“A world divided into compartments, a motionless, Manicheistic world, a world of statues: the statue of the general who carried out the conquest, the statue of the engineer who built the bridge; a world which is sure of itself, which crushes with its stones the backs flayed by whips: this is the colonial world.” -Franz Fanon, Concerning Violence

“On the other side of the bitter struggles against domination and for the liberation of the imagination, there opens up a multiply dispersed zone in which we are gripped by vertigo. But this is not the vertigo preceding apocalypse and Babel’s fall. It is the shiver of a beginning, confronted with extreme possibility.” -Édouard Glissant, Poetics of Relation

“Treason en masse, tumult, gathering together, the mutual collaboration required to confront the prison authorities and the police...How else were they to express the longing to be free? How else were they to make plain their refusal to be governed?”

-Saidiya Hartman, The Anarchy of Colored Girls Assembled in a Riotous Manner

After the Charlottesville Unite the Right fascist rally in 2017 at the statue of Robert E. Lee led to the murder of Heather Heyer, a wave of statue removals followed. This group came together on social media to assemble a crowd-sourced syllabus called “All Monuments Must Fall.”

The “fall” in the title was inspired by South Africa’s Fall-ism movement that had begun with the removal of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes and gone on to challenge a rise in student tuition as #FeesMustFall and then created a movement against white supremacy, patriarchy and homophobia. The Situationist provocation of our 2017 title hoped to see such a movement emerge in other settler colonies and the metropoles that created them.

In 2020, following the police murders of George Floyd and Breona Taylor, and the vigilante killing of Ahmaud Arbery, such a movement was ignited. One of its principal gestures has been the widespread targeting and removal of racist and colonial statues. Unlike in 2017, these participatory and popular actions have pushed past monuments that might be considered offensive even by mainstream white opinion to tackle Columbus, Washington, Jefferson and the very foundations of settler colonialism.

At the same time, activist and educational institutions of all kinds are looking to transform their practices this fall by engaging directly with the questions of how to remove racist memorials and build anti-racist, decolonial, anti-antiblackness, anti-patriarchal, anti-transphobic learning. As the terms indicate, we are perhaps still in a moment of refusal, even as there is a growing sense that abolition will require comprehensive and ground-up transformation.
This second iteration of “All Monuments Must Fall” adds materials that describe, enumerate and analyze the 2020 Black-led uprisings in relation to monuments and memorials. It is a transitional tool to help learn how to reconfigure and recalibrate collective relations to the past and how to imagine different futures that are not predicated by the plantation.

The materials are gathered by topic and there are far more than any one class could use or read. The idea is to give readers, teachers and learners of all kinds a shortcut to what’s available. At that point, it’s up to them what happens next.

We look forward to a review of this period entitled “All the Monuments Have Fallen.”

Additional materials can be submitted at www.allmonumentsmustfall.com/submit/

THE SYLLABUS

1. 2020 U.S. Statue Actions and Removals (organized by state)

Statues removed survey
https://hyperallergic.com/569756/confederate-monuments-removed/
Indian reporting on US protests
https://indianexpress.com/article/world/mahatma-gandhi-statue-washington-vandalised-george-floyd-protests-6442206/
Sutter statue removed Sacramento CA
Columbus removed Sacramento CA
CA: Junipero Serra Statue Down
San Francisco and Columbus
Juneteenth in San Francisco

Statue removal and Decolonizing the Asian Art Museum SF

Hartford CT Columbus down

Waterbury CT Columbus down

Delaware: Whipping post removed

DC statues fall Juneteenth

Emancipation Memorial Debate in DC

Stone Mountain, GA

Stone Mountain GA Controversy

Miami FL Columbus painted
https://hyperallergic.com/570629/columbus-statue-mussolini-bodyguard/

Boston MA Columbus beheaded

Boston MA debate over Lincoln statue

Baltimore MD: Columbus in the harbor

Native activists down MN Columbus
Columbus removed, St Louis MO

Raleigh NC Juneteenth

Confederate statue relocated NC

Pitt County NC statue removal

Graham NC statue removal debate

NC Monument Law
https://www.newsobserver.com/opinion/article243689642.html

On the artist/activist shot in Albuquerque NM

After protests planned, Santa Fe NM commits to remove racist monuments

Epstein statue put up Albuquerque NM

Buffalo, NY. McKinley statue attacked

Roosevelt Statue removed NYC

Roosevelt Statue debate in NYC
https://hyperallergic.com/517774/how-do-we-address-a-statue-of-president-roosevelt-that-affirms-racist-hierarchies/

