

All Monuments Must Fall: A Syllabus

⌘ MENU



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“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 Case Studies," *Diogenes* 50(3): 99–114

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Huyssen, Andreas. "Monument and memory in a postmodern age." *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 6.2 (1993): 249.

Jessica Namakkal, "Renaming as Decolonization" <http://bit.ly/2i3ZgfC> (<http://bit.ly/2i3ZgfC>)

WJT Mitchell "What Do Monuments Want?" and Michael Taussig "Monuments Must Do Better" from "Monuments, Monumentality, Monumentalization" at DIA <https://youtu.be/caGhHQT9WYY> (<https://youtu.be/caGhHQT9WYY>)

Adrian Parr, "Deleuze and Memorial Culture" (2008)

John Peffer "Censorship and Iconoclasm: Unsettling Monuments" *RES* 48 (2005): 45-60.

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Andrew Culp, "A Radical Cartography: Spatializing Power," <https://anarchistwithoutcontent.wordpress.com/2017/08/19/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 from Mali to Martinique," *The Funambulist* 11 (2017).

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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. Younger, ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991, 329-361. <http://www.deborahbright.net/publications> (<http://www.deborahbright.net/publications>)

Micki McElya, *The Politics of Mourning: Death and Honor in Arlington National Cemetery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016)

III. Background

Sanford Levinson, "Written in Stone: Public Monuments in Changing Societies" (Duke UP, 1998)

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)
Robert Bevan, "The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War" (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2016)

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> (<http://wapo.st/2fTjNTy>)
On the Robert E. Lee statue in Charlottesville <http://bit.ly/2wbvQ4E> (<http://bit.ly/2wbvQ4E>)
Nicholas Mirzoeff, "All the Monuments Must Fall #Charlottesville" <http://bit.ly/2hX3VQh> (<http://bit.ly/2hX3VQh>)
L.V. Anderson, "Does Charlottesville Mark A Turning Point For Confederate Monuments In America?" <https://digg.com/2017/confederate-monuments-charlottesville-turning-point> (<https://digg.com/2017/confederate-monuments-charlottesville-turning-point>)
Josh Marshall, "Some Thoughts on Public Memory," TPM 14 August 2017
<http://talkingpointsmemo.com/edblog/some-thoughts-on-public-memory> (<http://talkingpointsmemo.com/edblog/some-thoughts-on-public-memory>)
Summary video for teaching: <https://www.facebook.com/MicMedia/videos/1620753744614076> (<https://www.facebook.com/MicMedia/videos/1620753744614076>)
Keeanga Yamahatta Taylor, "No More Charlottesville," Jacobin <http://bit.ly/2vCGgrx> (<http://bit.ly/2vCGgrx>)
Links to responses by historians: <http://bit.ly/2uYuNpn> (<http://bit.ly/2uYuNpn>)

b. United States

Rebecca Solnit on removing monuments in New Orleans <http://bit.ly/2vZc2Sn> (<http://bit.ly/2vZc2Sn>)
Arizona Confederate monuments: <http://bit.ly/2sj4GaA> (<http://bit.ly/2sj4GaA>)
On Durham and the McNeel Marble Co: Stassa Edwards, "Confederate Monuments Aren't History, They're a Cheap Cultural Memory" Jezebel <http://bit.ly/2vDvmni> (<http://bit.ly/2vDvmni>)
Sarah Beetham, "From Spray Cans to Minivans: Contesting the Legacy of Confederate Soldier Monuments in the Era of 'Black Lives Matter.'" Public Art Dialogue 6, no. 1 (2016): 9-33.
David A. Graham (2016) "The Stubborn Persistence of Confederate Monuments," <http://theatln.tc/2uRzSvq> (<http://theatln.tc/2uRzSvq>)

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James Glaser, "What to do with Confederate Statues?" (comparison with Russia) The Conversation <http://bit.ly/2x5apiK> (<http://bit.ly/2x5apiK>)
Canadian view: <http://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1050431/doit-on-retirer-les-monuments-confederes-des-lieux-publics> (<http://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1050431/doit-on-retirer-les-monuments-confederes-des-lieux-publics>) (In French, obviously)
Joel McKim (UK) "Yes, the Monuments Should Fall," <http://bit.ly/2i9wTwI> (<http://bit.ly/2i9wTwI>)
Collection of original documents on the Baltimore Stonewall Jackson monument that was taken down assembled by Ken Ehrlich
Uganda statue "disappears" (2012): <https://ugandaradionetwork.com/story/king-george-v-independence-monument-goes-missing> (<https://ugandaradionetwork.com/story/king-george-v-independence-monument-goes-missing>)

III. Background histories

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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*

James W. Loewen, *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong* (1999)

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Tracy Thompson, "The South Still Lies About the Civil War," *Salon* (2013) <http://bit.ly/1mah2CY> (<http://bit.ly/1mah2CY>)

Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson, eds., *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art and the Landscapes of Southern Memory* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003).

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?

