingent that Du Bois (1933) named "the darker people of the world",[9] many of them belonging to the African continent and diaspora. It is a racialized labor migration, given that it is largely composed of subjects racialized as Black or non-white, who arrive in western metropoles to occupy the lower echelons of the social ladder and labor market, to be located outside the franchise of citizenship, at the margins of sociality and excluded from the body politic (Alves, 2018). In such a situation, they remain subject to the antiblack condition that deracinated and forced them into rediasporization in the first place. As racialized migrant laborers, they are at the margins of the labor market, and as Black abject subjects, they tend to be positioned out of civil society and political community. On this beat, border walling and racial/labor migratory regimes are primary domains of antiblackness as process and practice.

SUCH PATTERN OF ANTIBLACKNESS IS ALSO PRESENT IN PROCESSES OF REDIASPORIZATION OF BLACK SUBJECTS IN INTRA-REGIONAL AND INTRA-NATIONAL MIGRATORY WAVES.

The last pattern of antiblackness that we will highlight in this document, titled "Epistemic Erasures and Antiblack Representations", refers to the sustained practice of epistemicide against Africana identities, cultures, memories, knowledges, and spiritualities, as well as enduring antiblack representations — images, narratives, rhetoric — throughout the world.[10] The orchestrated attempt to commit epistemicide against Africana cosmologies is a key component of structural antiblackness, installed in the long 16th century with the conquest and colonization of this part of the world, now called the Americas, along with the establishment of the transatlantic slave trade and the institution of chattel slavery. The attempt to erase and the continuous effort to undermine Africana identities, cultures, memories, knowledges, and spirituali-

9. Du Bois used this expression to conceptualize the global color line throughout his life, beginning with his keynote address to the very first meeting of the American Negro Academy in 1897 titled "Conservation of Races".

10. The concept of "epistemicide" is now widely used in decolonial critique to conceptualize and signify the enduring violent process that intends to annihilate the memories, geographies, cultures, knowledges, and spiritualities of peoples colonized by Western White empires. For a recent account that summarizes the dialogue but is relatively blind to the significance of antiblackness for epistemicide in the Americas, see Price (2023). For an excellent analysis of epistemicide in the African continent and its implication for the Africana world, see Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2022). For an overview of antiblack representations in western imagery, see Pieterse (1992).

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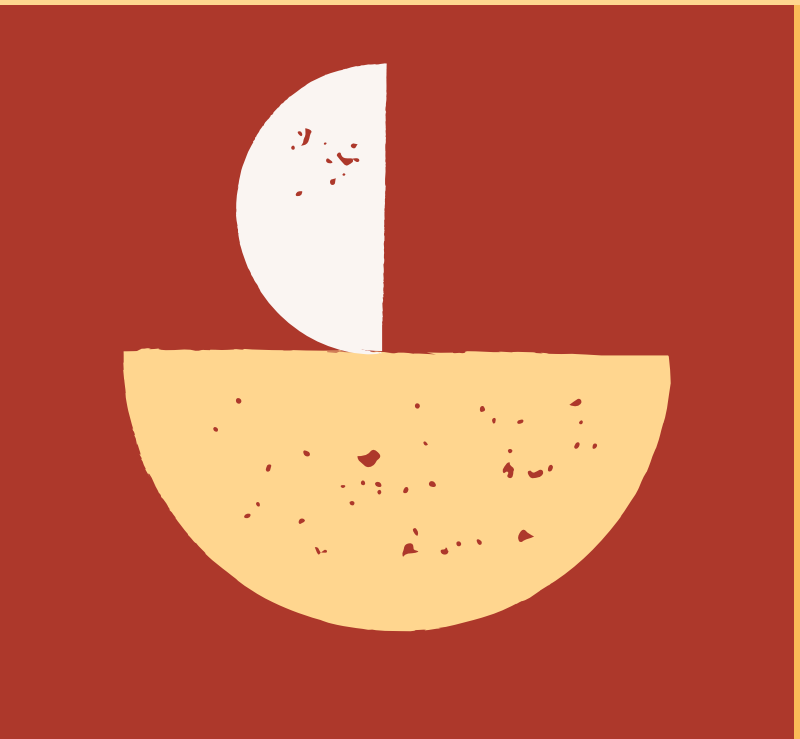
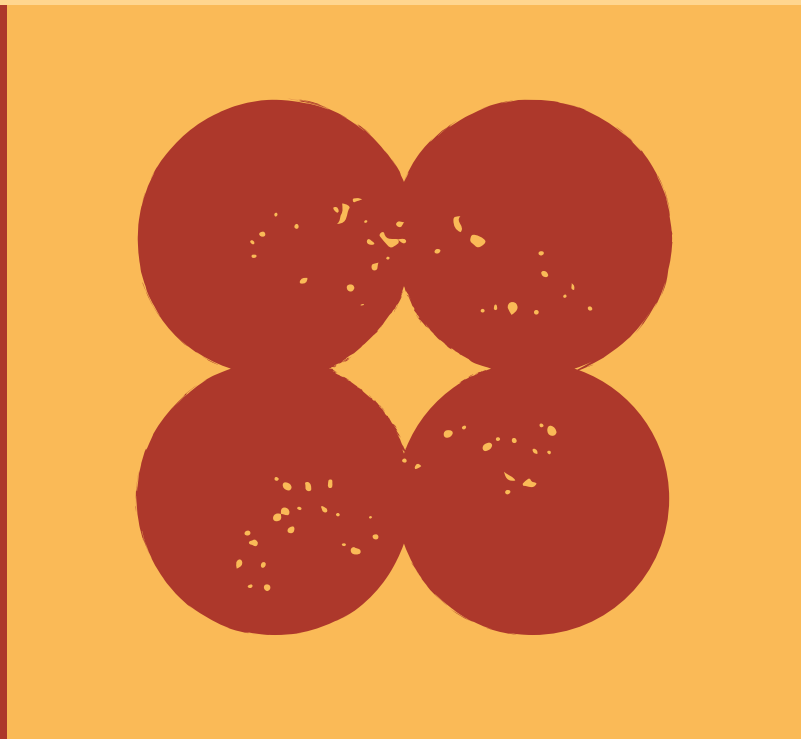
ties, are keystones of antiblackness as a process and a practice of dehumanization, abjection, and oppression of peoples and subjects racialized as Black. On that key, actions to recast and recreate Africana epistemes and lifeworlds, are cornerstones for fighting antiblackness and vindicating Black lives.

Antiblack representations — visual, in speech-acts, and in writing — are everyday expressions of antiblackness, which need to be identified, analyzed, exposed, and critiqued. This is important work that scholars, media analysts, and educators are doing: identifying and critiquing antiblack representations in the mass media, the educational system, governmental discourse, and in the practices of everyday life. In Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, and Puerto Rico, scholars, educators, and activists had done research about antiblack representations and practices in the educational system and the media. Activists-educators are also elaborating and implementing pedagogical strategies to challenge antiblackness and educate people about Africana histories in all these countries and beyond. There is much more research and intervention to be done in this realm to cultivate the relationship between epistemic justice, racial justice, and social justice.

3.

AYTI: TWO STATES AT THE HEART OF BLACKNESS





The island that indigenous people named *Ayti* has the distinction of being the first place where enslaved people from Africa were brought to this part of the world now called the Americas. The Spaniards began to colonize the island they called Hispaniola in 1492 and took there the very first ship with enslaved people from the African continent to the so-called "new world" in 1525. A main referent for Shakespeare's play *The Tempest*, Ayti was, in this drama, a place inhabited by "Caliban", the character who represented the "native", based on an anagram of the word "cannibal", which eventually came to identify the region as the Caribbean.[1]

In the 17th century, the French began to colonize the western part of the island and, by 1697, appropriated and renamed it Saint Domingue while the rest of the insular territory remained as a Spanish colony called La Hispaniola. In the 18th century, Saint Domingue became the richest colony in the world, providing for 35% of the income of the French empire, with unparalleled productivity generated by more than half a million of enslaved workers. This concentration of power and wealth by means of mass enslavement catalyzed the largest and most transcendental Black rebellion. The Haitian revolution, usually dated between the sparking of rebellion in 1791 and the achievement of independence in 1804, established the newborn nation-state, called Haiti to honor the indigenous name, as a bastion of pan-Africanism, here defined as a world-project of Africana solidarity, decolonization and liberation. Arguably, the Haitian revolution marked the emergence of "negritude" as a world-historical identity,[2] of the invention of decolonization as an orchestrated form of politics, and the beginning of the end of the formal institution of transatlantic chattel slavery and of the colonial system. It was the most profound process of historical transformation of the period Hobsbawm (2003) called "the age of revolution", as far as it was

ARGUABLY, THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION MARKED THE EMERGENCE OF "NEGRITUDE" AS A WORLD-HISTORICAL IDENTITY, OF THE INVENTION OF DECOLONIZATION AS AN ORCHESTRATED FORM OF POLITICS, AND THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF THE FORMAL INSTITUTION OF TRANSATLANTIC CHATTEL SLAVERY AND OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM.

1. In Shakespeare's play *The Tempest*, Caliban learned to curse Prospero — the master — with the imperial language that he taught him. Consequently, there is a long history of identifying the Caribbean critical tradition with the concept-character or trope of Caliban. See especially Fernández Retamar (1989), and Henry (2000).

2. This is an argument first formulated by Césaire (1960).

the only one that abolished slavery and opposed colonialism, in contrast with the French Revolution and the American War of Independence, which kept racial/colonial slavery intact and served as stepping-stones for empire-building.

The Haitian revolution, an "unthinkable event" in the heyday of transatlantic slavery,[3] was met with what Galeano calls a "white curse". The newly independent nation felt the fierce force of western antiblackness manifest in an inter-imperial boycott which combined non-recognition as part of the international community and constant threats of military invasion, with an imposition of a debt of 150 million francs,[4] to pay the French Empire and capital for "loss property", namely enslaved people and land appropriated by the master class. Imperial attempts to invade Haiti through the Spanish colony (Hispaniola) in the eastern part, and a historic will to create one state free of slavery on the island, moved Haitian ruler Boyer to occupy Hispaniola from 1822 to 1844 (Lora, 2014). A rift was created in the historical-political scenario of what became the Dominican Republic, between a group — consisting largely Afro-Dominicans — who advocated for unification and opposed slavery, and a Hispanophile Creole elite who defended a project of making a nation against Haitian "invaders" as the founding narrative of Dominican nationality. The Creole elite succeeded in defining the Dominican Republic as a nation that obtained her independence from Haiti, as celebrated today, founded on an antiblack ideology of nationhood where Blackness is confined to Haiti, and Dominican nationality is based on anti-Haitianism. In other words, the hegemonic discourse of Dominican nationhood, still prevalent today, is founded in an antiblack ideology, according to which blackness is a defining attribute of Haitians, and Dominicans, on their turn, are, by definition, non-Blacks whose nationality is defined in opposition to Haitians. Such anti-Haitianism is a historical and ideological foundation of today's persecution of Dominicans of Haitian descent.

Even though the Dominican Republic, according to the Economic Commission on Latin America (ECLA), is the country in Latin America and the Hispanic Caribbean with the highest percentage of Afrodescendents — approximately 95%, such antiblack/anti-Haitian ideology has dug deeply into Dominican culture and subjectivities. Antiblackness in the Dominican Republic produced an indigenist nomenclature in which a repertoire of "Indian" colors — for instance, "cinnamon Indian", "light Indian", "dark Indian" — ejected blackness from both popular parlance and the official public record. It is only in the last ten years that "Black" and "Afro-Dominicans" are legally accepted categories, even though

3. The late Hatian anthropologist Trouillot (1995) argues the Haitian revolution was "unthinkable" in an historical moment when African peoples and enslaved Blacks, were not even consider human.

4. It took Haiti 122 years at a cost of almost 50% of their national income to pay France for such fictive debt.

the state still rejects collecting "racial data" in national surveys, and a divorce between Dominicaness and Blackness is still a staple of public culture.

Anti-Haitianism as a constitutive element of Dominican nationality has always been contested by antiracist activism in the Dominican Republic and across the world. Such kind of anti-blackness generated a state-sponsored massacre, in 1937, of people perceived as Haitian in the Dominican Republic, when scholars calculate that between 15,000 and 40,000 people were killed by a combination of military and civilians. This was, arguably, the largest antiblack massacre of the twentieth century in the Americas.[5] Ironically, we had the biggest antiblack act of terror on the island of *Ayti*, which can be fairly described as the heart of Blackness in the Americas.

