

Transcript

00:00:01 Speaker 1

good evening, everyone, and welcome.

00:00:04 Speaker 1

For those who don't know me, I'm Michael Willis.

00:00:05 Speaker 1

I'm one of the fellows at the Middle East Centre here at St Anthony's.

00:00:09 Speaker 1

And it gives me great pleasure to introduce the last in the Thursday lecture series for Hillary term of this year.

00:00:21 Speaker 1

And for the final lecture, we will turn, perhaps appropriately given the events of recent weeks in the region.

00:00:29 Speaker 1

to the topic of international relations and particularly the field of security studies.

00:00:35 Speaker 1

Now, over recent weeks and indeed, I can think many years, the subject of security has featured prominently in discussions about the Middle East and North Africa.

00:00:47 Speaker 1

However, I'm sure most of you would have noticed that security is discussed in a very particular way.

00:00:57 Speaker 1

What type of security

00:00:59 Speaker 1

And notably, and I think most importantly, whose security is discussed and whose security is not seen as quite so important is, I think, quite marked.

00:01:10 Speaker 1

And that's been a feature.

00:01:12 Speaker 1

And therefore I'm delighted to introduce, to say what we have as our speaker this evening, a scholar who is at the forefront of academic efforts to remake and revise debates about security and international relations more generally.

00:01:26 Speaker 1

to take account of countries and of people and of issues that really stretch beyond those of the US, Europe and Israel that we've seen regularly represented at the forefront of our understanding of security.

00:01:42 Speaker 1

Professor Nizam Massari is Professor of International Relations at Ahuwain University in Morocco, where he set up a program on international studies.

00:01:52 Speaker 1

Professor Massari obtained his PhD from the University of Miami in the US, his BA from the University of Brasilia, and his master's from the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil.

00:02:07 Speaker 1

And prior to his current position in Morocco, he was Assistant Professor of International Relations at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio for 8 years.

00:02:18 Speaker 1

He's also been visiting professor at Yale University and at the Federal University

00:02:22 Speaker 1

of Rio de Janeiro and has taught at military academies in both Brazil and Morocco.

00:02:28 Speaker 1

All of this, particularly having researched and taught in both North Africa and Latin America, has provided him with a breadth of perspectives that equip him very well to critique international relations from the perspectives of what we've come to call the Global South.

00:02:46 Speaker 1

This has been aided by the fact that he teaches and publishes in

00:02:50 Speaker 1

believe it or not, no fewer than five different languages.

00:02:54 Speaker 1

English, Arabic, Portuguese, French and Spanish, marking him out from an academic field of international relations that has long been effectively and rather shamefully been, I think we can agree, a monolingual discipline.

00:03:08 Speaker 1

Professor Massari is anything but monolingual, as you can see.

00:03:12 Speaker 1

He has published numerous articles in leading international relations journals.

00:03:16 Speaker 1

and is a co-author of what is the definitive textbook of international relations theory in Portuguese.

00:03:22 Speaker 1

I saw that's in its 9th edition now, so it's done quite well.

00:03:28 Speaker 1

And he's currently in the final stages of completing a book in English this time, looking at decolonizing security studies.

00:03:38 Speaker 1

And indeed, we are very honored that this evening he will be giving something other than some exclusive preview of his forthcoming book.

00:03:44 Speaker 1

I, for obvious reasons, am particularly pleased when his book looks at security perspectives from the perspective of his own native North Africa.

00:03:56 Speaker 1

So I'm delighted that we have to finish our series, something on North Africa in Mardi Grave.

00:04:01 Speaker 1

So I'm very pleased, please join me in welcoming Professor Massari and his lecturer on Decolonizing Security Studies, a North African Perspective.

00:04:09 Speaker 1

Thank you very much.

00:04:26 Speaker 2

Thank you also Willis for this very generous introduction.

00:04:31 Speaker 2

We created the program International Studies together, so you forgot to mention that.

00:04:38 Speaker 2

So it is a great pleasure.

00:04:42 Speaker 2

and an honor to be here with you today to discuss my research and present it to you on decolonizing the field of security studies.

00:04:55 Speaker 2

And I think that it's a very appropriate moment, as Professor Willis said, to be talking about this in this place today because we

00:05:13 Speaker 2

We have referred to the field of international relations from a very specific perspective over the last few years, since for the last 100 years actually.

00:05:25 Speaker 2

And the field has evolved and the field started, and the field has evolved over the last 30 years and we have a very strong critical

00:05:38 Speaker 2

components in the field, but the field still looks very much Western oriented.

