ALL MONUMENTS MUST FALL: A SYLLABUS

"Their monument sticks like a fishbone
in the city's throat"
--Robert Lowell, For the Union Dead

"The magnificent light in Courbet's paintings is
for me that of the place Vendome, at the hour
when the column fell."
--André Breton, Nadja

Introduction

Welcome! This is a crowd-sourced assemblage of materials relating to Confederate and other racist monuments to white supremacy; the history and theory of these monuments and monuments in general; and monument struggles worldwide. It was inspired by the resistance to fascism demonstrated at Charlottesville, Va. and Durham, NC in August 2017. It recognizes that resistance to such monuments to white supremacy already had a long history by 1865 in the genocide of the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. The resistance to the form of white supremacy symbolized by the Confederacy began with African Americans, abolitionists and feminists at the time of their construction. This syllabus hopes only to add to that tradition until all the monuments have fallen. We posted a call online and have added everything that came in. There’s much more out there, we know.

What we have perhaps all learned in the days following Charlottesville is how much the anti-fascist activism there has created new histories, as movements do. And so it brings far more questions than answers, which these materials can help to resolve. While this moment in US politics may or may not persist, everything here indicates that the falling monument is a strategic way to interrogate and interpret white supremacy.

The materials are arranged in a series of sub-heads in a descriptive rather than theoretical fashion. Numerous people have worked on this document, just as so many people kindly sent in ideas. We encourage any reader(s) to use this as they will, to hack and cut-and-paste as they see fit.

Please do send any additional materials to monumentsmustfall@gmail.com
THE SYLLABUS

1. Monumental Theory

I. Key Texts

Kwame Anthony Appiah, “Whose culture is it, anyway?” in Cosmopolitanism
Madeline H. Caviness (2003), “Iconoclasm and Iconophobia: Four Historical
Hugh Gusterson (2017), “Reconsidering How We Honor Those Lost to War,”
Huyssen, Andreas. "Monument and memory in a postmodern age." The Yale
WJT Mitchell “What Do Monuments Want?” and Michael Taussig “Monuments
Must Do Better” from “Monuments, Monumentality, Monumentalization” at DIA
https://youtu.be/caGhHQT9WYY
Adrian Parr, “Deleuze and Memorial Culture” (2008)
John Peffer “Censorship and Iconoclasm: Unsettling Monuments" RES 48
(2005): 45-60.
Francoise Choay, The Invention of the Historic Monument. (Monument and
Historic Monuments; The Concept of the Historic Monuments as Such.)
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001
Kristin Ross, The Emergence of Social Space (1988)
Andrew Culp, “A Radical Cartography: Spatializing Power,”
https://anarchistwithoutcontent.wordpress.com/2017/08/19/a-radical-cartography-
spatializing-power/
Bhakti Shringarpure, “Swarm, Demolish, Destroy: Rage Against the Monuments
Simon Sheikh, “Planes of immanence, or The form of ideas: Notes on the
(anti-)Monuments of Thomas Hirschhorn,” Afterall vol. 9 (2004)
Michael Taussig, Defacement (Stanford, 1999)
Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin, Monuments and memory, made and

II. Monuments and Nationalism

Deborah Bright, “Victory Gardens: The Public Landscape of Postwar America.”
Multiple Views: Logan Grant Essays on Photography, 1983-89, Daniel P.
http://www.deborahbright.net/publications


III. Background

Kenneth Gross, “The Dream of the Moving Statue” (Penn State University Press, 1992)
Kim Dovey, “Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form” (Psychology Press, 1999)

2. Confederate Monuments

I. 2017: Monuments Fall

a. Charlottesville

Bree Newsome, “Go ahead, topple the monuments. All of them,” Washington Post. http://wapo.st/2fTjNTy
Nicholas Mirzoeff, “All the Monuments Must Fall #Charlottesville” http://bit.ly/2hX3VQh
Summary video for teaching: https://www.facebook.com/MicMedia/videos/1620753744614076/

b. United States

Rebecca Solnit on removing monuments in New Orleans http://bit.ly/2vZc2Sn

II. World views and parallels

Canadian view: http://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1050431/doit-on-retirer-les-monuments-confed eres-des-lieux-publics (In French, obviously)
Joel McKim (UK) “Yes, the Monuments Should Fall,” http://bit.ly/2i9wTwi
Collection of original documents on the Baltimore Stonewall Jackson monument that was taken down assembled by Ken Ehrlich