Southern Poverty Law Center, "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy," <http://bit.ly/2a3mpsh> (<http://bit.ly/2a3mpsh>)

Database of North Carolina Confederate Memorials: <http://ncmonuments.ncdcr.gov/> (<http://ncmonuments.ncdcr.gov/>)

List of Confederate monuments on public land: <http://bit.ly/2fIVozJ> (<http://bit.ly/2fIVozJ>)

Historical Marker Database Civil War Monuments: <http://bit.ly/2fOcs7y> (<http://bit.ly/2fOcs7y>)

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

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

Michael A. Elliott (ed.), *Custerology: The Enduring Legacy of the Indian Wars and*

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Olga Viso, "Learning in Public: An Open Letter about Sam Durant's Scaffold" <http://bit.ly/2v5l1wC> (<http://bit.ly/2v5l1wC>)

"Native American Artists Respond." *Art News*. <http://bit.ly/2qUuvO0> (<http://bit.ly/2qUuvO0>)

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III. Decolonizing Memory

Matthew Irwin, "Native American Students Fight to Remove Colonial Imagery from University of New Mexico," (2016) <http://bit.ly/2w56khD>

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

Michael Trujillo, "Oñate's Foot, Remembering and Dismembering in Northern New Mexico," *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 33:2 Fall 2008 <http://bit.ly/2ibpkW8> (<http://bit.ly/2ibpkW8>)

Tonya Davidson "Narratives of National Belonging at Ottawa Monuments: The Canadian Tribute to Human Rights and Enclave: The Women's Monument" *Topia* 36 <http://bit.ly/2fPxNxn> (<http://bit.ly/2fPxNxn>)

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Wesley Chenault, Andy Ditzler, Joey Orr, "Discursive Memorials: Queer Histories in Atlanta's Public Spaces" (2010) <http://bit.ly/2w6rf48> (<http://bit.ly/2w6rf48>)

John Q, "The Campaign for Atlanta: An Act of Research," *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking* 1.2 (2014): 15–37.

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The Names Project — AIDS Memorial Quilt <http://www.aidsquilt.org/about/the-aids-memorial-quilt> (<http://www.aidsquilt.org/about/the-aids-memorial-quilt>)

Charles Morris III, *Remembering the AIDS Quilt*. Michigan State University Press, 2011 <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/13087> (<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/13087>)

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-lU4BCsL8w> (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g-lU4BCsL8w>)

Francis B. Nyamnjoh, #RhodesMustFall. *Nibbling at Resilient Colonialism in South Africa* (Langa RPCIG, 2016)

The People vs The Rainbow Nation (2016) https://youtu.be/Yu-1Wlo5_Hs?list=FLwSIlgZVrA5TXQvhS9w9jRw (https://youtu.be/Yu-1Wlo5_Hs?list=FLwSIlgZVrA5TXQvhS9w9jRw)

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Brian Kamanzi, "Decolonizing the Curriculum: the silent war for tomorrow," <http://bit.ly/2vGGdek> (<http://bit.ly/2vGGdek>).

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> (<http://talyalubinsky.wixsite.com/talyalubinsky/if-we-burn-there-is-ash>).

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Guy Debord, "Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography" (1955), <http://www.bopsecrets.org/SI/urbgeog.htm> (<http://www.bopsecrets.org/SI/urbgeog.htm>).

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McKenzie Wark, *The Spectacle of Disintegration* (New York: Verso, 2013).

8. Monumental Histories

Robert S Nelson, Margaret Olin "Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade" (2003)

Dario Gamboni, "Image to Destroy, Indestructible Image" (2002)

Robert Musil "Monuments"

Thomas Stubblefield "Lights, Camera, Iconoclasm: How Do Monuments Die and Live to Tell about It?" (2014) & "Do Disappearing Monuments Simply Disappear? The Counter-Monument in Revision" (2011)

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

Collection of photos of fallen monuments: <http://bit.ly/2wbyRBV> (<http://bit.ly/2wbyRBV>).

Edit András – "Vigorous Flagging in the Heart of Europe: The Hungarian Homeland under the Right-Wing Regime" *e-flux journal* 53 <http://bit.ly/2ieA6La> (<http://bit.ly/2ieA6La>)

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Albert Boime, "Perestroika and the Destabilization of the Soviet Monuments," *ARS*, 1995.

Dario Gamboni, "The Fall of 'Communist Monuments'" in *The Destruction of Art* (Yale, 1997)

Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change*. New York, Columbia University Press

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Laura Mulvey "Disgraced Monuments" (1994) <http://marklewisstudio.com/disgraced-monuments/> (<http://marklewisstudio.com/disgraced-monuments/>).

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"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/> (<http://docwerkers.be/project/sikitiko/>).

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12. European and U.K. Contexts

Hans Haacke at the German Bundestag: https://www.bundestag.de/en/visittheBundestag/art/artists/haacke_inhalt/369950 (https://www.bundestag.de/en/visittheBundestag/art/artists/haacke_inhalt/369950).

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

Raphael Lozano-Hemmer "Voz Alta"—ephemeral memorial for the student massacre in Tlatelolco,

Mexico 1968, http://www.lozano-hemmer.com/voz_alta.php (http://www.lozano-hemmer.com/voz_alta.php).

Invisible Monument, “an ongoing series of contributory audioscapes where social movements started and changed history,” <http://invisiblemonument.com/> (<http://invisiblemonument.com/>).

Joseph DeLappe, The 1,000 Drones — A Participatory Memorial, 2014

Joseph DeLappe, The Drone Project, 2014

Yvevgeniy Fiks, Monument to Cold War Victory, 2014

Wafaa Bilal, and Counting..., 2010

Sophie Calle “The Detachment” (artist project) 1996

On Bryan C Lee’s Paper Monuments: <http://bit.ly/2whSjhi> (<http://bit.ly/2whSjhi>).

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) <http://www.aminamenia.com/?browse=Enclosed> (<http://www.aminamenia.com/?browse=Enclosed>).

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 goldleaf-covered case) http://www.espacebalak.org/balak_-_espace_temporaire_dart_contemporain/nuit_blanche_8.3.html (http://www.espacebalak.org/balak_-_espace_temporaire_dart_contemporain/nuit_blanche_8.3.html).