Antiblackness is a long-term problem in the Dominican Republic. It can be analyzed as a form of self-denial and rejection of the ancestry and character of the majority of the citizenry and as a violent exclusion of the Haitian elements of Dominican history, culture, and identity. It is an active displacement of blackness toward Haiti, as an act of disavowal of Dominican blackness.[6] Anti-Haitianism, as a primary pattern of antiblackness in the Dominican Republic, had people perceived as Haitians as its main targets. In 2013, the Dominican state issued court Sentence 168, that denationalized, or stripped from their Dominican nationality, Dominican-born citizens of Haitian descent whose parents were born in Haiti. This effectively placed in legal limbo, without national citizenship, with no official documents, and therefore with slim possibilities of basic services and mobility across borders, to tens of thousands of Dominicans of Haitian descent. This sort of message from state policy corresponds to antiblack/anti-Haitian everyday practices of racist/xenophobic discrimination against people defined as "Haitian", which include denial of services, insults, and overall social exclusion. In short, it was the tai-

THIS WAS, ARGUABLY, THE LARGEST ANTIBLACK MASSACRE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IN THE AMERICAS. IRONICALLY, WE HAD THE BIGGEST ANTIBLACK ACT OF TERROR ON THE ISLAND OF *AYTI*, WHICH CAN BE FAIRLY DESCRIBED AS THE HEART OF BLACKNESS IN THE AMERICAS.

5. Here, it is important to notice the antiblack massacre executed by the Cuban state against the Partido Independiente de Color (PIC) (Independent Colored Party) that occurred in 1912 primarily in the eastern part of the island of Cuba which is calculated in the range between 500 and 3,000 casualties. The PIC had one of the most progressive programs in the Americas at the time, including an array of demands for social and racial justice.

6. For a historical analysis of the centrality of anti-Haitianism for hegemonic Dominicaness, see Abréu (2014)

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loring of a country where to be Haitian is to be a social pariah. Okech and Vergara-Figueroa (n. d.) characterize this process and practices of antiblackness in the Dominican Republic as a manufactured condition of "statelessness".[7]

Such pattern of structural antiblackness is at its worst in the precarious conditions of life and labor in the "*bateyes*",[8] the rural communities of Haitian migrant workers and Dominicans of Haitian descent, who occupy the lower ladders of the labor market and execute the less desired and worst remunerated jobs like sugar cane cutting. The *bateyes* are widely perceived as Haitian enclaves in the Dominican Republic, as spaces of backwardness and primitivism outside the realm of the nation, inhabited by the assumed mysteries and dangers of "voodoo culture". Their lack of potable water, scarce services of health care and education, and shack houses, are naturalized as endemic to what is naturalized and normalized as the Haitian condition.

7. For an excellent study of Sentence 168 grounded on a *longue duree* analysis of the centrality of antiblack racism as a central component of the modern/colonial matrix of power, through the lens of Black decolonial feminism, see Curiel (2021).

8. Interestingly, that "batey" is an indigenous Arawak word to name community units or neighborhood settlements. Arawak were the main group of inhabitants of the Greater Antilles, which the Spaniards named as Tainos.

Here, it is important to present two testimonies of Dominicans of Haitian descent who are suffering from the situation of forced statelessness created by the Dominican state. Both are members of an organization called *Reconocido* (Red Común Nacional Organizada de Ciudadanos/as Domininicanos/as).

The first testimony illustrating the everyday workings of statelesneess, is Ana Belique's, one of the leaders of our Malunga network, who writes in an article:

> *The first time I truly felt discriminated against, I was already quite aware of what it was. I was twenty-four and had gone with one of my brothers to the civil registry office to request a birth certificate so I could enroll in college, and they denied my request. The way the civil servant talked to me made me feel the bitter taste of being different. Despite my insistence, I did not get a copy of my birth certificate because they claimed that they needed to investigate my parents' immigration status at the time I was born. The sense of powerlessness I felt led me to tears. I also had the feeling that this "investigation" would never come to fruition, as my brother Isidro, who accompanied me that day, had been waiting for two years for the same thing, with no results. He needed his ID card, since he was already of legal age and didn't have any papers, while I already had my ID card but simply needed a copy of my birth certificate for college. Back home, feeling indignant, I told myself that this was not how it would be — I didn't know what I would do, but I knew that I could not stand idly by waiting for a response that might never come.*

The second testimony, giving voice to Malena Jean, is part of the book *Somos Quienes Somos*, which is a production by the *Reconocido* movement.

> *I had a seemingly normal life, but it was different from other children because they had documents and I didn't. My mother had a Haitian ID. She gave birth at home. The midwife and the mayor gave her a piece of paper, and that's all I knew about my birth date. It was in 2000 when I had to separate from my mother: I was 10 years old. Immigration took her on a Monday when my mother went shopping in the capital. By the time they deported her, she had already spent the money [she had on her]. From [the Haiti-Dominican Republic border] she went to Los Limones and worked there picking tomatoes, until she scraped together the fare for herself and her husband. [To return] she had to dress as a man... I studied until the sixth grade without documents, but I wanted to continue studying. I had failed at sixth grade, but I didn't take my exams. Then I finished and enrolled in seventh grade. I passed the eighth grade and did well in school, but my greatest sadness is that everyone else took their National Examinations, except me. My name didn't come up in the first round... For me, not having documents is a problem*

that needs to be solved. If I'm sick, I don't have health insurance, nor do my children. I hope to God we find a solution to all this, which, in my case, is about to happen again. My son is 13 years old, in seventh grade, will go on to eighth, and when that time comes, it will be another problem.

The current condition of thousands of Dominicans of Haitian descent is even worse than what we can learn from these testimonies. The continuous deportation of people perceived as Haitians due to a combination of racial and class profiling fuels anti-Haitian sentiments that mobilize exclusionary nationalist ideologies that match racism and xenophobia. This sort of racial violence is evident in daily acts of physical aggression against citizens of Haitian descent and is underpinned by an old policy of racial cleansing of Dominican nationality from Haitian Blackness that fiercely revealed its lethal face in the infamous massacre of Haitians in 1937.

Back (and Black) to Haiti, concerning Haitian society, there are two main angles through which we can analyze antiblackness: one is charting the ways in which Haiti is located in the world-system, and the other is analyzing how antiblackness is expressed and contested inside the country. As suggested before, after the Haitian revolution, Haiti became a kind of pariah state in a Western, white-dominated international community. The Black state was stigmatized as a "fugitive state", as put by Frederick Douglass, who was the first U.S. ambassador to Haiti, when it was finally recognized by the American Empire, in 1862. Hence, global antiblackness excluded Haiti as a sort of "maroon state", outside of the realm of international civility, while imperial capital, especially French and American, maintained its role as a territory for extracting resources, appropriating land, and overexploiting labor. Here, global structural antiblackness articulated geopolitics and political economy, to keep Haiti economically and politically subordinated in the world-system, which fed the ideology of the first consciously Black state and society as a failed project, a primitive domain of poverty, despotism, political instability, and religious superstition.

This Western imperial regime of antiblackness, with its political, economic, and ideological components, served as rationale for a persistent pattern of intervention in Haiti, where we should highlight a long history from the U.S. occupation, which lasted from 1915 to 1934, to the U.S.-French joint operation that finally took democratically-elected and progressive reform-minded President Jean-Bertrand Aristide from executive power by means of a soft *coup d'etat* in 2004, up to the recent declarations of U.S. Vice-President Kamala Harris, during an official visit to the Bahamas on June 8, 2023, proposing U.N. intervention to organize and coordinate policing against crime and arms trafficking in Haiti.[9] In short,

9. At the time of finalizing this edition of the report, by the end of July 2025, Western powers' interventions in Haiti take other designs, such as military UN peacekeeping missions under the pretext of

western intervention in Haiti is rarely challenged by an international community in which such sort of antiblack ideology and policy is common sense. In this regard, Haiti is placed within antiblack global hierarchies of nation-states, similar to African countries that tend to be conceived as unable to follow and pursue international norms.

How antiblackness is expressed inside Haitian society is a question to be addressed at least from two angles: 1) the processes and practices of antiblackness in a country where the majority of the people should be considered Black, and furthermore where its constitution declared its citizens "Black" since the very first carta magna that founded Haiti as a nation-state in 1804, and; 2) the societal effects of global antiblackness inside Haiti.

From the perspective of how antiblackness works in an overwhelmingly Black country like Haiti, an important consideration is how the relationship between class, color, and race, shapes a social and political differentiation between "Blacks" and "Mulattoes" in Haiti, that ambiguously and unstably differentiate them in a distinction between Black and non-Black, which relates to hierarchies of class and political power.[10] Another meaningful differentiation is, on the one hand between representatives of state and official civil society — Haiti has one of the most abundant constellations of NGOs in the world, and, on the other hand, peasantries and urban marginals, that compose what has been called in Creole "*Moun Andeyo*", to signify a societal space con-

HERE, GLOBAL STRUCTURAL ANTIBLACKNESS ARTICULATED GEOPOLITICS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY, TO KEEP HAITI ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY SUBORDINATED IN THE WORLD-SYSTEM, WHICH FED THE IDEOLOGY OF THE FIRST CONSCIOUSLY BLACK STATE AND SOCIETY AS A FAILED PROJECT, A PRIMITIVE DOMAIN OF POVERTY, DESPOTISM, POLITICAL INSTABILITY, AND RELIGIOUS SUPERSTITION.

"solving" endemic gang violence, which is itself an expression of the humanitarian crisis experienced by Haiti after more than two centuries of submission to destabilizing practices, the result of a combination of imperial interventions (with the complicity of some countries such as Kenya) and forms of despotic misrule by the Haitian elites. In this context, it is important to remark the attempts by some progressive governments — such as Brazil under President Lula and Colombia under President Petro — to engage in the search for dignified solutions to the crisis in Haiti, incorporating solidarity aid in material and logistical terms.

10. There is a body of scholarship about this particular articulation of class, color, and race in Haiti. See especially, Casimir (2020), Dupuy (2014), and Trouillot (2000).

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stituted at the margins, who until the accelerated imposition of neoliberalism in agriculture, championed by Bill Clinton on the 1990s, were able to feed themselves, and whose daily existence is mediated by African-based spiritual practices of community-making and healing categorized under the rubric of Vodun. These communities and their practices tend to be labeled as "backward" and "primitive", judgments that are partly based on antiblack ideologies about Africanity, especially about African-based spiritualities and communal solidarity.

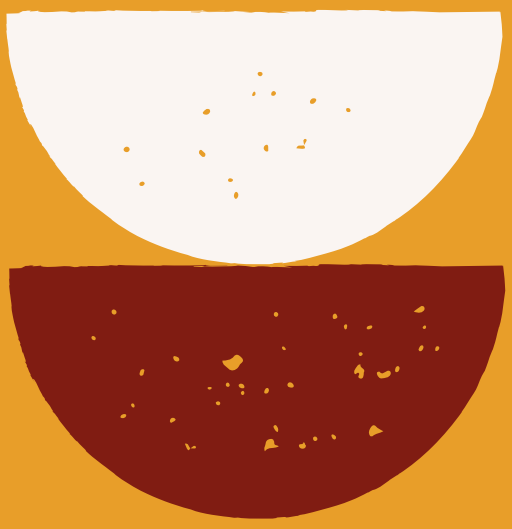
Concerning the societal effects of global antiblackness in Haiti, we want to highlight two things. The first aspect is the historical production and reproduction, by western structures of global antiblackness, of a social order where there are extreme inequalities, in which Black subaltern majorities lack minimal conditions of life — potable water, health care, education, food sovereignty, good housing, adequate employment — what in U.N. language is defined as a society that is "poor" or plagued with poverty. The second process, which is a consequence of the first,

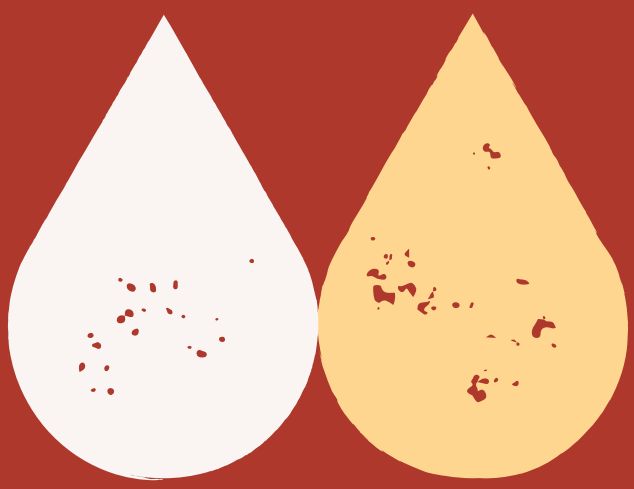
PARADOXICALLY, THE FIRST BLACK REPUBLIC, WHICH INSPIRED NEGRITUDE AS A WORLD-HISTORICAL IDENTITY AND PAN-AFRICANISM AS A GLOBAL PROJECT OF DECOLONIZATION AND LIBERATION, BECAME A PRINCIPAL TARGET OF ANTIBLACKNESS.

is that Haitian society is now unable to sustain her citizens, which means that there is a constant exodus, an on-going process of deracination and rediasporization of Haitian Black subjects who tend to be rejected, located in conditions of precariousness, and suffer from particularly severe forms of antiblack racism whenever they go, from the United Sates, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, to France and Chile. Haitian migrants confront among the most severe consequences of "Border Walling and Racial/Labor Migratory Regimes" in different parts of the world. Paradoxically, the first Black Republic, which inspired negritude as a world-historical identity and Pan-Africanism as a global project of decolonization and liberation, became a principal target of antiblackness. Hence, the majority of the Haitian people, citizens of an explicitly Black nation since her inception, suffers from a repertoire of social ills, symptomatic of the antiblack condition, from extreme and disproportionate vulnerability to "natural" disasters, such as earthquakes and hurricanes, to the pains of under-modernization, such as lack of basic healthcare and fresh water.