00:05:47 Speaker 2

And we have had over the last couple of decades, or even a little bit more, this attempt to bring the South to the debate of the field of international relations.

00:06:01 Speaker 2

So what I will be presenting today

00:06:04 Speaker 2

is how this applies to the field of international relations and more particularly to the field of international studies.

00:06:13 Speaker 2

So I start here with what Professor Willis was talking about in terms of events taking place in what we call the Middle East.

00:06:29 Speaker 2

So in our Belgium,

00:06:34 Speaker 2

a Turkish IR scholar from Bilkent University, uses the framework of Niki Kiri to tell us, to discuss what is this notion of a Middle East, and to tell us that when we study the Middle East and when we study the security of the Middle East, what we have been doing is basically to study the security of the West,

00:07:01 Speaker 2

in the Middle East and not the security of the Middle East, the security of the state of the Middle East, the security of the people of the Middle East, the security of the communities of the Middle East.

00:07:14 Speaker 2

So what does it take, what would it take to study the security of the people of the Middle East?

00:07:24 Speaker 2

And this is what will frame my conversations here with you.

00:07:31 Speaker 2

So in Iran, where tragedies are taking place, where a war was started almost two weeks ago, in Iran, since the coup against Mosaddegh in 1953 to the Iranian revolution of 1979, what we have seen is every time the Iranian people tried to seize the opportunity and to rule themselves by themselves,

00:08:02 Speaker 2

someone from outside came and told them, you can't do that.

00:08:07 Speaker 2

And defined those moves to be moves to be against the stability of the region, and ultimately against the interests of the West.

00:08:20 Speaker 2

And so the regime, the Islamic Republic, has been considered a hostile regime since day one of the

00:08:29 Speaker 2

the revolution because it brought down, although it brought down a bloody repressive regime of the Shah and very few Iranians, even if today there is some kind of new memory about the regime of the Shah, but very few Iranians in 1979 cried for the fall of the Shah.

00:08:55 Speaker 2

So

00:08:56 Speaker 2

And this is not proper to the Middle East or to North Africa.

00:09:00 Speaker 2

This is what the US in particular has done in many other regions.

00:09:06 Speaker 2

I bring here the examples of the Cuban Revolution of 1959, when the revolution did not aim specifically at the US, but ultimately it was considered a revolution that threatened

00:09:23 Speaker 2

the US interests and that should be countered, and the attacks of the Bay of Pigs and all of the attempts to undermine the Castro regime, and that are still taking place until today.

00:09:36 Speaker 2

The 1979 San Binista revolution in Nicaragua, and it was the same way treated as an anti-American, whereas it's people from Nicaragua, people from Cuba, people from Iran trying to

00:09:53 Speaker 2

rule themselves by themselves and make decisions on their own interests.

00:09:58 Speaker 2

So what I'm saying here is that we people from the South have confronted this silencing of our voice in each time we tried to act and make our voice heard and tried to act and make things happen on our own

00:10:22 Speaker 2

terms.

00:10:22 Speaker 2

I'm not on the terms of what the US or the West in general was trying to make us, how the West in general was trying to make us see things.

00:10:34 Speaker 2

So I told Professor Willis that I don't stick usually to my slides.

00:10:42 Speaker 2

So here I see I'm already speaking about something else.

00:10:46 Speaker 2

But so what is

00:10:48 Speaker 2

The idea then, if when we are talking about Iran, what would it be to talk about, to have a decolonized understanding of security studies?

00:11:02 Speaker 2

How would it be different from what security studies are?

00:11:06 Speaker 2

And how would it be different from what critical security studies are?

00:11:11 Speaker 2

Because

00:11:13 Speaker 2

As you will see, I will rely on the concept of insecurity, but gender studies have brought to us the concept of insecurity.

00:11:23 Speaker 2

Decentering from the state, critical security studies have brought to us the concept of decentering from the state.

00:11:30 Speaker 2

So what would the study of security from a decolonized point of view look like?

00:11:40 Speaker 2

So this is

00:11:43 Speaker 2

And how would it help us make sense of what is happening in Iran today in a more meaningful way from our own perspective?

00:11:52 Speaker 2

So this is what will be shaping my conversation here today.

00:11:59 Speaker 2

So this is what is the problem with security studies?

00:12:09 Speaker 2

So the problem with security studies is that as many critiques have made the critique over the last three, 4 decades almost, it is state-centered, it is military-centered, and it is Western-centered.