Jefferson statue down in Portland OR

Pioneer statues removed OR

Oñate statue down
1a. Location and databases of monuments

Kevin M. Levin ‘Recent Confederate monument removals’
http://cwmemory.com/recent-confederate-monument-removals/

Wikipedia list of monuments removed during George Floyd protests
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_monuments_and_memorials_removed_during_the_George_Floyd_protests

Map of Columbus Monuments in US
https://www.instagram.com/p/CBTaGLkDQ9j/

List of Black persons killed by police in the US

Data analysis of Confederate Monuments
https://hyperallergic.com/572825/1712-confederate-monuments-remain-standing-in-united-states/
Survey 6.13.20
NY Times survey 6.24.20
Photo survey 7.2.20
Southern Poverty Law Center, “Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy,”
https://www.splcenter.org/data-projects/whose-heritage
Database of North Carolina Confederate Memorials: http://ncmonuments.ncdcr.gov/
Historical Marker Database Civil War Monuments:
Animated map of all Confederate monuments over time: http://slate.me/2fJT2AH

2. 2020 Global Statue Actions and Removals

Musée quai Branly, Paris, repatriation action
Belgium: Leopold II statues removed
https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/belgium-takes-down-statue-king-expresses-regret-for-colonial-violence
Aotearoa New Zealand Maori Protest Colonial Statue
Ukraine Statue Hacked
https://www.them.us/story/lgbtq-group-flies-rainbow-flag-over-ukraines-statue-of-liberty
UK
Banksy on Colston
Historian against taking them down
https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/pulling-down-statues-wont-solve-racism-says-history-of-slavery-professor-n2mpsw985
Put them in museums (paywall)
https://www.ft.com/content/1117dfb6-8e51-46ec-a74b-59973a96a85a
3. Curricula and Monuments


UK Memorials


UK memorials as archaeology
https://medium.com/@clarenceb30/statues-arent-our-history-they-re-our-archaeology-e3f12996092a

US Memorials
https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/kehinde-wileys-anti-confederate-memorial

Latin America Memorials
https://esferapublica.org/nfblog/jinetes-encapuchadxs/

Judith Baca: ‘Whose Monument Where? Public Art in a Many-Cultured Society’
https://www.csus.edu/indiv/o/obriene/art7/readings/judybaca.htm

Europe Memorials
https://barnard.edu/news/break-down-i-am-queen-mary-barnard


A Confederate Museum?
https://thehardtimes.net/opinion/we-should-move-the-confederate-statues-into-a-museum-and-then-burn-that-museum-to-the-ground/

Santa Fe Native People Challenge Colonialist Reenactment

Removing statues is a first step

4. Monumental Theory

I. 2020 Essays and Debates

Boston Arts and Cultural Workers in Demand of Racial Equity and Social Transformation
https://www.bostonartsforblacklives.com
Removal Makes History
https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/06/19/destroying-confederate-monuments-isnt-erasing-history-its-learning-it/

Society of Architectural Historians Call for Statue Removal

Sarah Bond on race, anatomy and sculpture

Scott Kurashige, American Studies Association President, Statement on BLM
https://theasa.net/about/news-events/announcements/asa-presidents-statement-black-lives-matter-rebellion-2020

“My Body is a Confederate Monument” Caroline Randall Williams

Frederick Douglass on the Emancipation Monument (1876)
https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/what-frederick-douglass-had-say-about-monuments-180975225/

Greg Sholette, “Reimagining Monuments”
https://hyperallergic.com/408996/remagining-monuments-to-make-them-resonate-locally-and-personally/

For a Confederate Statue Graveyard

Courtney Baker “The Loud Silence of Monuments”
http://www.dilettantearmy.com/articles/the-loud-silence-of-monuments

What to do with Confederate Statues

Twisted Sifter, Utah Monument Altered

Interview with Erin L. Thompson on taking down statues

Nicholas Mirzoeff ‘All The Monuments Must Fall’
http://www.nicholasmirzoeff.com/bio/once-more-the-monuments-must-fall/