4.

COMBATING ANTIBLACKNESS IN AYTI AND THE CARIBBEAN REGION





After presenting, in very general terms, a selection of key patterns, processes, and practices of antiblackness in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, in this part, we will present an overview of collective actions, and organizational efforts to combat antiblackness in both countries, placing this particular exercise of mapping within the larger regional context of the Caribbean.

In the Dominican Republic, organizing against anti-Haitian xenophobic racism, which we analyze as an important expression of antiblackness, is one of the principal arena of antiracist activism that also entails a self-affirmation of Dominican Blackness and of Afro-Dominican identity as a central component of Dominican history, culture, society, and politics. A developing scholarship is revisiting Dominican history and society not only by critiquing structures and practices of antiblackness, but also by centering its character as an Afro-Caribbean country. This entails no less than a profound reexamination of the key premises that guide the dominant gaze of what are the foundations and definitions of Dominican history, identity, and culture, predicated on antiblack/anti-Haitian nationalist ideologies (García Peña, 2022; Franco Pichardo, 2003; Ricourt, 2016; Torres-Saillant, 2006, 2010).

Such labor of critique and redefinition became particularly salient in the 1980s-1990s when there was the emergence of a movement for recognizing Dominican nationality as "Black" and "Mulatto", in a context of a relatively robust left-wing political community.[1] The rise of a vibrant feminist scene in the Dominican Republic since the 1980s contributed significantly to Black consciousness. The creation of the *Casa de Identidad de las Mujeres Afro*, in 1989, served as basis for the Dominican Republic to be the site for the *Primer Encuentro de Mujeres Negras del Continente* (First Encounter of Black Women of the Continent), which eventually became the *Red de Mujeres Afro-Latinoamericanas y Caribenas* (Network of Afro-Latin American and Caribbean Women), in 1992, linking Black feminist organizing to the Continental Campaign of 500 Years of Black, Indigenous, and Popular Resistance, to counter the five hundred anniversary of Columbus' so-called discovery. This Black feminist web was the first Afrodescendent network in Latin America and the Caribbean. It had clearly antiracist and antisexist politics. It marked an important trend of feminist leadership in regional networks of Afrodescendents.

The issuing of Sentence 168, in 2013, was the offspring of many years of attempts by the Dominican state to undermine citizen's rights and denationalize Dominicans of Haitian descent. A noticeable case was that of

1. A particularly influential work was Franklin Franco Pichardo (2012, 2015), a left-wing intellectual-activist who produced a very important corpus of research centering the Black dimensions of Dominican history and society, against the class reductionism of Dominican left-wing intelligentsia and cultures of activism, as well as in opposition to the antiblackness prevalent in both traditional intellectuals and mainstream popular culture.

THE CREATION OF THE *CASA DE IDENTIDAD DE LAS MUJERES AFRO*, IN 1989, SERVED AS BASIS FOR THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC TO BE THE SITE FOR THE *PRIMER ENCUENTRO DE MUJERES NEGRAS DEL CONTINENTE* (FIRST ENCOUNTER OF BLACK WOMEN OF THE CONTINENT), WHICH EVENTUALLY BECAME THE *RED DE MUJERES AFRO-LATINOAMERICANAS Y CARIBENAS* (NETWORK OF AFRO-LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN WOMEN), IN 1992, LINKING BLACK FEMINIST ORGANIZING TO THE CONTINENTAL CAMPAIGN OF 500 YEARS OF BLACK, INDIGENOUS, AND POPULAR RESISTANCE, TO COUNTER THE FIVE HUNDRED ANNIVERSARY OF COLUMBUS' SO-CALLED DISCOVERY. THIS BLACK FEMINIST WEB WAS THE FIRST AFRODESCENDENT NETWORK IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN.

Sonia Pierre, raised in a "*batey*" of Haitian parents. Pierre became a founder of the Movement of Haitian-Dominican Women, a respected feminist, and a leading social, gender, and racial justice activist. When, in 2007, the Dominican state tried to revoke her citizenship, claiming she had false papers. Therefore, an international campaign was launched in favor of Sonia Pierre, who received several distinctions including the International Prize to Courageous Women, given to her by Michelle Obama, and the National Distinction of Honor and Merit given by the Haitian government for her contributions to human rights. When she died at an early age of a heart attack, in 2011, Sonia became widely recognized as a heroine of the struggle against antiblackness and for full citizenship of Dominicans of Haitian descent as well as of Haitians living in the Dominican Republic.

The mass denationalization provoked by Sentence 168 with the consequences for the daily life of thousands of people, which fed antiblack/anti-Haitian sentiments and practices in the Dominican Republic, motivated protests and organizations against it inside the country as well as across the Americas and throughout the world (Curiel Pichardo, 2021; Estrella, 2019). In the Dominican Republic, it catalyzed the organization of *Reconocido*, a social movement organization of Dominicans of Haitian descent, engaged in public education, mobilization, and advocacy, to oppose antiblack/anti-Haitian policies and practices, and promote recognition and representation of Dominican-Haitian people as a cornerstone, in a larger project against entangled inequalities and interlocking oppressions, looking for justice, decolonization, and liberation. Likewise, there are currently youth groups that are committed to the vindication

of blackness, the fight against racism and the defense of the territories such as the *Mamá Tingo Collective* and *Aquelarre*.

The Dominican diaspora in the United States and in Puerto Rico had played a key role in struggles against antiblackness, in solidarity with Haitians, and connecting Afro-Dominicans with the African Diaspora in the Americas and beyond. The Center for Development of Dominican Women in New York and Puerto Rico has been a historical force fighting against racism, connecting antiracists with feminist advocacy, and framing community organizing and service work to all sorts of struggles for justice — social, sexual, racial, ecological, etc. At least two generations of Dominican scholarship in the United States connect critical social research and cultural studies to epistemic perspectives and activism in the global Africana world.[2]

The interconnected praxis of scholarship and activism in the Dominican Republic and the Dominican Diaspora have changed the epistemic and political environment, achieving a acknowledgement of antiblack racism as a crucial problem in Dominican society, and particularly antiblackness/anti-Haitianism as one of its main and most severe manifestations. The critical labor of framing antiblackness (or antiblack racism) within a systemic critique of the modern/colonial matrix of power, within a world-historical analysis of capitalist modernity, is a substantive contribution of decolonial Afro-Dominican feminists such as Espinosa-Miñoso et al. (2022), and Curiel Pichardo (2021), and the *Grupo Latinoamericano de Estudio, Formación y Acción Feminista* (GLEFAS) that they founded. In the Dominican Republic, they have been organizing and conducting Summer Schools of Decolonial Feminist Pedagogy for more than ten years. These summer schools are primarily attended by young people — activists, students, community folk, and members of social movements — who engage in dialogue with an antiracist, antipatriarchal, and

THE INTERCONNECTED PRAXIS OF SCHOLARSHIP AND ACTIVISM IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND THE DOMINICAN DIASPORA HAVE CHANGED THE EPISTEMIC AND POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT, ACHIEVING A ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF ANTIBLACK RACISM AS A CRUCIAL PROBLEM IN DOMINICAN SOCIETY, AND PARTICULARLY ANTIBLACKNESS/ ANTI-HAITIANISM AS ONE OF ITS MAIN AND MOST SEVERE MANIFESTATIONS.

2. There is a rapidly growing list among which we want to highlight the works of Candelario (2007), Estrella (2019), García-Pena (2016, 2022), Ricourt (2016), and Torres-Saillant (2006, 2010).

anticapitalist vocation. GLEFAS is also launching the *Instituto Caribeño de Pensamiento e Investigación Descolonial* (INCAPID) (Caribbean Institute of Decolonial Thought and Research) at the Dominican Republic, yet another meaningful resource for combating antiblackness. GLEFAS/INCAPID is framing its agenda of participatory action research as regional but also as an insular endeavor, integrating the two nation-states that compose the island of *Ayti*.

Back (and Black) to Haiti, since its birth, the first Black Republic became a beacon for fighting antiblackness and for Africana self-affirmation. We conceptualize two Black public spheres formed in the very process of the Haitian revolution: 1) a "subaltern counterpublic" championed by Maroons, Vodun priests (Makandal) and priestess (Cécile Fatiman);[3] 2) "Black Jacobins" such as General Toussaint Louverture, and Baron de Vastey who, with the publication of *El sistema colonial develado*, in 1814, inaugurated a Black tradition of decolonial investigation, brilliantly pursued in Antenor Firmin's on the *Igualdad de las razas humanas* (1885 [2013]), the only sustained critique and positing of an alternative to the "scientific racism" that was common sense in the that period.[4] On that beat, Haiti became an intellectual and political center for fighting antiblackness as well as an inspiration for pan-African solidarity and projects of decolonization and liberation.

Nonetheless, the manufactured "underdevelopment" of Haiti, produced by global structures of antiblackness that have boycotted and intervened in the country since its very birth as a nation-state, along with the rise of despotic regimes of rule and entangled inequalities, led by Haitian elites inside the country, turned a primal heart of Blackness into a primary target and paradigmatic case of antiblackness. In the global antiblack racial unconscious, Haiti became a key referent of backwardness, poverty, scarcity, precarity, lack, and danger, associated with blackness; and a quintessential showcase of the failures of Black rule, incapacity of Black self-government, as well as the inability to progress and autonomous development. In short, the condition and "destiny" of Haiti reveal the contradictions and potentials of the Africana world — the African continent and the African diaspora — in their struggles to achieve "development" and "democracy" in an antiblack world

As a counterpoint, defending Haiti, and developing campaigns in solidarity with Haiti, has been a constant pan-African principle and praxis since the very first steps of Black cosmopolitanism toward weaving a translocal Black public sphere from the eighteenth century and the long nineteenth century

3. The concept of "subaltern counterpublic" was coined by feminist political philosopher Nancy Fraser (1997). It has also been used by Laó-Montes (2001) to analyze Latina/o social movements in New York City, as well as by Valderrama (2014, 2018) to study and conceptualize the Afro-Colombian public sphere in the period from the 1940s to the 1970s.

4. The expression "Black Jacobins" in reference to the Black generals who led the Haitian Revolution was coined by James (1938).

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(Aravamudan, 1999; Nwankwo, 2014) to the current agendas of networks of Afrodescendents in Latin America and the Caribbean. Hence, a long repertoire of practices of solidarity with Haiti as a primary means of combating antiblackness and cultivating positive Africana/Black self-affirmation and self-determination should be a priority in a research agenda with a vocation of fighting antiblackness and building justice.

In Haiti and in the Haitian diaspora — especially in the United States, there is a long history of broad-based coalitions integrating a variety of social movements and community organizations — peasants, urban dwellers, students, women, ecologists, workers, etc.; advocating for integral justice — social, sexual, ecological — peace, sovereignty, substantive democracy, and equality in difference. A historical cartography of a repertoire of such coalitions, how they connect with broader networks in the Caribbean, across the Americas, and throughout the world, and how they grapple and fight antiblackness is an essential issue for research. An important coalition in the present, that was represented by Camille Chamlers at our Caribbean convening in the Dominican Republic, is the *Plateforme Haïtienne de Plaidoyer pour un Développement Alternatif* (PAPDA), which encompasses a diversity of groupings and communities that are formulating alternatives for government,sovereignty, economy, and the "good life" for Haiti.

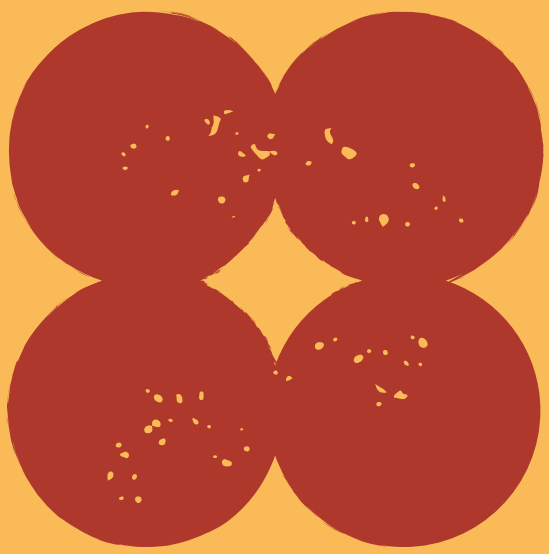
A LONG REPERTOIRE OF PRACTICES OF SOLIDARITY WITH HAITI AS A PRIMARY MEANS OF COMBATING ANTIBLACKNESS AND CULTIVATING POSITIVE AFRICANA/BLACK SELF-AFFIRMATION AND SELF-DETERMINATION SHOULD BE A PRIORITY IN A RESEARCH AGENDA WITH A VOCATION OF FIGHTING ANTIBLACKNESS AND BUILDING JUSTICE.