00:12:33 Speaker 2

So we need to decenter from the West, we need to decenter from

00:12:37 Speaker 2

the military study, military security, and we need to decenter from the state.

00:12:44 Speaker 2

So why bringing the concept of decolonizing would make sense?

00:12:52 Speaker 2

So I start here with the very famous book of 1986, Decolonizing the Mind, that somehow played a very important role in this

00:13:06 Speaker 2

in bringing right and center this concept of decolonizing our minds.

00:13:14 Speaker 2

Because the process of decolonizing, decolonization had taken place over the 50s and the 60s, or started in the late 40s, in the 50s and 60s.

00:13:27 Speaker 2

But we found ourselves and

00:13:31 Speaker 2

and Nkrumah and Gandhi and Nasser, all of them found themselves in a situation in which they were still dealing with the aftermath of colonization.

00:13:49 Speaker 2

So we had managed to decolonize politically, but we needed to complement that decolonization from many

00:14:00 Speaker 2

other perspectives.

00:14:01 Speaker 2

And I bring here the Brazilian anthropologist, Darcy Higueiro, because he is someone who uses this concept of people in the South, people in Brazil, but people not only in Brazil, but in many other places around the world.

00:14:24 Speaker 2

We need

00:14:25 Speaker 2

the approval of the West in order to feel that we are doing things right.

00:14:31 Speaker 2

We know that the West, we think that the West knows better.

00:14:37 Speaker 2

So this is what he calls here the naturalization of the superiority of the West.

00:14:43 Speaker 2

We have naturalized that superiority of the West in our day-to-day.

00:14:50 Speaker 2

So when the West tells us that we are doing

00:14:55 Speaker 2

economically, this means, yes, we are doing well.

00:14:59 Speaker 2

But if other countries from the South tell us that, we don't think it is enough.

00:15:05 Speaker 2

So we need the approval of the West to feel that we, because we have naturalized that superiority of the West.

00:15:15 Speaker 2

And I think that this is what needs to be questioned.

00:15:20 Speaker 2

This is what needs to be

00:15:24 Speaker 2

problematized, and this is what the decolonial project has been trying to do for the last 40 years.

00:15:35 Speaker 2

So security studies, as I was saying, including critical security studies, are part of the field of international relations and social sciences in general.

00:15:50 Speaker 2

And these

00:15:53 Speaker 2

social sciences, IR, have been silencing other voices, have been silencing other ways of knowing.

00:16:06 Speaker 2

We have what in social sciences and in, more particularly in the field of international relations has taken place is that what

00:16:20 Speaker 2

we acknowledge only one way of knowing.

00:16:24 Speaker 2

We provide, we recognize as an acceptable scientific production, scientific here is very important, only one way of producing knowledge.

00:16:38 Speaker 2

So for a very long period of time,

00:16:45 Speaker 2

the main journal of the International Studies Association, ISQ International Studies Quarterly, was focused on producing articles with a lot of graphs, a lot of numbers, a lot of equations, very number crunching.

00:17:01 Speaker 2

So the knowledge that we needed to produce was essentially, we needed to look scientific in order to be producing acceptable knowledge.

00:17:11 Speaker 2

But what

00:17:14 Speaker 2

other scholars are saying is that there are other ways of knowing.

00:17:19 Speaker 2

And these other ways of knowing are very legitimate and we need to listen to them and we need to, and they are saying something that might be relevant for our debate.

00:17:36 Speaker 2

So this is, so this is why

00:17:39 Speaker 2

the debate in security is not only the debate about security, it's a debate about security, IR, social sciences, the way of our mode of producing knowledge.

00:17:51 Speaker 2

So we need to decolonize our minds in order to be able to ultimately decolonize our way of studying our own security.

00:18:02 Speaker 2

And this has been discussed in

00:18:06 Speaker 2

somehow recent articles.

00:18:08 Speaker 2

I mentioned a couple of them here.

00:18:12 Speaker 2

One we have in critical security studies, there is this theory of securitization.

00:18:20 Speaker 2

And this theory of securitization has been criticized over the last couple of decades in many ways.

00:18:29 Speaker 2

And Sarah Bertrand here calls it

00:18:33 Speaker 2

use this concept of securitization to ask us, can the subaltern securitize?

00:18:41 Speaker 2

Can those who are silenced, can they really securitize?

00:18:45 Speaker 2

Or are we going to securitize on their behalf all the time?

00:18:50 Speaker 2

And another mention of discussion on the theory of securitization

00:18:57 Speaker 2

is the article that accused the authors of the theory of, not the authors, but they say that they were accusing the theory of securitization of being racist.