III. Background histories

Kirk Savage, Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves.
Dell Upton, Chapter One, What Can and Can't Be Said: Race, Uplift and Monument Building in the Contemporary South
Grace E. Hale, Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940

IV. Women and the United Daughters of the Confederacy

Caroline E. Janney, Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause
Karen L. Cox, *Dixie’s daughters the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the preservation of Confederate culture*

IV. Where are the Monuments?

Animated map of all Confederate monuments over time: [http://slate.me/2fJT2AH](http://slate.me/2fJT2AH)

V. Public discourse about the monuments

Mayor Mitch Landrieu’s speech regarding New Orleans’s removal of monuments: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t0jQTHis3f4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t0jQTHis3f4)
Descendent of Lee says it’s time for his ancestor’s statues to come down: [http://www.huffingtonpost.in/entry/descendant-of-gen-robert-lee-says-its-time-for-his-ancestors-statues-to-come-down_us_5991e544e4b08a2472765ec9](http://www.huffingtonpost.in/entry/descendant-of-gen-robert-lee-says-its-time-for-his-ancestors-statues-to-come-down_us_5991e544e4b08a2472765ec9)

3. Indigenous Monuments and Memorials

I. Histories

Keith Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands* (U Hawai‘i P, 2011)

II. Sam Durant’s Scaffold (2017)

Sam Durant interview. [http://lat.ms/2fOhKQu](http://lat.ms/2fOhKQu)
Report in *Hyperallergic* [http://lat.ms/2fOhKQu](http://lat.ms/2fOhKQu)

III. Decolonizing Memory

Ginger Thompson, “As a Sculpture Takes Shape in Mexico, Opposition Takes Shape in the U.S.” (2002) http://nyti.ms/2uM6QBm

IV. Indigenous Memory

Nicholas A. Browne and Sarah E. Kanouse (eds), Re-Collecting Black Hawk: Landscape, Memory, and Power in the American Midwest (U Pittsburgh P, 2015
Andrew Denson, Monuments to Absence: Cherokee Removal and the Contest over Southern Memory

4. Queering the Monument

John Q “an idea collective interested in public scholarship, interventions, and Memory.” http://www.johnq.org/
The Names Project -- AIDS Memorial Quilt http://www.aidsquilt.org/about/the-aids-memorial-quilt

5. Rhodes Must Fall/ Fees Must Fall/Decolonize the Curriculum: South Africa

Achille Mbembe “Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive” (2015) RMF in Conversation with Achille Mbembe PART 1 filmed by Wandile Kasibe https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g-ILUr4BCsL8w
Francis B. Nyamnjoh, #RhodesMustFall. Nibbling at Resilient Colonialism in South Africa (Langaa RPCIG, 2016)
The People vs The Rainbow Nation (2016) https://youtu.be/Yu-1WIo5_Hs?list=FLwS1IgZVrA5TXQvhS9w9jRw
Talya Lubinski, “If we burn, there is ash,” exhibition at Wits University, South Africa, http://talyalubinsky.wixsite.com/talyalubinsky/if-we-burn-there-is-ash
Conversation between RMF activists and Achille Mbembe: https://youtu.be/g-IU4BCsL8w

6. French Revolution

Todd Porterfield, “The Obelisk at the Place de la Concorde,” in *The Allure of Empire: Art in the Service of French Imperialism* 1798-1836.