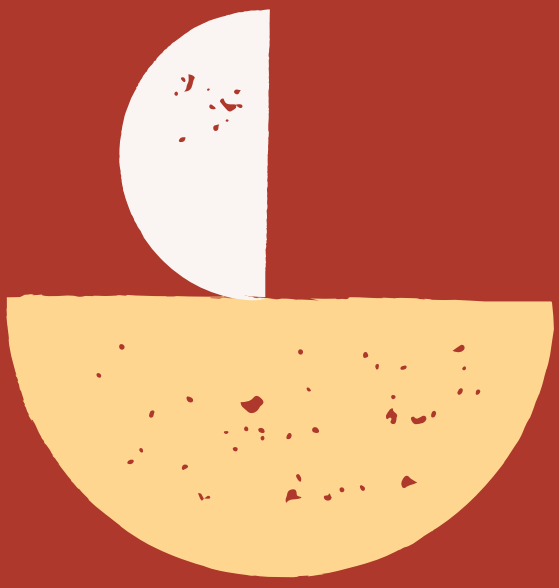
Any alternative path of development (and to developmentalism), seeking to cultivate the good life in the Caribbean, should grapple with the condition of unequal development and the location of relative subordination the region occupies in the modern/colonial world-system. This is exacerbated with the current policrisis, because, as the late Maurice Bishop said, when he was Prime Minister of Grenada, "When the United States gets a cold, we get a pneumonia". CARICOM, the initials for Caribbean Community, an intergovernmental organization of fifteen countries, has revived the historical role of the Caribbean as the champion of pan-African causes, by taking world leadership with their initiative for Reparations (or reparative justice), f considering the legacies of transatlantic chattel slavery as "a crime against humanity" and its "afterlife" in structural antiblack racism. CARICOM's initiative for Reparations is a joint endeavor of states and social organizations that include a group of experts presided by Hilary Beckles who had written two influential books on the subject. The initiative targets the British Empire and imperial capital as creditors of a historical debt to the Caribbean, named *Britain's Black Debt*, in the title of one of Beckles's books. It is a structural proposal in which reparations are a necessary means for forging a new world order, against the global inequalities — economic, geopolitical, cultural, social — built by centuries of colonialism, slavery, and systemic racism. Seeking that horizon, CARICOM formulated a comprehensive ten-point set of demands, which range from debt cancellation and indigenous development, education, and health care reforms, to cultivating African knowledge and apologies by Western powers.

Even though controversial, a matter of much debate, Reparations are a key ethical-political principle for Black social movements throughout the world. They are advocated by the Caribbean community, by several countries in the African Union, and by important states in a renascent Africa-South America Summit (ASA), given the new leadership of Colombia's Vice-President Francia Márquez who is heading a diplomatic initiative to articulate Colombia with the Caribbean and the African continent with Reparations as a main tie that binds the alliance as evidenced in the summit on Reparations held on Barbados, in August 2023. A collective agenda for fighting antiblackness should nurture such an agenda for reparative justice.

5.

ANTIBLACKNESS IN BRAZIL AND COLOMBIA





There is an urgent need to reveal the everyday suffering that gives substance to antiblackness. Part of our agenda as *Malunga: Network for Global Justice and against Antiblackness*, is to give voice to testimonies of both antiblack violence and struggles for integral justice as a way of raising consciousness, enabling people to speak out, and for legal and political advocacy. In this spirit, let's begin this part of the report with two concrete examples of antiblack racism, so that we don't forget that we are grappling with a serious problem that affects millions of people. We could present a repertoire of massacres and innumerable individual cases of antiblack violence, but we will offer one example for opening this section to give a concrete sense of the injuries caused by antiblackness. The Observatory against Discrimination, housed at the Universidad de los Andes in Colombia has a database where we can read many of these cases of antiblackness. A hemispheric moment of struggles against antiblack necropolitics was the wave of protest after the assassination of Black citizen George Floyd in Minneapolis by police forces on May 25, 2020, when a young Afro-Brazilian, Joao Pedro, was murdered in São Paulo, and Anderson Arboleda-Quiñonez, an Afro-Colombian youth was slain in Puerto Tejada, Colombia. I named such a grand wave of antiracist protest as *Ebony Spring*.

On April 13, 2016, Luana Barbosa, a Black lesbian woman, was brutally beaten by military police officers during a stop in front of her 14-year-old son. The attack resulted in her death from acute cerebral ischemia caused by traumatic brain injury. The police claimed that Luana had been involved in a robbery, a version that was denied during the investigation. In 2017, the Military Court of the State of São Paulo (JMSP) closed the investigation. Because of the efforts of activists from the Black movement, the case is now to be presented to the Inter-American Court for Human Rights. This is an example of what happens every day in Brazil, of an antiblack genocide where, according to the Atlas of Violence, every 20 minutes, a Black person is murdered.[1] Luana Barbosa's case resembles Marielle Franco's, the city council member

THERE IS AN URGENT NEED TO REVEAL THE EVERYDAY SUFFERING THAT GIVES SUBSTANCE TO ANTIBLACKNESS. PART OF OUR AGENDA AS *MALUNGA* IS TO GIVE VOICE TO TESTIMONIES OF BOTH ANTIBLACK VIOLENCE AND STRUGGLES FOR INTEGRAL JUSTICE AS A WAY OF RAISING CONSCIOUSNESS, ENABLING PEOPLE TO SPEAK OUT, AND FOR LEGAL AND POLITICAL ADVOCACY.

1. I am grateful to Osmundo Pinho for providing this information.

who was assassinated in 2017 in what was proved to be a crime that linked four forms of hate against Marielle's identity as a Black Lesbian Woman of left-wing political orientation.

Brazil and Colombia hold the largest populations of Afrodescendents in Latin America. In 2020, of the 215 million inhabitants of Brazil, more than half defined themselves as "preto" (Black), or "pardo" (Mulatto), accounting for 56% of the population, summing up to circa 120 million. This sort of statistics informs a common claim that Brazil has the second largest number of Blacks in the world, just superseded by Nigeria. In turn, Colombia, which houses a little more than 50 million, had 4.5 million Afrocolombians, according to the 2005 census (10% of the population of the time), a figure that dramatically fell to 2.9 million, or 6% of the total, in the 2021 census (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística [DANE], n. d.). However, both scholars and activists had been arguing for at least twenty years, sustained by social science research and analysis, that Afrocolombians constitute around 25% of the population, which sums up to 20 million people. As Okech and Vergara-Figueroa (n. d.) contend in *An Anti-Black World*, such severe undercounting of Afrocolombians in national surveys constitutes a form of antiblackness they call "statistical erasure" borrowing from the language of the Afro-Colombian social movement. As a type of epistemicide, statistical erasure is a widespread anti-black practice in a region where Black people are denied historical existence and always had to struggle to be recognized as historical agents and political subjects. In Argentina, Afrodescendents had been erased from a national imaginary which represents the nation as white and eurodescendent, thus producing a form of antiblackness by erasure, which Afro-Argentinean intellectual-activist Federico Pita called "*racismo criollo*". Such denial of blackness, or of Black presence in the nation, is also a predominant form of antiblackness in Chile. Arguably, discursive erasure is an important mode of antiblackness throughout the region. Hence, to be counted and properly represented is a long-term struggle against antiblackness in Latin America. As counterpoint, renaming it as *Améfrica Ladina*, as done by the late Afro-Brazilian feminist Lélia Gonzalez, or *Nuestra Afroamerica*, as I do, is a meaningful move toward elaborating "non-imperial geo-political categories".[2]

In this general report, we cannot present a comprehensive analysis of patterns, processes, and practices of antiblackness in Brazil and Colombia. We will rather concentrate on some of the most dramatic and noticeable dimensions of antiblackness in both countries,

2. Lélia Gonzalez's important intervention of renaming the region to centralize Africana and Indigenous histories faces challenges of translation because the signifier "Ladina/o" corresponds to "white creole" in Guatemala, and tends to be used to describe people who take advantage of others in Colombia. Hence, I use *Améfrica Ladina*, along with *Nuestra Afroamérica*, a decolonial term—or in Coronil (1999) terms "postoccidentalist, non-imperial geo-political category"—that I coined to accompany, and signify on Africana key, Jose Marti's Nuestra América (Laó-Montes, 2020).

AS A TYPE OF EPISTEMICIDE, STATISTICAL ERASURE IS A WIDESPREAD ANTIBLACK PRACTICE IN A REGION WHERE BLACK PEOPLE ARE DENIED HISTORICAL EXISTENCE AND ALWAYS HAD TO STRUGGLE TO BE RECOGNIZED AS HISTORICAL AGENTS AND POLITICAL SUBJECTS.

accounting for what Vargas (2010) characterizes as an anti-black genocide in Brazil, and Arboleda-Quiñonez (2019) conceptualizes as an eco/ethno/genocide in Colombia.

A striking statistic that attests to anti-black genocide in Brazil is that every 20 minutes an Afrobrazilian — mostly young males from working class/poor urban communities — is killed by police, paramilitary, or civilian actors. Echoing voices from Afro-Brazilian scholars and activists, Okech and Vergara-Figueroa (n. d.) claim that "to be Black in Brazil is a cause of death". They show how a database from Brazilian state secretariats shows that "between 2009 and 2018, 35,414 people were killed as a result of the action of police officers". Their intersectional analysis looking into anti-black gender violence shows that "the report indicates that between 2006 and 2016, the homicide rate of Afro-descendant women was 71% higher than that of women who were not of that ethnic-racial origin". Vargas (2018) attributes such "gendered antiblackness" to a long-term historical process that he analyzes as constitutive of Brazilian society itself. He argues that Brazil is "a country with a consistent history of anti-black terror, even during leftist-progressive governments" demonstrated by the fact that "between 2006 and 2016, a peak period of the PT's [Workers Party's] anti-poverty programs, homicide rates of Blacks increased by 23% and homicides of White youth decreased 6.8%". He contends that "a striking persistence of early death by preventable causes, including, but far exceeding, homicidal violence, racial lynching, and police terror in predominantly Black areas [reveal] a structuring pattern of collective-ubiquitous antiblackness", which demonstrates that "antiblackness, historically and contemporarily, is at the core of Brazilian social organization – its logic, symbology, and performance".[3]

Such argument for the foundational character of antiblackness is not only societal, but also diasporic; it is not simply located in any particular nation-state, but rather in global, imperial, and Afro-diasporic landscapes of history. Therefore, Vargas (2018) advocates for a method that should be more "relational" than "comparative", which we

3. Whether or not you agree with the theoretical foundations and political implications of his explicitly Afropessimist outlook, Vargas (2018) makes a compelling argument about the centrality of antiblackness as a structuring principle and an overwhelming reality in Brazilian society.

A STRIKING STATISTIC THAT ATTESTS TO ANTI-BLACK GENOCIDE IN BRAZIL IS THAT EVERY 20 MINUTES AN AFROBRAZILIAN — MOSTLY YOUNG MALES FROM WORKING CLASS/POOR URBAN COMMUNITIES — IS KILLED BY POLICE, PARAMILITARY, OR CIVILIAN ACTORS.

take as a sound methodological clue for our collective agenda for research and action. Playing this drum, Vargas claims that "implicit antiblackness, compel/justify such acts of state violence", which are not solely national but "a diasporic phenomenon", present in particular ways and with differential intensity across the Americas. On that beat, we contend that "slavery is not a fact, but a structuring contemporary social agreement" that persists in its "afterlife" through structural antiblack racism, a phenomenon that is particularly salient in the Americas, the master house of chattel slavery.[4]

On key, Okech and Vergara-Figueroa (n. d.) argue for the need for Africana transnational research on antiblackness, asserting that "in regions, countries, and cities in which the majority of the population is Black or Afro-descendant and Black life is persistently annihilated, a reading of how white supremacy operates to turn certain spaces into anti-Black zones is lacking". They call these spaces "zones of dispossession" where there are "persistent anti-black dispositions", and contend that these "Black residential areas across the diaspora also tend to have the worst schools, healthcare facilities, urban infrastructure, and overall living conditions, including disproportionate exposure to environmental hazards", concluding that such anti-black "zones of dispossession are zones of social and physical death by preventable, manageable causes".