00:19:09 Speaker 2

So this is what some scholars in security studies are saying from this decolonial perspective are saying about the necessity of decolonizing the field of security studies.

00:19:28 Speaker 2

So how should we decolonize?

00:19:32 Speaker 2

Should we speak about racism as the accusation went on about the theory of securitization?

00:19:42 Speaker 2

How should we decolonize the study of security?

00:19:47 Speaker 2

So some scholars try to say that we need to make a tabula rasa of everything that has been produced by the West.

00:19:57 Speaker 2

and that we need to create an authentic knowledge, a locally produced knowledge, a locally focused knowledge by local people in order to be able to think properly and think in a decolonial way and think in a decolonial way from the production of knowledge to our own thinking about our own security.

00:20:25 Speaker 2

So

00:20:26 Speaker 2

one way some scholars speak about this tabula rasa.

00:20:32 Speaker 2

It seems to me impossible to make a total abstraction of everything that has been producing in the West.

00:20:42 Speaker 2

Some of the main decolonial scholars, like or post-colonial scholars, depending on how we define them, from Mignolo to Edward Said,

00:20:56 Speaker 2

they use their Gramsci's, they use their Foucault, they use their, they use in our field, Rob Walker.

00:21:06 Speaker 2

So they use thinking that was produced in the West in order to go ahead and make their critique and substantiate their critique.

00:21:20 Speaker 2

So

00:21:22 Speaker 2

to deny the contribution of scholars in IR like Rob Walker, like Mike Shapiro, like David Campbell to the production of knowledge and the critical knowledge in IR is, and the facts that they opened, they paved the way for us to make the contributions we are able to make today would be a huge mistake from my point of view.

00:21:49 Speaker 2

But other ways of

00:21:52 Speaker 2

producing knowledge also exists.

00:21:55 Speaker 2

And that's what someone like Walter Mignolo from Argentina says.

00:22:00 Speaker 2

So we can, we are entitled to use Foucault, but we need to give voice to different losses of enunciation as

00:22:17 Speaker 2

Mignolo calls them, we need to listen and to give, to accept the legitimacy of knowledges produced in different places according to different logics and that do not depend on the confirmation that comes from the West.

00:22:39 Speaker 2

So in one way, in one sense here, what's

00:22:46 Speaker 2

I'm saying basically is that if Ibn Khaldun, that Ibn Khaldun contributed to knowledge, so we need to, so if we consider Kant as, Emmanuel Kant as contributing to universal knowledge, we need to admit to accept Ibn Khaldun as a contributor to universal knowledge.

00:23:13 Speaker 2

If

00:23:14 Speaker 2

Ibn Khaldun is the articulation of local knowledge, then we should also recognize Immanuel Kant as the producer of locally based knowledge who is contributing to a wider debate.

00:23:32 Speaker 2

So this is somehow, this is, I think, a very, very important element in the argument.

00:23:43 Speaker 2

So

00:23:49 Speaker 2

The idea here is to say that the knowledge we produce in different places of the world is neither better nor worse.

00:23:58 Speaker 2

It's just different.

00:23:59 Speaker 2

And we need to accept this difference.

00:24:02 Speaker 2

We need to recognize the legitimacy of this difference and of this way of producing knowledge and of this way of

00:24:12 Speaker 2

dealing with what we see around us.

00:24:17 Speaker 2

And here I use, I resort to a very important concept in my argument, it's the concept of worlding.

00:24:26 Speaker 2

Worlding in the sense that it's we in the South need to stop looking at ourselves from the prism that are, from prisms that are provided to us by the West.

00:24:40 Speaker 2

We need to look at ourselves from our own prisms, from prisms that we establish on our own.

00:24:48 Speaker 2

So wording in this sense allows us to not look at ourselves from what Darcy Ribeiro was saying, that admission of the superiority of the West,

00:25:04 Speaker 2

and look at ourselves through our own eyes.

00:25:08 Speaker 2

So what do we see through our own eyes?

00:25:12 Speaker 2

And this is how wording allows us to somehow evolve and make the debate evolve.

00:25:21 Speaker 2

And here I bring this very interesting remark made by Mignolo about this wording, this concept of wording.

00:25:35 Speaker 2

Mignolo was telling us in a specific discussion about Gramsci.

00:25:42 Speaker 2

Mignolo says that Gramsci was an Italian who was

00:25:52 Speaker 2

was looking at the challenges faced by fellow Sardinians, and he proposed tangible solutions to these Sardinian fishermen in their struggle.