7. Situationism


8. Monumental Histories

Dario Gamboni, "Image to Destroy, Indestructible Image” (2002)
Robert Musil “Monuments”
Marita Sturken, “The Wall and Screen Memory” in Tangled Memories (UC Press, 1997), on Vietnam Veterans Memorial

9. Monuments Fall in the Soviet Bloc

Edit Andras, “Public Monuments in Changing Societies,” ARS (43) 2010
Dario Gamboni, “The Fall of ‘Communist Monuments’” in The Destruction of Art (Yale, 1997)

10. Films on and about the Fall of the Monument

Laura Mulvey “Disgraced Monuments” (1994)
http://marklewisstudio.com/disgraced-monuments/
Eisenstein, opening sequence of October https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9sc9fRyJ1ic
“Sikitiko” (2010), a prize-winning short Dutch film about actions against a statue of Leopold II (of Belgium, colonial ruler of Congo) http://docwerkers.be/project/sikitiko/
Vice documentary on Charlottesville (caution: offensive material)

11. African American monuments

K Sue Jewel, From Mammy to Miss America and Beyond: Cultural Images and the Shaping of US Social Policy
Aleia Browne and Adrianne Russell, “Museums and #BlackLivesMatter,”
http://bit.ly/2ibkZCq
Equal Justice Initiative, “National Lynching Memorial,”
https://youtu.be/vYM3HAVPPG8
Samuel Sinyangwe, “I'm a black Southerner. I had to go abroad to see a statue celebrating black liberation,” Vox http://bit.ly/2x0ZhnW
Elizabeth Yeoman, “Je Me Souviens:: About the St. Armand Slave Cemetery, Memory, Counter-Memory and Historic Trauma. TOPIA: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies #12, 2004.

12. European and U.K. Contexts

Hans Haacke at the German Bundestag:
https://www.bundestag.de/en/visittheBundestag/art/artists/haacke_inhalt/369950
Engels Statue in Manchester: http://econ.st/2uGGDEo
London's “Murder Mile” of imperialist statues: http://ind.pn/2x1TJZD
“Hands Off(f) Congo” about actions against Leopold II statues:
http://westenberg.constantvzw.org/?p=1984
Barcelona topples the final reminder of Franco's regime
Spain's monument to Franco: A divisive reminder
Erasing Franco's memory one street at a time

13. Central/South Asian Contexts

Related: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wjSDQYQ3TLo
Why the Battle for India’s Past is a Fight for Its Future:

Equestrian memorial of King Edward removed in Delhi:

14. Middle Eastern / North African / Iraqi Contexts

Mada Masr: Tahrir monument met with skepticism

Guardian: “Tahrir Square memorial is attempt to co-opt revolution, say Egypt activists” http://bit.ly/2wTdHgK

NYT “Egyptian Protesters Destroy Tahrir Square Monument Erected by Interim Government” (2013) http://nyti.ms/2fOg9Kp

Failed Architecture: Erasing the Remnants of a Revolution
https://www.failedarchitecture.com/erasing-the-remnants-of-a-revolution/

The Telegraph: Libyan protesters destroy Gaddafi monument
www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/libya/8333302/Libyan-protesters-destroy-Gaddafi-monument.html

Protesters destroy Hafez al-Assad statue in Suwayda

Jadaliyya: Recalling the Past: The Battle over History, Collective Memory and Memorialization in Egypt
http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/6007/recalling-the-past_the-battle-over-history-collect

Netanyahu Toppled: Golden Statue of PM Taken Down by Israelis
http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/1.757285


15. Artist’s Projects, Ephemeral Memorials, and Anti-Memorials


Joseph DeLappe, *The 1,000 Drones -- A Participatory Memorial*, 2014
Yevgeniy Fiks, *Monument to Cold War Victory*, 2014
Wafaa Bilal, *and Counting…*, 2010
Sophie Calle “The Detachment” (artist project) 1996
Amina Menia, *Enclosed*, 2012 (a documentation of M’hamed Issiakhem’s 1978 “enclosing” of the ’Monument to the Dead’ in Algiers, made in 1928 by French sculptor Paul Landowski)
Hassan Darsi, *Le Point Zéro*, 2014 (in Charleville-Mézières, France, Moroccan artist Hassan Darsi hides the statue of Charles de Gonzague, the city’s founder, inside a gold leaf-covered case)