Back (and Black) to Brazil, Alves's (2018) scholarship about São Paulo as

ON THAT BEAT, WE CONTEND THAT "SLAVERY IS NOT A FACT, BUT A STRUCTURING CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL AGREEMENT" THAT PERSISTS IN ITS "AFTERLIFE" THROUGH STRUCTURAL ANTIBLACK RACISM, A PHENOMENON THAT IS PARTICULARLY SALIENT IN THE AMERICAS, THE MASTER HOUSE OF CHATTEL SLAVERY.

4. In Brazil, there is a tradition of social research about structural racism that can be traced to the origins of Brazilian sociology with the "São Paulo School", in the 1950s, where the figure of Florestan Fernandez stands out.

an emblematic "anti-black city" and Vargas (2010) research about Rio de Janeiro as a "Preto-polis" (Black Metropolis),[5] an urban space of deep manifestation of a dialectic, in the "favelas" (or Brazilian "hoods"), between anti-black genocide and Black utopia, demonstrate how cities are primary places of antiblackness. In a co-authored article, Alves and Vargas (2020) write about Marielle Franco, the Afro-Brazilian lesbian city councilwoman who was admittedly assassinated because of her radical politics. The following statement synthesizes many arguments we have been making about the dynamics of antiblackness: "Franco's work was prophetic in unveiling a gendered and raced logic of evisceration of places and people, as the favelas of Rio and black bodies (including hers) became further targeted by a geopolitics of security that includes the deployment of US and Israeli military technologies to patrol predominantly black communities... the lines of enmity drawn by the security state evinces a logic of social death that results from the feedback loop between global apartheid enforced by the military-industrial complex, domestic policies of spatial control-annihilation of predominantly black communities deemed as a threat to the nation and transhistorical gendered antiblackness."

They conclude arguing that one of the main historical underpinnings of antiblackness is the fear of Black dismantling of the White-dominated order of things, having as its main referent the Haitian revolution that established the first Black nation-state in the world. In other words, "it is the specter of the Haitian Revolution that remains foundational" of Latin American anti-blackness and beyond.

Colombia is also a country where anti-black violence has reached levels that can be cataloged as genocidal. Perhaps, Colombia is the country in which

THEY CONCLUDE ARGUING THAT ONE OF THE MAIN HISTORICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF ANTIBLACKNESS IS THE FEAR OF BLACK DISMANTLING OF THE WHITE DOMINATED ORDER OF THINGS, HAVING AS ITS MAIN REFERENT THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION THAT ESTABLISHED THE FIRST BLACK NATION-STATE IN THE WORLD. IN OTHER WORDS, "IT IS THE SPECTER OF THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION THAT REMAINS FOUNDATIONAL" OF LATIN AMERICAN ANTIBLACKNESS AND BEYOND.

5. *Preto-polis* is my own expression, building from Afro-Brazilian feminist Lélia Gonzalez idea of "*pretogues*", in reference to the Portuguese spoken by Black people in Brazil who are called "pretos", which translates as Black.

the relationship between entangled inequalities and entwined violence has been more studied because its academy and intellectual activists created a trans-discipline named "violentology", which integrates angles of vision and expertise from a variety of fields of knowledge and action, to analyze and attempt to overcome an overwhelming problem of violence that haunts the country at least since the middle of the 20th century, if not before. However, anti-black violence, or the specific forms of violence that correspond to anti-black racism, is just beginning to be studied and analyzed. In a landmark study, Vergara-Figueroa (2017) frames anti-black violence in the Pacific region of Choco, where the majority of the population is Black, within a world-historical perspective of colonialism, slavery, and racial capitalism, configuring a *longue durée* process of denial of being and historical agency, epistemic erasure, spatial negation, labor overexploitation, and land expropriation of Afro-Colombian subjects. By means of a thick historical and societal interpretation of the Bojaya massacre of 2002, Vergara-Figueroa analyzes patterns, processes, and practices of antiblackness in the context of the Colombian armed conflict and the current crisis of neoliberalism, as a process of "deracination" of Afro-Colombian people from their territories and therefore from their lifeworlds — their histories, communal life, ancestral knowledge, economies, governance. Such rediasporization expresses antiblackness as an important dimension of the constellation of entangled inequalities and entwined violences (social, ethnic-racial, gender, sexual, ecological, and epistemic) that are so salient in Colombia.

Colombia is one of the countries that suffers from some of the most perverse conditions of social and political violence in the world. It is the second country with more internal refugees in the world, totalling around 7 million. Political violence is an almost daily occurrence that includes one of the highest rates of murders of trade unionists and community activists on the planet. There is a recurrence of massacres not only because of the armed conflict between guerrilla armies, paramilitaries, and the national army, but also as part of a kind of civil war between armed bands of drug dealers. The Truth Commission, which issued a report in 2022 on the violence that people suffered because of the armed conflict in the last twenty years, was moved by Afro-Colombian activists and scholars to account for the particular modes of violence suffered by Black communities and people. In the ten volumes of the Truth Commission, there is very valuable research, through interviews and fieldwork conducted by seasoned researchers in the territories, pursuing a rigorous methodology, which chronicles, documents, and analyzes anti-black violence in different regions across the country. Such investigations, documented in the Truth Commission report, reveal the multiple dimensions and forms of anti-black violence, including sexual violence against Afro-Colombian women, aggression against transsexual Blacks, forced displacement of Black communities, and systematic assassination of Afro-Colombian social movement and com-

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munity activists. We should take it as a primary archival source for studying antiblackness and confronting it.

A particularly severe situation of anti-black violence is the city of Buenaventura, which is 95% Black and houses the most important port in Colombia. Buenaventura is an urban space of two contrasting geographies, a white geography of opulence and accumulation of wealth and privilege, as it is the place of entry of almost 70% of the trade of the country, in contrast to a Black geography of scarcity, severe inequality, violence, and death, visible in the Black quarters overviewing the port. Buenaventura is a concentrated microcosm of anti-black violence in Colombia, with a majority Black population without basic services such as health care and drinking water, and a severe problem of structural unemployment. The anti-black geography of death is dramatically visible in the lethal landscape of dead bodies floating on the rivers and the bay, likely com-

ing from the infamous "cutting houses" created to cut cadavers in pieces, practicing a kind of perverse pornography of anti-black terror. In such a landscape of death, many Black youth have no other choice than joining drug trafficking, sexual work, or becoming part of paramilitary forces. Afro-Colombian feminist Betty Ruth Lozano Lerma (2022) analyzes the serious problem of femicide against Black women in Buenaventura, as an enduring accumulation of a long history of gendered antiblackness, from the age of slavery until the current policrisis, when anti-black violence has been elevated to levels never imagined before, particularly targeting Afro-Colombian women, because "killing Black women means undermining the integrity of Black communities".

A PARTICULARLY SEVERE SITUATION OF ANTI-BLACK VIOLENCE IS THE CITY OF BUENAVENTURA, WHICH IS 95% BLACK AND HOUSES THE MOST IMPORTANT PORT IN COLOMBIA. BUENAVENTURA IS AN URBAN SPACE OF TWO CONTRASTING GEOGRAPHIES, A WHITE GEOGRAPHY OF OPULENCE AND ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH AND PRIVILEGE, AS IT IS THE PLACE OF ENTRY OF ALMOST 70% OF THE TRADE OF THE COUNTRY, IN CONTRAST TO A BLACK GEOGRAPHY OF SCARCITY, SEVERE INEQUALITY, VIOLENCE, AND DEATH, VISIBLE IN THE BLACK QUARTERS OVERVIEWING THE PORT.

Afro-Colombian scholar-activist Santiago Arboleda-Quiñonez (2019) characterizes what is commonly called a "humanitarian crisis" in Buenaventura as an eco/ethno/genocide that is jeopardizing the very foundations of life and society in the city. Integrating the decolonial Black feminist analysis of Lozano Lerma (2022), I will categorize it as an anti-black eco/ethno/geno/femicide. Buenaventura is a showcase, as South African cities are, of the modern/colonial paradox of urban spaces with Black majorities, which are prime examples of what Alves (2018) calls "the anti-Black city", a "negropolis" that becomes a "necropolis". As Alves and Ravindan (2020) demonstrate in their study of the city, intertwined formations and practices of antiblack violence in contemporary Buenaventura show "how global capital accumulation processes inextricably [are] linked to the original violence of slavery and contemporary Black social death" (as paraphrased by Okech and Vergara-Figueroa, n. d.). They make a compelling argument that antiblackness in Buenaventura is stemming as much from the racism of exploitation as from an antiblack racism of annihilation, a messy mixture of abjection of Black subjects, overexploitation of Black labor and expropriation from their ter-

ritories, a combination of "accumulation by dispossession" with what Alves and Ravindan (2020) conceptualize as "accumulation by evisceration", which in Buenaventura is a literal practice in the "cutting houses".

BUENAVENTURA IS A SHOWCASE, AS SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES ARE, OF THE MODERN/COLONIAL PARADOX OF URBAN SPACES WITH BLACK MAJORITIES, WHICH ARE PRIME EXAMPLES OF WHAT ALVES (2018) CALLS "THE ANTI-BLACK CITY", A "NEGROPOLIS" THAT BECOMES A "NECROPOLIS".

As demonstrated at the beginning of this monograph , militarized policing and incarceration constitute one of the principal patterns of antiblackness. As argued by Afro-Colombian lawyer Ali Bantu, an activist and litigator founder of an NGO named "Justicia Racial", "there are almost no statistics and very little jurisprudence about how anti-black racism is executed, neither in the police practices nor in the criminal justice and carceral system of Colombia". Alves (2018) is one of the few researchers who had investigated anti-black policing and incarceration, specifically in the city of Cali, which has the biggest urban Black populations in the country, and the second largest in Latin America — after Salvador, Bahia, in Brazil, which has, percentage-wise, the largest Black population — in absolute terms, however, São Paulo, also in Brazil, houses the country's largest Black population, albeit in the minority in terms of percentage. His studies are showing similar patterns of anti-black police violence and mass incarceration in Brazil and Colombia, deserving more orchestrated research in both countries and throughout the region. One of the important clues here is that, as Okech and Vergara-Figueroa (n. d.) contend, "Carceral logics developed in other parts of the world, as the U.S. through the mass incarceration of Black men in particular, and across Europe, are instructive here as an extension of how these logics travel from the proverbial metropole to the margins".

In both Brazil and Colombia, the COVID-19 pandemic exposed the gross face of antiblackness. In the favelas of Rio de Janeiro and the Aguablanca district in Cali, the death rate was very high, because in these overwhelmingly Black zones of inequality and premature death, people have to hustle every day to survive on the streets or provide basic care, without proper health care, in the context of authoritarian governments that let them die by neglect, or make them die by state violence by police and military forces, or by letting paramilitary actors operate freely. In *Quilombola* communities (mostly in the Brazilian countryside, but also urban), and so-called *comunidades negras* in Colombia (also mostly rural), anti-black violence increased during

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the pandemic, while health care was precarious. In short, the pandemic became a springboard for anti-black practices, which catalyzed protest and collective action to the extent that Black communities and social movements became instrumental in waves of protest and electoral coalitions that elected progressive governments in both countries, defeating well-entrenched conservative blocs. In Colombia, the first progressive government elected in the history of the republic, included a grassroots leader, Francia Márquez, as the first Black woman elected as Vice-President, as a result of a broad-based coalition. In Brazil, the coming back of Lula, under the banner of the Workers Party, backed by the Black Coalition for Rights, the most encompassing articulation of Afro-Brazilian organizations in the history of the country comes with a fresh air of hope for the possibilities of promoting equality and justice. Nonetheless, as demonstrated by the record of Lula's previous administration, fighting the lethal forces of antiblackness require more than good intentions and a "progressive" will.

6.

FIGHTING AGAINST ANTIBLACKNESS IN BRAZIL AND COLOMBIA

Brazil and Colombia not only have the largest populations of Afro descendants in Latin America, but also the most abundant and vibrant constellations of Black social movements and community organizations, as well as a relatively big and active set of Black elites that include an assertive political class and a history of public policies addressing racial issues and Black rights in both countries. Here, we will focus on initiatives and actions against anti-black racism (or antiblackness) coming out of social movement/community, national, and transnational networks.