00:26:07 Speaker 2

He was talking to Sardinians, fishermen Sardinians, and he proposed suggested solutions to these people.

00:26:19 Speaker 2

So when the Latin American left,

00:26:23 Speaker 2

wants Gramsci to solve its problems, it's the Latin American left that is Western-centric.

00:26:35 Speaker 2

Gramsci is a European who is solving a European problem.

00:26:39 Speaker 2

But when the American left wants Gramsci to solve Latin American problems, it's the Latin American left that is

00:26:49 Speaker 2

Western-centric than Eurocentric.

00:26:52 Speaker 2

So what Mignolo says here is saying here is that let's let us look at our problem from our own prisms and try to solve our problems through our own means.

00:27:06 Speaker 2

Let's not look at our problems through the prisms of others.

00:27:10 Speaker 2

We can get inspired from what Gramsci said.

00:27:14 Speaker 2

We can see how Gramsci proposed solutions

00:27:18 Speaker 2

to his fellow Sardinians and see what kind of adaptations he need to make.

00:27:24 Speaker 2

But we cannot hope that Gramsci will be solving our problems for ourselves.

00:27:31 Speaker 2

We need to solve our problems for ourselves.

00:27:36 Speaker 2

So in order to help me also think about what would be this decolonial

00:27:47 Speaker 2

what would the decolonization of security studies consist of, I go to other social sciences.

00:27:54 Speaker 2

And because very unfortunately, the formerly colonized people were not the only ones who were silenced, who were marginalized, who were alienated from the centers of knowledge production.

00:28:09 Speaker 2

Gender studies

00:28:11 Speaker 2

suffered from the same thing.

00:28:13 Speaker 2

Race studies, indigenous studies were all silenced, were all marginalized, were all not recognized as contributors to the production of knowledge.

00:28:29 Speaker 2

But they all have cracked the formula and they all managed to leave that

00:28:39 Speaker 2

pressure and make their own contributions.

00:28:42 Speaker 2

So in this sense, yes, so what have these other social studies allowed us to, what they show us is that it is possible to create knowledge that is

00:29:02 Speaker 2

in which we can use part of, to a large extent, what Western scholars have been telling us, but in which we ask our own questions and try to deal with our own answers.

00:29:17 Speaker 2

because, and to go further in our understanding of our situation.

00:29:24 Speaker 2

So this is what these other social sciences have been allowed, have been trying, have been doing, and this is where we need to be looking at for examples and modes of, modes of intuition.

00:29:39 Speaker 2

So what other scholars have been saying, Siba Gruvogi, Siba Gruvogi is

00:29:46 Speaker 2

a scholar from Guinea Conakry.

00:29:51 Speaker 2

He is today the president of the International Studies Association.

00:29:57 Speaker 2

He teaches in the US.

00:30:00 Speaker 2

He holds a chair in an Ivy League institution.

00:30:05 Speaker 2

So this is someone whose academic production has been recognized.

00:30:12 Speaker 2

And so

00:30:14 Speaker 2

what is he saying?

00:30:16 Speaker 2

And from Siba, as we call him, from Siba, I want to bring this idea that other narratives exist and should be listened.

00:30:34 Speaker 2

So what other narratives?

00:30:36 Speaker 2

Siba, for instance, speaks in a very specific moment about the Haitian revolution that coincided with

00:30:45 Speaker 2

the French Revolution and the American Revolution.

00:30:49 Speaker 2

But the Haitian Revolution was the revolution that emancipated all humans independently of their race, of the color of their skin.

00:31:00 Speaker 2

And that's what the Haitian Revolution did.

00:31:03 Speaker 2

The French Revolution and the American Revolution did not contemplate the human being.

00:31:10 Speaker 2

Slavery still existed in the United States.

00:31:13 Speaker 2

But

00:31:15 Speaker 2

Today we don't speak about the Haitian Revolution.

00:31:18 Speaker 2

We recognize the French Revolution and the American Revolution as key moment in the evolution of rights, but no one speaks about the Haitian Revolution.

00:31:29 Speaker 2

So there are, these narratives are silenced.

00:31:32 Speaker 2

They are not part of our common knowledge.

00:31:37 Speaker 2

They are not part of our shared understanding of what humanity is about.

00:31:42 Speaker 2

So

00:31:44 Speaker 2

The other concept of Siba I bring here is, and it's not his concept, but it's how he uses it, it's reverse ethnography.