In Brazil, there are now a few national coalitions of the Black movement: *Coalizão Negra por Direitos* (Black Coalition for Rights), which now is the largest, *Convergência Nega* (Black Convergence), *Coordenação Nacional de Entidades Negras* (CONEN) (National Confederation of Black Entities), and *Movimento Negro Unificado* (MNU) (Unified Black Movement), which was organized in 1978, courageously during a military dictatorship. Fighting anti-black racism is at the forefront of the agendas, projects, and practices of all Black national networks in Brazil. There is a large repertoire of initiatives that could be considered strategies of fighting antiblackness, that ranges from advocating for legislation for racial justice and against racism, litigating to enforce existing laws against racial discrimination and building a body of jurisprudence, campaigns against anti-black genocide carried out by police and paramilitary forces — from different perspectives that stand from abolitionist to reformist positions — agrarian reform and political ecologies to maintain the territorial integrity of *Quilombola* communities, redistributive economic policies to promote adequate employment and decent housing, and advocacy for reform in the educational system to encourage antiracist education, affirmative action for Afro-Brazilian students and teachers together and fighting for Africana Studies. The *Associação Brasileira de Pesquisadores/as Negros/as* (APBN) (Brazilian Association of Black Researchers), organized in 2000, now has more than 5,000 members, an annual meeting and a journal. It is a very important resource for researching antiblackness and therefore for combating it.

BRAZIL AND COLOMBIA NOT ONLY HAVE THE LARGEST POPULATIONS OF AFRO DESCENDANTS IN LATIN AMERICA, BUT ALSO THE MOST ABUNDANT AND VIBRANT CONSTELLATIONS OF BLACK SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS, AS WELL AS A RELATIVELY BIG AND ACTIVE SET OF BLACK ELITES THAT INCLUDE AN ASSERTIVE POLITICAL CLASS AND A HISTORY OF PUBLIC POLICIES ADDRESSING RACIAL ISSUES AND BLACK RIGHTS IN BOTH COUNTRIES.

THERE IS A LARGE REPERTOIRE OF INITIATIVES THAT COULD BE CONSIDERED STRATEGIES OF FIGHTING ANTIBLACKNESS.

Antiblackness is also challenged and contested in the cultural arena. A robust and dynamic Afro-Brazilian cultural sphere includes the actions, creations, products, performances, installations, images, and events, organized and enacted by Afro-Brazilian cultural agents such as visual artists, musicians, dancers, performers, writers, cultural organizers, producers, and critics. This is the kind of cultural praxis that scholars in the Latin American Anti-racism in a Post-Racial Age (LAPORA) project called "alternative grammars of anti-racism", which "challenge the racialized distribution of power and value" in both "material and symbolic" terms. Arguably, this is one of the realms in which antiblackness is mostly combated in Latin America

Terreiro in celebration, São Félix, Bahia, 2012. Photograph shared by user Amanda Oliveira under the CC Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 2.0 license on the Flickr portal, downloaded on August 19, 2025.

Flowers of Obaluaê, Salvador, Bahia, 2014. Photograph shared by user Amanda Oliveira under the CC Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 2.0 license on the Flickr.com portal, downloaded on August 19, 2025.

and the Caribbean, often without making it an explicit intent. An eloquent example is Cuba, where, for a long time, art, literature, film, theatre, and dance have been prime spaces for critique of antiblackness not only through antiracist aesthetic practices revealing the symbolic and material violence of antiblack racism, but also by means of aesthetic affirmation of the values of Black expressive cultures, modes of conviviality, and spiritualities (Fernandes, 2006). In Cuba, there is now a relatively robust realm of antiracist activism nurtured by a web of initiatives by community organizations, academics, and cultural agents, who are active advocates against racism and for recognition and representation of Afro-Cuban histories, cultures, aesthetics, knowledges, and spiritualities.

ANTIBLACKNESS IS ALSO CHALLENGED AND CONTESTED IN THE CULTURAL ARENA.

Afro-Brazilian religious communities, called *terreiros* in vernacular idiom, are vital spaces for Black Brazil. They are not only communities of faith and ritual, but also of familiar solidarity, joy, healing, popular economies, building political power and constructing crit-

ical knowledge. National Networks of African-based religion in Brazil play a leading role in the Afro-Brazilian social movement, understood as a national and transnational field of collective action. They are leading an important national campaign against religious discrimination and for the right to religious diversity, which should be considered a major political force against antiblackness, especially if we consider that Christian fundamentalists constantly take violent actions like burning *Terreiros de Candomble e Umbanda* (Afro-Brazilian religious centers), and are key actors in the rise of authoritarian politics — eminently anti-black, heteropatriarchal, and undemocratic.

Afro-Brazilian feminists have been, for a long time, at the forefront of feminist struggles throughout the world, championing fights against racism, and particularly against antiblackness, in Latin America and the Caribbean. There is now a very important epistemic and political movement to promote the project and ideas of Lélia Gonzalez, one of the founders of the *Movimento Negro Unificado* (MNU) (Unified Black Movement), in the late 1970s/early 1980s, whose analyses of the matrix of domination as intertwined class, ethnic-racial, gender, and sexual locations and dimensions of power, configured within a world history of colonialism, slavery, and capitalism, anticipated the analytics and politics of today's decolonial Black feminism. Gonzalez's concept of *Améfrica Ladina*, to reconceptualize the Americas through the lens of Black and Indigenous marginalized histories, has proven to be a powerful epistemic tool for decolonizing the imaginary and therefore the anti-black collective unconscious (Ratts & Rios, 2014; Ríos & Lima, 2020).

ARGUABLY, THIS IS ONE OF THE REALMS IN WHICH ANTIBLACKNESS IS MOSTLY COMBATED IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, OFTEN WITHOUT MAKING IT AN EXPLICIT INTENT.

The theory and practice of Afro-Brazilian feminist organizations and their intellectual activists such as Lélia Gonzalez, Beatriz Nascimento, and Sueli Carneiro, influenced feminist movements, bringing to their center the problem of racism and particularly of antiblackness, while challenging heteropatriarchal currents in Afro-Latin American scenarios. They took the lead in crafting unifying Afro-diasporic political identities, beyond differences and across divides — class, color, locale, nation — coining the term Afrodescendent, which is now widely used. Afro-Brazilian feminism created activist NGOs, such as *Geledes: Instituto da Mulher Negra*, and *Criola*, that keep doing important work fighting antiblackness and promoting justice — racial, social, and sexual — and participating not only in Brazilian activism for justice but also in networks of Black social movements and advocacy in Latin America, the Caribbean, and the African continent.

In turn, Colombia also has a long history of Black activism, organization, intellectual production, and political

action. A new generation of Afro-Colombian intellectuals is collaborating with the priors to build a body of historical and social research that is nurturing a quality corpus of Afro-Colombian Studies. Even though there is a growing scholarly literature conceptualizing, investigating the multiple expressions, and calibrating the centrality of anti-black racism in Colombian society, its scope is still small when we consider the magnitude of the problem. A fully fleshed analysis of why research about anti-black racism in Colombia is still incipient is beyond the scope of this report. However, it is germane to indicate three reasons: 1) the precarious attention given to racial formation and racism in the Colombian academy because of the denial of their relevance and even their existence in the mainstream, given the hegemony of ideologies of mestizaje or multicultural neoliberalism which still prevail; 2) a predominance, at least since the process that led to the 1991 Constitution and its aftermath, of an "ethnicist" tendency which denies race and racism, and that endures in the Afro-Colombian scene, in the academy, and on the state; 3) still a lack of a large group of Afro-Colombian scholars, as well as of an elaborated tradition of historical and social research, and Cultural Studies, focused on investigating the centrality of antiblackness in Colombian history, society, and culture. As said above, this is changing but the foundations for a seasoned research agenda yet need to be established.

In the terrain of activism, national networks of Afro-Colombian social movements, such as Proceso de Comunidades Negras (PCN) (Black Communities Process), Movimiento Nacional Cimarrón (National Maroon Movement), and Asociación Nacional de Desplazados y Víctimas (ASNADES) (National Association of Displaced Colombian), collaborated in several instances, such as the organization of an Afro-Colombian National Assembly in 2013, of an ethnic table on FARC Guerrilla army in 2016, and on the current process seeking to construct peace and justice in the country. The denunciation of "structural racism" as a major problem, a main goal of Black activism, is a staple in Afro-Colombian public parlance and particularly in peace advocacy.

The Research Group on Igualdad Racial, Diferencia Cultural, Conflictos Ambientales y Racismo en las Américas Negras (IDCARÁN) (Racial Equality, Cultural Difference, Environmental Conflicts, and Racism in the Black Americas), founded in 2007, is the oldest action-research space in Colombia. The leadership of Claudia Mosquera-Rosero-Labbé, one of the most important Afro-Colombian researchers, with a prolific harvest of intellectual production, of political relevance, contributes a body of fundamental works for the academic corpus, for the Afro-Colombian social movement, as well as for public policies.[1] IDCARÁN's research agenda, which is characterized by linking aca-

1. In this sense, it is necessary to highlight a pioneering publication on Afro-Reparations in the context of Colombia and the entire region, which continues to be the best for Latin America, see Mosquera Rosero-Labbé and Barcelos (2007).

demics, activism, and the formulation of public policies in its products, is a pioneer in investigating anti-Black racism in Colombia as an epistemic and political resource for anti-racist collective management. In this line, his research produced *Debates sobre ciudadanía y política racial en las Américas Negras* (Mosquera Rosero-Labbé et al., 2010), the first book that explicitly assumes the Afro-Colombian ethnic-racial formation and anti-Black racism as the main theme, the product of a few days of work with an international cast of great intellectuals.[2] IDCARÁN could be described as a space for academic activism in which a diversity of intellectuals — professors, students, movement and community activists, state officials — the majority Afro-Colombians, converge on an agenda against anti-Black (or anti-Black) racism, in favor of comprehensive justice and substantive democracy. It is important to note that IDCARÁN has launched public education campaigns both in the media and through popular education booklets. Both are significant examples for the networking we can do against anti-Blackness. IDCARÁN continues to carry out a robust research agenda linked to academic and political work in the region and in the diaspora.

An Observatory of Racial Discrimination, a partnership between the PCN and the Centro de Estudios de Derecho, Justicia y Sociedad (Dejusticia) (Center for Justice, Law, and Society), created in 2006, is housed at the Universidad de los Andes in Bogota. The Observatory has one of the best databases about anti-black racism in Colombia, publishes monthly reports documenting cases of anti-blackness, and promotes an active practice of legal defense along with justice. It also has a relevant research agenda where one of its main areas now is facilitating a national and regional initiative of investigation and advocacy for Reparations. It has also promoted several groups of Afro-Colombian lawyers to pursue Master Degrees in Law in the U.S., thus training a generation of Black lawyers with professional expertise and a vocation for racial, sexual, and social justice.

The Observatory of Racial Discrimination is an excellent example of the great potential for action research we have in Colombia, Latin America, and the Caribbean. Another meaningful referent of the virtues of cooperation between scholars and activists is the Center of Afro-Diasporic Studies (CEAF), created in 2013 at ICECI University in Cali. In its 10 years of existence, the CEAF has been able to develop several programs of education and advocacy with Afro-Colombian communities, especially in Cali and the Pacific, and organized national and international conferences on various matters of vital concern to the African diaspora — such as anti-black racism, heteropatriarchal violence and Black feminism, antiracist education and Africana Studies, policing, and war violence, racial epidemiology and healthcare — and convened teams that articulate academic scholars with

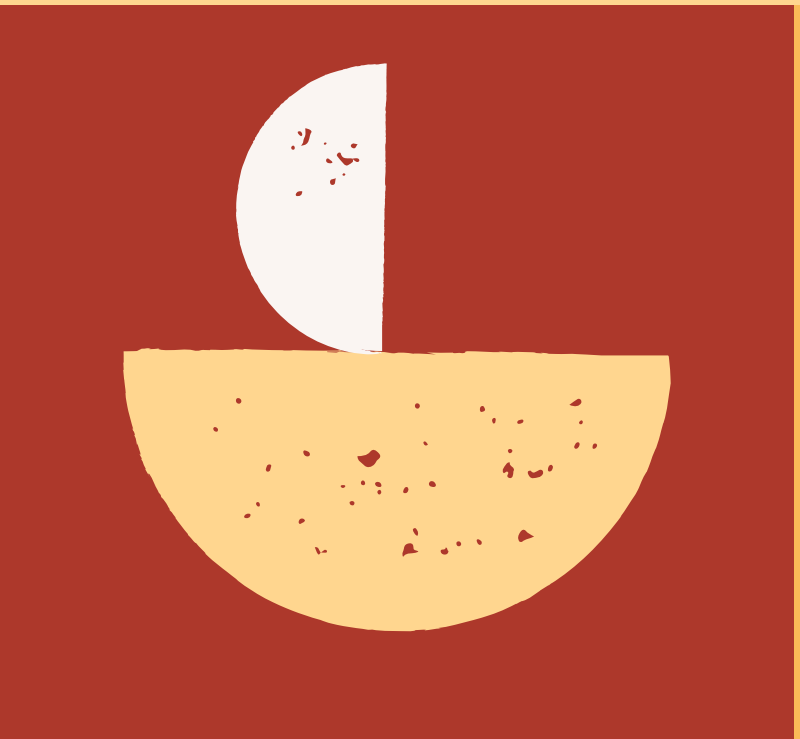
2. Among them, there were Aníbal Quijano, Rita Laura Zegato, and Denise Ferreira da Silva.