00:31:54 Speaker 2

And Siba, in his latest book, he talked about this Senegalese representative in the French National Assembly when Senegal was part of

00:32:11 Speaker 2

the French Empire.

00:32:15 Speaker 2

So, this Senegalese representative, who goes to the who asks to speak and starts using in order to defend Senegalese rights to human rights in Senegal, and the French deputies, the French representatives,

00:32:40 Speaker 2

were appalled by the fact that this black person was using their guidre against them.

00:32:48 Speaker 2

So they were revolted that this black guy was using their own cultural heritage against them in order to make an argument against them.

00:33:02 Speaker 2

And this is, so Siba argues that we can

00:33:07 Speaker 2

use that.

00:33:08 Speaker 2

We can, so there are great thinkers, great scholars, philosophers in the West, and it is possible to bring and melt the production of these great philosophers and make them and use them in order to make an argument for our own emancipation eventually.

00:33:33 Speaker 2

Pinar Biljin, whom I already mentioned,

00:33:38 Speaker 2

relies also a lot on the concept of wording.

00:33:42 Speaker 2

And she also relies a lot on this very English concept in the field of international relations, the anarchical society.

00:33:52 Speaker 2

And she speaks about this anarchical society that is very hierarchical.

00:33:57 Speaker 2

So there is hierarchy in this anarchical society.

00:34:01 Speaker 2

And we need to acknowledge this hierarchy in the anarchical society.

00:34:06 Speaker 2

So she speaks about, and from this she brings the concept of world that has already been worded and scholars, policy makers have to deal with this word that has already been worded.

00:34:25 Speaker 2

Other scholars, so I bring here the collection of Routledge

00:34:33 Speaker 2

edited by Arlene Tickner and initially with Ollie Weaver, one of the fathers of securitization theory.

00:34:42 Speaker 2

So with Ollie Weaver and later with David Blamey on wording the world differently and in which Tickner and her colleagues are trying to see how is IR produced in different places differently or is it different?

00:35:01 Speaker 2

That's the question they're asked.

00:35:02 Speaker 2

And so, and they find that it has not been very different from for a long period of time, but that difference is starting to pop out in different places of where IR theory is taught and is thought about.

00:35:24 Speaker 2

So there is also this special edition of the Review of International Studies in which

00:35:33 Speaker 2

scholars were talking about what does it consist of decolonizing the field of international studies.

00:35:43 Speaker 2

And they bring these, what I already mentioned, decentering from the West, decentering from the state, and bringing back history at the center of our argument.

00:35:58 Speaker 2

So we cannot

00:36:01 Speaker 2

We cannot speak about issues as if they started taking place last week.

00:36:06 Speaker 2

We need to put them in a historical perspective.

00:36:12 Speaker 2

Colonialism, imperialism, slavery should be part of the argument when we think about these relations that exist when we talk about international relations.

00:36:27 Speaker 2

In Latin America,

00:36:30 Speaker 2

many scholars started doing also, and a long time ago, were talking about this necessity of decolonization.

00:36:41 Speaker 2

So I mentioned here Enrique Dussel, Aniba Quijano, Yaslim Mignoro, and

00:36:51 Speaker 2

The argument, the common argument among them, among these authors, is that coloniality and modernity are two sides of the same coin.

00:37:01 Speaker 2

They are two expressions, 2 expressions of the same phenomenon.

00:37:06 Speaker 2

We cannot separate modernity from coloniality.

00:37:11 Speaker 2

So, and this is why someone like Mignolo insists on the necessity, on the legitimacy

00:37:19 Speaker 2

of multiple losses of initiation as he calls them.

00:37:23 Speaker 2

And this is why we, there is an increase in talk about pure reverse.

00:37:35 Speaker 2

There is a new journal that will be produced from Taiwan actually on pure reverse knowledge.

00:37:43 Speaker 2

So

00:37:44 Speaker 2

pluriverse as opposed to universe and the way we need to be understanding this production of knowledge from different sites, from many sites of initiation.

00:38:00 Speaker 2

So, and there is this scholar, Adamson, who also talks about, says that security studies, decolonized security studies should be about

00:38:14 Speaker 2

not focusing on those who intervene, but those who are intervened upon.

00:38:21 Speaker 2

So instead of discussing the perspective of why some of the West needs to intervene, it's the perspective of those who are intervened upon that should be the center of what security studies are, or decolonized security studies are according to Adamson.

00:38:40 Speaker 2

So this is to bring me to

00:38:44 Speaker 2

this map.

00:38:45 Speaker 2

And let me, so the map that we know is this one, right?

00:38:53 Speaker 2

So this is the map we know, and this is Africa, this is Spain, the Iberian Peninsula, Italy, France.

00:39:03 Speaker 2

So this is the map we know.

00:39:08 Speaker 2

This is the map that was made by Sharif al-Idrisi.

00:39:13 Speaker 2

On Building Six, so this is the map of made by Sharif Idrisi.

00:39:20 Speaker 2

Sharif Idrisi was a geographer.

00:39:28 Speaker 2

I will not enter into the discussion whether is or Spanish or whatever.

00:39:35 Speaker 2

This is not my objective here, but so this is the map.

00:39:40 Speaker 2

the world map that he made in the 14th century.

00:39:45 Speaker 2

So this is a geographer from Septah who looks at the world from his perspective from Septah.

00:39:50 Speaker 2

Septah is this northern city at the northern tip of Morocco.

00:39:58 Speaker 2

So when he looks at the world, he's here.

00:40:03 Speaker 2

He's here.

00:40:04 Speaker 2

So when he looks at the world,

00:40:08 Speaker 2

What he sees in front of him is under him.

00:40:15 Speaker 2

So when he looks at the world from his perspective, what is in front of him is below him.

00:40:22 Speaker 2

So it's not, it's his perspective.

00:40:25 Speaker 2

So he puts Africa here on in the, what we call the north.

00:40:34 Speaker 2

And he puts Europe in

00:40:38 Speaker 2

what we call the South.

00:40:41 Speaker 2

It's an issue of perspective.

00:40:44 Speaker 2

So in order to translate this map, we always have to show it this way.

00:40:50 Speaker 2

But this is the map that he drew.

00:40:54 Speaker 2

The world map for Sharif Idlisi is looking at things from his perspective, from where he stands, from his position.

00:41:05 Speaker 2

So this is

00:41:07 Speaker 2

basically, I think, what we need to be doing in international studies.

00:41:17 Speaker 2

We need to shift the table in order to be able to shift the gaze and look at the world from our perspective.

00:41:28 Speaker 2

It's just our perspective.

00:41:29 Speaker 2

It's not better, it's not worse, it's not more legitimate, it's not less legitimate.

00:41:35 Speaker 2

It is our

00:41:36 Speaker 2

perspective and it is as legitimate as the other perspectives.

00:41:42 Speaker 2

So we, if this is how we make a map, this is how we should be looking at the world out there.

00:41:52 Speaker 2

So what this switching the gaze means, well, as Professor Willis was saying,

00:42:04 Speaker 2

The key question here is, whose security are we talking about?

00:42:10 Speaker 2

So when we study, when we talk about security, whose security are we talking about?

00:42:17 Speaker 2

Is it the security of the intervener, as Adamson was saying, or is it the security of the intervened upon?

00:42:27 Speaker 2

Is it the security of US interests in the Middle East, or is it the security of

00:42:33 Speaker 2

the people of the Middle East, the communities of the Middle East, the states of the Middle East.

00:42:38 Speaker 2

And here I go back to this concept of this Middle East and how Nikki Kadid tells us how it was born, but with time flying, I will go over that very quickly.

00:42:54 Speaker 2

So when we study the security of North Africa, we should be

00:43:02 Speaker 2

focusing on the security and insecurity of the state of North Africa, but also of the people of North Africa.

00:43:16 Speaker 2

That equation that guaranteeing the security of the state means that we are guaranteeing the security of people who live in the state,

00:43:27 Speaker 2

does not apply in many places, and it does not apply in North Africa.

00:43:31 Speaker 2

Scholars just like Mohammed Ayoub, who is an Indian, he is not from North Africa, but he has been telling us that in what he used to call the third word, so you see, we've been saying these things since we were talking about the third word, in our third word,

00:43:52 Speaker 2

the security of the regime has been established as the security, the national security and the thing we need to fight for.

00:44:00 Speaker 2

So we need to defend, so it's the survival of the regime rather than the survival of the people who live in that state that matters.

00:44:10 Speaker 2

And this, so we need to question that.

00:44:16 Speaker 2

So, and here,

00:44:19 Speaker 2

we need to talk.

00:44:20 Speaker 2

So in North Africa, we need to be talking about the security and insecurity of North Africa and of North African states and of the people of North Africa and not the security, the insecurity of the West.

00:44:35 Speaker 2

For many years, I have been invited to give talks, contribute to research projects supported by the European Union.

00:44:45 Speaker 2

And all of these projects consisted of studying the threats that we represent to the West.