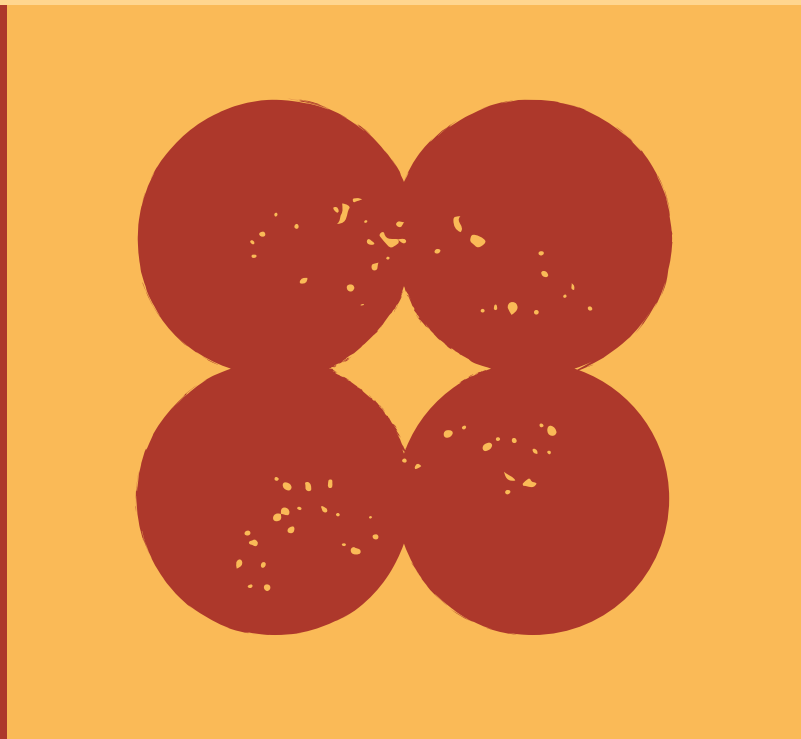
community intellectuals to develop strategies of public education and policy. The CEAF established itself as one of the most important centers of Afrodiasporic research and advocacy in Latin America, obtaining international recognition, with the leadership of its founder and long-term director Aurora Vergara-Figueroa who was one of the original Principal Investigators of this project on global antiblackness, commissioned by the Ford Foundation, and who eventually served as the Minister of Education of Colombia.

The CEAF, currently under the direction of Yoseth Ariza-Araujo and the leadership of Lizeth Sinisterra Ossa, is now the hosting institution of *Malunga: Network for Global Justice and against Antiblackness*.

7.

WHY GLOBAL AND REGIONAL NETWORKING AGAINST ANTIBLACKNESS?





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Since the 1990s, there has been a continuous process of organization of a diversity of types of networks in Afro-Latin America. One of my main lines of research entails analytically producing cartographies of Black organizations, repertoires of action, ideologies, discourses, projects, struggles and movements (Laó-Montes, 2020). With a more targeted and focused set of goals, in this closing section, we will have three purposes: 1) providing a general overview of the four principal networks of Afrodescendents in Latin America and the Caribbean (regional and national with regional reach), and pointing-out how they grapple, or not, with antiblackness; 2) introduce, in broad strokes, the main academic research projects that are in place about antiblack racism (or antiblackness, whether or not they use such language) in Latin America and the Caribbean; 3) present some preliminary observations about the possibilities and relevance of regional and global networking for researching antiblackness and collectively moving against it.

SINCE THE 1990S, THERE HAS BEEN A CONTINUOUS PROCESS OF ORGANIZATION OF A DIVERSITY OF TYPES OF NETWORKS IN AFRO-LATIN AMERICA.

For our interest here, we will highlight four networks stemming from what, in the U.N. language, is called civil society. We will present them in chronological order. The oldest one is the *Red de Mujeres Afro-Latinoamericanas y Caribenas* (Network of Afro-Latin American and Caribbean Women) which, as mentioned above, was organized in the Dominican Republic, in 1992. It celebrated its 30th anniversary in November 2022, in Salvador, Bahia. It has members in the majority of Latin American and Spanish Caribbean countries and a regional directorate elected in the assembly that includes a general coordinator and sub-regional representatives. The network itself has neither a body of research nor a body of publications. Its principles are very general, standing against racism and sexism, with no explicit political project beyond them, perhaps to keep unity, given the great variety of political and ideological positions among its membership. There is no specific analytical framework, political perspective or transformative project that can be identified in the discourses or in the actions taken by this network as such.

The *Articulación Regional Afrodescendiente de América Latina y el Caribe* (ARAAC) (Regional Articulation of Afrodescendents in the Americas and the Caribbean) is a web of social movement organizations and intellectual activists from Latin America (including Afro-Latinx from the U.S.), and the Hispanophone Caribbean, founded in the Fourth Encounter of Afrodescendents and Radical Changes in Latin America, held 2011 in Venezuela. Its declaration of principles stands against neoliberalism, anti-black structural racism, and heteropatriarchy, for the autonomy of Afro-social movements, for the ecological and territorial integrity of Black communities, and for sovereignty — food, intellectual, national — and self-determination of "Our America". It has a regional coordinating committee elected in assembly. ARAAC organized a Research Working Group at the *Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales* (CLACSO) (Latin American Council of Social Sciences), that organizes web seminars and publications (academic and journalistic), and is editing a series of books focused on: Black Decolonial Feminism in Latin America and the Caribbean, Civilizational Crisis and Black Social Movements, and Racial States and Public Policies in Latin America. ARAAC is leading a regional initiative to develop research and public education to elaborate a transcalar (local, national, regional) project of Reparations, in conjunction with CARICOM, the Institute for the Black World in the U.S., and in cooperation with the Observatory of Racial Discrimination in Colombia, in tandem with the Vice-Presidency of Colombia.[1]

The Caribbean Reparations Commission is a joint body of government and civil society, created in September 2013 at a meeting in St. Vincent and the Grenadines as a result of a determina-

1. For a pioneer publication about Reparations in the context of Colombia and the whole region, that still stands as the best for Latin America, see Mosquera Rosero-Labbé and Barcelos (2007).

tion to embrace the cause of Reparations for Native Genocide and Slavery, at the Thirty-Fourth Regular Meeting of the Conference of Heads of Government of CARICOM, held in Trinidad and Tobago in July 2013. Since then, National Reparations Commissions have been organized in twelve Caribbean Countries. The Caribbean Reparations Commission is a crucial space for networking to investigate antiblackness and mobilize against it in the Caribbean, because it is the most encompassing space that reunites scholars, activists, and state actors, who seek to dismantle structural anti-black racism and build a new world order through Reparations as crucial means for deep historical transformation. Presided by distinguished Caribbean scholar Hilary Beckles, and led by figures such as outstanding activist and communicator Don Rojas — former Minister of Communications of Grenada when Maurice Bishop was Prime Minister, and former director of Black newspaper *The City Sun* in New York City. A truly pan-Caribbean network, the CARICOM's Reparations Commission is an important site for scholarship, government, and advocacy. Another key leader is Eric Phillips, who serves as President of Guyana's Reparations Commission and Vice-President of CARICOM's Commission. He also collaborates with initiatives for Reparations in other countries such as Brazil and Colombia.

The *Coalición Global contra el Racismo Sistémico y las Reparaciones* (Global Coalition against Systemic Racism and for Reparations) is a recent initiative, very much linked to U.N. branches like UNESCO, the High Commissioner on Human Rights, and the Fund for Population — which has a track-record funding projects against racism in Latin America. It was founded in August 2021, in Costa Rica, in an event co-sponsored by the U.N. and the Costa Rican government while Epsy Campbell Barr was the Vice-President of the country. After finishing her tenure as Vice-President, Campbell Barr became President of the newly created Permanent Forum for Afrodescendents at the U.N., which is now a main site of operation of the Global Coalition against Systemic Racism and for Reparations. Even though its title refers to a global coalition, its leadership and membership are from Latin America. It includes several key Afro-Latin American figures, especially in governmental and U.N. spaces, such as Epsy Campbell, Pastor Murillo, and Igor Correa. The coalition gathers an influential group of leaders in regional webs (formal and informal) of Afrodescendents. Their analysis of anti-black structural racism (or systemic racism) is entirely within the conventional terms and accepted framework of the U.N., as well as of the international neoliberal establishment. In practical political terms, it means that it is framed as demands for fulfilling the objectives of human and social development for the millennium, claiming more Black representation in nation-states and institutions of multilateral governance, and in a plea for more funding from international cooperation. In contrast to ARAAC and CARICOM, this coalition does not see its claim for Reparations as substantively transformative of the world order of things.

In the academic domain, three general projects research racism and antiracism in Latin America. None of them focuses on antiblackness (or anti-black racism) because all of them compare racism, or antiracist practices, between Black and Indigenous communities. Even though they are collective efforts that include Black scholars from the Global South, white males situated in the metropolitan Anglophone academy tend to direct these projects.

The Project of Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA), directed by sociologist Edward Telles, who at the time was a Professor at Princeton University, is a multinational and multidisciplinary research endeavor in Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru. The team integrated leading scholars of race and ethnicity in each country that included Juan Carlos Callirgos, Regina Martínez Casas, René Flores, Marcelo Paixao, Emiko Saldívar Tanaka, Graziella Moraes Silva, Christina Sue, David Sulmont, Fernando Urrea Giraldo, Carlos Viáfara López, and Mara Viveros Vigoya. The collaborative research project lasted five years, when the team conducted a comparative survey of racial attitudes and identities in the four countries with a "color palate" methodology, combined with quantitative analysis of census and other surveys, and with qualitative data — ethnographic, interviews, and archival. The principal product of the findings was the book *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, Race, and Color in Latin America* (Telles, 2014). The book is a comparative study of "ethnoracial classification, inequality, and discrimination, as well as public opinion about Afro-descended and indigenous social movements and policies that foster greater social inclusiveness, all set within an ethnoracial history of each country". It "identifies important differences among those countries and one fundamental similarity: the effects of skin color on socioeconomic outcomes and individual life chances". One of its most salient conclusions is that "unequal social and economic status is at least as much a function of skin color as of ethnoracial identification". The PERLA project, and particularly *Pigmentocracies*, represents an important contribution to the comparative study of ethnicity, race, and racism in Latin America. Its empirical findings and analytical insights enrich our corpus of scholarship. Nonetheless, as indicated before, given that its angle of vision is a comparative analysis of ethnicity, color, and race, between Black and Indigenous people in the four countries, there is no focused research on antiblackness.

The Anti-Racist Research and Action Network (RAIAR) is an ongoing effort of scholars and activists in the U.S. and Latin America to link social research focused on racism to collective actions of Black and Indigenous movements in the Americas. It was initiated as part of the "militant anthropology" group led by Charles Hale at the University of Texas, at Austin, and it has been able to convene an outstanding team of scholars and activists linked to universities and social movements in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico, and the United States. RAIAR organized meetings in all of these countries, where scholars met with intellectual activists from Black and Indigenous movements, to analyze the relationship between the

historical conjuncture (global, regional, national, local), the new configurations of racism, and the aspirations, needs, demands, and struggles of Black and Indigenous peoples. The meetings not only produced analyses, which were published in articles and bulletins but also provided analytical and strategic insights that informed the discourses and actions of the movements. In this sense, it is exemplary of collaborative research action between scholars and activists. The main intellectual product of this research action network is a book titled *Black and Indigenous Resistance in the Americas: From Multiculturalism to Racist Backlash* (2021), edited by Afro-Nicaraguan political scientist Juliet Hooker, in which several chapters are co-authored by scholars and activists. It will be a very valuable contribution to our collective investigation of antiblackness in the region, especially the book's historical analysis of racial projects in Latin America, moving from ideologies of racial harmony based on discourses of mestizaje, in early 20th century, to the rise of "neoliberal multiculturalism", in the 1990s, up to what the authors call "racial retrenchment", with the racist and sexist authoritarian backlash that characterize the new right in the Americas. The chapter by the late Leith Mullings, on the Movement for Black Lives in the Americas is a rich theoretical, political, and empirical source for our project on antiblackness and its alternatives.[2]

Latin American Anti-Racism in a Post-Racial Age (LAPORA), is a collective project led by British anthropologist Peter Wade and British-based Afro-Mexican sociologist Monica Moreno Figueroa, to study anti-racist practices in Latin America — particularly in Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, and Mexico, in the current period they characterize as a "turn to anti-racism in Latin America", which they argue began in 2010. Its initial research phase ran from 2017 to 2019. Moreno Figueroa and Wade (2022) organized a team of seasoned scholars in the four countries, led by Antonio Sergio Guimaraes, in Brazil; Mara Viveros, in Colombia; Fernando Garcia, in Ecuador; and Juan Carlos Martínez and Emiko Saldivar, in Mexico. They recruited a group of young scholars who conducted interviews and focus groups, and organized conferences in each country and of the whole project to develop a qualitative database on anti-racist practices and processes. LAPORA mapped and analyzed a number of networks against racism in each of the four countries. The project devel-