00:44:56 Speaker 2

So we have migration, we have radical Islam, we have drug trafficking.

00:45:02 Speaker 2

So we represent, so every time some European colleagues or institutions call on us in North Africa to contribute to these research projects, it's to focus on the threat we represent to Europe.

00:45:19 Speaker 2

So

00:45:22 Speaker 2

The question is, when are we going to focus on the threats that, the threats and the insecurities and the vulnerabilities of ourselves, of our people in North Africa and our states in North Africa?

00:45:34 Speaker 2

So this is why, what switching the gaze means.

00:45:42 Speaker 2

So, and this is what Pinar Biljin talks in terms of

00:45:49 Speaker 2

this word that has already been worded.

00:45:52 Speaker 2

And this is what Tickener and Blaney, Tickener and Weaver, and then Tickener and Blaney have found, that the field of international relations seems to be developing in Mexico, in Brazil, in South Africa, in Morocco, in Egypt, in India, in ways that seem similar to how it was produced in the West.

00:46:16 Speaker 2

But

00:46:17 Speaker 2

Biljin quotes Baba and says, it's almost the same, but not quite.

00:46:23 Speaker 2

So the fact that we seem to be saying similar things is just an appearance.

00:46:31 Speaker 2

And what we do is very different in the sense that we are talking, because we found ourselves in this word that has already been worded.

00:46:40 Speaker 2

We found ourselves in a place where we need, in her discussion, her discussion of the nuclear program in India, India found itself in a position of being, needing to acquire, become a nuclear power in order to be respected as a state in the 20th century.

00:47:06 Speaker 2

Otherwise, its legitimacy as a player

00:47:10 Speaker 2

would not have been accepted.

00:47:13 Speaker 2

This is the argument Belgian is making.

00:47:16 Speaker 2

So even if we seem to be doing things in a similar way, we do them differently.

00:47:27 Speaker 2

And here I go to this double exclusion, and I bring up the Amazigh woman, the Palestinian woman, who need to deal with double

00:47:40 Speaker 2

exclusion and the double repression from the same oppressor, the state, or the Israeli occupation, but she also has to deal with her own challenge within her own, her home, from her husband, from her father, from her brother.

00:48:01 Speaker 2

So this double oppression, this double exclusion that needs to be constantly

00:48:10 Speaker 2

present in what we, when we think about the necessity of decolonizing security studies.

00:48:18 Speaker 2

So when, so here I don't want to make, to separate the state from the people.

00:48:30 Speaker 2

So in many securities, decolonizing security, or decolonial security scholars,

00:48:38 Speaker 2

want to decenter from the state.

00:48:40 Speaker 2

I think that we need to decenter from the state, but we cannot leave the state aside.

00:48:46 Speaker 2

I think that it is very important to have states that protect us.

00:48:53 Speaker 2

It's very important, sorry, to have states that play a role for us as communities and protect us.

00:49:04 Speaker 2

So it's not only the

00:49:07 Speaker 2

the security of the people and of the communities, the gender security, the migrant security, we need also to guarantee the security of the state.

00:49:18 Speaker 2

So here is one of my differences with decolonial studies.

00:49:24 Speaker 2

So some scholars who do decolonial security studies, it's we need the state.

00:49:32 Speaker 2

We need the individuals, we need the communities, we need to focus on the insecurity of the individuals, on the insecurity of the states, but we need the state that does things differently also.

00:49:46 Speaker 2

A state that does not oppress us and that protects us or that provides us with security in the world in which we live.

00:50:00 Speaker 2

So

00:50:01 Speaker 2

And we need to bring history back and to focus on what history has the consequences of historical events on how we were in our current slaves.

00:50:17 Speaker 2

So decolonizing security studies then refers to switching the gaze and looking at security from

00:50:29 Speaker 2

different perspective from our own perspective.

00:50:32 Speaker 2

And this is, I think, what is important.

00:50:39 Speaker 2

So it's not that we do it better or worse, it's that our perspective is as legitimate as the others' perspective.

00:50:47 Speaker 2

We also need to have in this, to deal with this

00:50:55 Speaker 2

double exclusion, double oppression, and we cannot omit that the security of the state is very important, because this is what might eventually, and this is the case in Lebanon, this is the case in Iran, when

00:51:20 Speaker 2

the state is unable to provide its people with the security they need.

00:51:27 Speaker 2

So I stop here, almost sharp on time, and I'm open to questions.

00:51:34 Speaker 2

Thank you very much.

00:51:39 Speaker 1

Thank you very, very much.