2. The very geography of what constitutes Afro-Latin America is a matter of theoretical discussion and debate. For instance, there is a tendency to represent Latin America as the set of territories that began at the south of the Rio Grande — the border between the U.S. and Mexico — a translocal space that runs from Mexico to Argentina, which is, to a large extent, replicated in the three continental research projects about racism and antiracism that we are introducing in this report. However, as shown in Mullings' (2020) chapter, the *Movement for Black Lives* articulates Afro-Latinx activism in the U.S. with Afro-Latin American social movements south of the Rio Grande. On that beat, drawing more complex cartographies of antiblackness should critique Latinx antiblackness in the United States from Afro-Latinx lens, as recently done by Hernández (2022), as well as formulating transnational/translocal geographies of Afro-latinidades as done by Lorgia García Peña (2022).

oped analytics of racism in Latin America from the perspective of critical race theory — including Decolonial critique and the Radical Black Tradition — in dialogue with a long-standing body of scholarship about racial formations and racisms in Latin America. One of their main contributions is the concept of "alternative grammars of anti-racism", to conceptualize and investigate practices that are not explicitly anti-racist — for instance, aesthetic practices, such as art and literature — but contribute in meaningful ways to challenge and combat racism. LAPORA's main intellectual product is the book *Against Racism: Organizing for Social Change in Latin America* (2022), where they make an argument about systemic racism as "woven in the basic structures of liberal capitalist societies... intertwined with sexism, heterosexism, [and] the continuing coloniality of power" which led them to make an important distinction between reformist and radical approaches. On that key, they contend that the "neoliberal enterprise is exaggerating social and racial inequalities through land grab, extractivist economies, oppressive labor relations, and unequal exchange in Black-Indigenous territories", which require "analyses of anti-Black and anti-Indigenous genocide", concluding that "a radical structural and racialized frame should act as a kind of political horizon against which anti-racist actions can be seen and evaluated". There are several analytical, political, and methodological clues, as well as important empirical referents in LAPORA's, work for researching antiblackness in Latin America and networking against it, even though they did not focus on anti-black racism and its opponents.

In Brazil, there is an emerging line of research that is using the category of *antinegritude* that is the Portuguese equivalent to the English antiblackness. There are three scholars whose work is outstanding in Brazilian research on antiblackness: Joao Costa Vargas, Jaime Alves, and Osmundo Pinho. It is worth noticing that the three are anthropologists. While Vargas and Alves are both Brazilian scholars who work in U.S. universities, Pinho is a professor in Brazil. Both Vargas and Alves have done ethnographic research in Brazilian cities, producing data and analyzing pattern and practices of antiblackness in Rio de Janeiro (Vargas), and São Paulo (Alves), identifying processes of state terror, endemic inequalities, abjection, dehumanization and assassination of Black bodies, demonstrating a disdain for Black lives, that led Vargas to the conclusion that, in Brazil, there is an antiblack genocide — a charge already made by Afrobrazilian intellectual-activist Abdias do Nascimento since the 1950s — and Alves to argue that the modern metropolis is an "antiblack city" in its very definition as polity and as modern/colonial space of culture and civility. Both scholars frame their work within larger Afro-diasporic landscapes. Vargas articulates his research in Rio de Janeiro with Los Angeles, based on grassroots networks of Black organizations from the favelas in Rio and the hood in L.A., which account for a politics of Black self-determination that he analyzes as a politics of utopia with a poten-

tial of dismantling and transcending an antiblack world. Alves (2018) has also done participatory action research in Colombia, with the Casa Cultural del Chontaduro (a grassroots organization in Cali, Colombia) and in collaboration with the CEAF, that begins to produce a comparative analysis of antiblackness in Brazil and Colombia.

Osmundo Pinho's work is very rich, theoretically, politically, and empirically. In his book *Cativeiros: Antinegritude y ancestralidade*, Pinho rehearses a revision of Brazilian history from colonial slavery to the present time, through the lens of the centrality of antiblackness and Black historical agency, thus turning the interpretative tide on Brazilian history, society, and culture. Through all his work, Pinho provides thick ethnographic description and robust analyses of patterns of practices of antiblackness in Brazil, especially in Salvador, Bahia, demonstrating the entanglement of state terror/police brutality with entwined inequalities/violences: social violence — lack of adequate housing and healthcare, high levels of assassination and incarceration of Black people, and epistemic violence — epistemicide of Afrobrazilian memory, territory, aesthetics, spiritualities. He also brings to the forefront that structural antiblackness is configured by a cishetereopatriarchal matrix of domination, which is particularly suffered by Black women, by Black gay males, and by trans-Black males and females. Pinho's work is also important because it recognizes the values of Afropessimist critiques of racial/patriarchal capitalist modernity as a fundamentally antiblack historical formation, which entails a continuum of dehumanization and the corresponding devalorization of Black bodies and Black lives, as well as the contributions of Afropessimist critique of liberal notions of race as incapable of understanding the systemic character of antiblackness, while critiquing U.S. Afropessimists for generalizing on the basis of their reading of American history. This resembles the work of Panashe Chigumadzi (2023a, 2023b), who, in our workshop in Ghana, on May 24-25, 2023, critiqued the U.S. tradition of Afropessimism for being self-referential and not recognizing an Azanian genealogy that precedes it. As stated before, such tensions between different traditions and distinct genealogies of antiblackness and their corresponding repertories of theoretical and political perspectives — as for instance, between Afropessimisms, Decolonial Critiques, Critical Race Theories, Black Marxims and Afrofeminisms from different parts of the world — should engender a rich historical, theoretical, and political debate to nurture our collective endeavor of investigating global/translocal patterns, processes, and practices of antiblackness in order to dismantle them, and hopefully, help to build a different kind of world.

I will end this report with some preliminary conclusions that we expect to be fleshed out and modified by our ongoing process of producing critical knowledge on antiblackness and developing strategies to combat anti-Black racism as a crucial step toward promoting global integral justice.

Black Lives Matter mural in Greenpoint, Brooklyn. October 3, 2021. Photograph shared by user Rhododendrites under the CC Attribution–Non Commercial–NoDerivatives 4.0 license on the Wikimedia Commons portal, downloaded on July 29, 2025.

1. One of the key findings of our investigation (which includes the two phases of the Ford commissioned project on global antiblackness) is that presently there is no research agenda focused on antiblackness in Latin America and the Caribbean. Given its centrality, there is a great need for theoretical analysis and debate, historical investigation, and empirical research about antiblackness in the two regions in relation to global patterns, processes, and practices of antiblackness.

2. We also found there is no flesh-out regional organizational and political agenda to fight against and/or dismantle antiblackness in Latin America and the Caribbean. Arguably, this is an urgent task in an era of policrisis and a rise of necropolitics. The growth of Movements for Black Lives testifies to meaningful moves from below to address such crises and develop alternatives.

3. Therefore, given the first two points, namely the lack of a research agenda on antiblackness and regional articulations to advocate for the necessary changes — structural and conjunctural, local and translocal — to dismantle anti-black racism, there is significant need, as well as a will, to organize networks of scholars and activist for action research. One of the features of the project that motivated more participants in the two workshops was the possibility of articulating with analogous efforts in the African continent. Hence, there is a manifest interest in participating in a transnational (or global) network with the African continent.

4. In both Latin America and the Caribbean, one of the most important initiatives for undoing antiblackness and building a more egalitarian and just world order, is the search for reparative justice championed by CARICOM and assumed by the

main networks of Black social movements and intellectual activists in Latin America. Hence, Reparations should be one of the matters to be discussed in our dialogues and formulated in our agendas.

5. We should think about the goals and products of the networks that may arise from our collective engagements in the convenings. A possible action is the co-editing of volumes mapping antiblackness in each region and globally, as well as producing educational materials for children, youth, college students, and communities which may be written materials, audiovisuals, and artist performances.

6. Beyond epistemic, political, and ideological divides, there is a need to wave the banner of Black Lives Matter to move beyond what it is, in many ways, an "anti-black world", cultivating the radical vitalism, transformative will, hope and desire for life which has been a resource of resilience and re-existence in the labor of love of pan-Africanist solidarity through her long historical existence.

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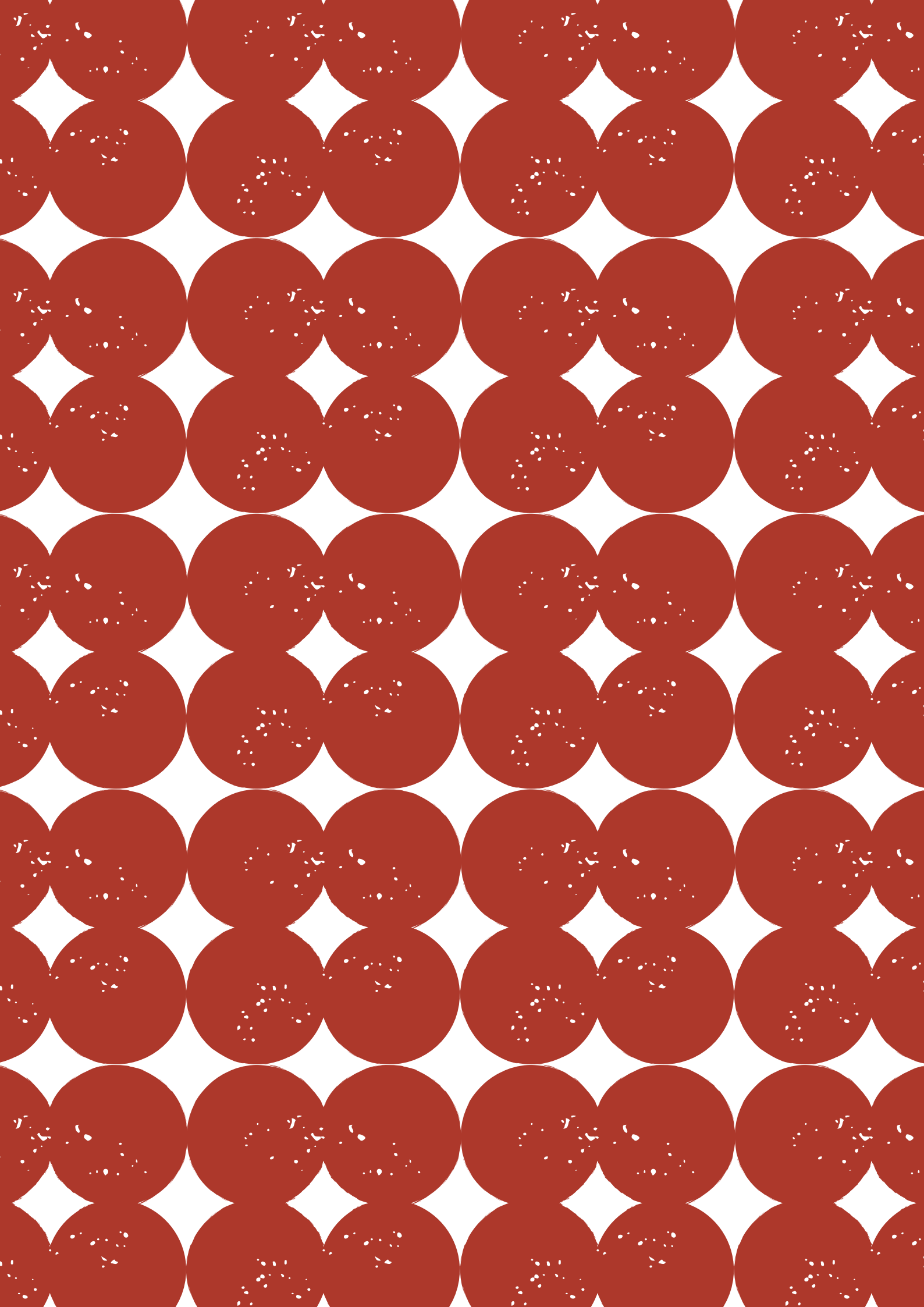

This report, authored by sociologist Agustín Laó-Montes, invites us to confront a reality that has profoundly shaped our societies: antiblackness. By tracing a trajectory from the legacies of slavery to contemporary forms of violence and exclusion, the document demonstrates that antiblackness is neither a problem of the past nor confined to a single nation. Rather, it is a global structure that continues to affect the lives of millions of Black people around the world.

With a specific focus on Latin America and the Caribbean — particularly Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Brazil, and Colombia — the report reveals recurring patterns such as institutional racism, state violence, the denial of rights, and the silencing of knowledge. Equally important, it highlights the struggles, forms of resistance, and proposals that Black communities have developed to defend life, dignity, and the pursuit of justice.

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NETWORK FOR GLOBAL JUSTICE AND AGAINST ANTIBLACKNESS