Confederate Statues as real estate incentive

Simone Browne: “How Surveillance Has Always Reinforced Racism”
https://www.wired.com/story/how-surveillance-reinforced-racism/amp

David Graeber ‘A Cop is a Bureaucrat with a Gun’
https://www.patreon.com/posts/policeman-is-gun-38438201
II. Key Texts

Kwame Anthony Appiah, “Whose culture is it, anyway?” in *Cosmopolitanism*
Hugh Gusterson (2017), “Reconsidering How We Honor Those Lost to War,”
https://www.sapiens.org/column/conflicted/war-memorials/
Jessica Namakkal, “Renaming as Decolonization”
https://www.counterpunch.org/2015/06/26/re-naming-as-decolonization/
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)
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/
Michael Taussig, *Defacement* (Stanford, 1999)
III. Monuments and Nationalism


IV. Background


Kim Dovey, *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form* (Psychology Press, 1999)


5. 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


Nicholas Mirzoeff, “All the Monuments Must Fall #Charlottesville”


L.V. Anderson, “Does Charlottesville Mark A Turning Point For Confederate Monuments In America?”


Josh Marshall, “Some Thoughts on Public Memory,” TPM 14 August 2017

Summary video for teaching:
https://www.facebook.com/MicMedia/videos/1620753744614076/
Keeanga Yamahtta Taylor, “No More Charlottesvilles,” Jacobin
Links to responses by historians:
http://www.megankatenelson.com/historians-take-on-white-supremacist-monuments-a-round-up/

b. United States

Rebecca Solnit on removing monuments in New Orleans
https://harpers.org/archive/2017/01/the-monument-wars/
Arizona Confederate monuments:
On Durham and the McNeel Marble Co: Stassa Edwards, “Confederate Monuments Aren’t History, They’re a Cheap Cultural Memory” Jezebel
Coilin Parsons, “Decolonizing Georgetown,”
http://www.irishhumanities.com/blog/georgetown/

II. World views and parallels

James Glaser, “What to do with Confederate Statues?” (comparison with Russia) The Conversation
Canadian view:
http://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1050431/doit-on-retirer-les-monuments-confederes-des-lieux-publics
Joel McKim (UK) “Yes, the Monuments Should Fall,”
http://blogs.bbk.ac.uk/bbkcomments/2017/08/17/yes-the-monuments-should-fall/
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
Yarden Katz, “Time to take the great white men of science off their pedestals,” Guardian 9/19/17.
https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/sep/19/white-supremacist-statues-must-fall-scientists

III. Background histories

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

Tracy Thompson, “The South Still Lies About the Civil War,” Salon (2013)
https://www.salon.com/test2/2013/03/16/the_south_still_lies_about_the_civil_war/
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

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
Descendant 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
6. 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](http://nyti.ms/2uM6QBm)

IV. Indigenous Memory

Andrew Denson, *Monuments to Absence: Cherokee Removal and the Contest over Southern Memory*
7. 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
https://muse.jhu.edu/book/13087

8. 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-IU4BCsL8w
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-1Wlo5_Hs?list=FLwSlIgZVrA5TXQvhS9w9jRw
Attack on Sarah Baartman monument:
Susan Booysen (ed.), Fees Must Fall, (Johannesburg: Wits UP, 2016)/
Brian Kamanzi, “Decolonizing the Curriculum: the silent war for tomorrow,”
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

9. French Revolution


10. Situationism


11. Monumental Histories

Robert Musil “Monuments”
Marita Sturken, “The Wall and Screen Memory” in Tangled Memories (UC Press, 1997), on Vietnam Veterans Memorial
Javier Arbona, “Anti-memorials and World War II Heritage in the San Francisco Bay Area: Spaces of the 1942 Black Sailors’ Uprising” http://lj.uwpress.org/content/34/2/177.refs
On Sabra-Shatila Palestinian refugee camps as monuments


Wendy Bellion, Iconoclasms in New York: Revolution to Reenactment (Penn State University Press, 2019)


Bellion, with Valerie Hegarty, Jo Apollin, Debbie Hess Norris, and Jae Gutierrez, “Art and Destruction,” American Art 31:1 (spring 2017)


Mozambique 1975: film of statue removal https://arquivos.rtp.pt/conteudos/derrube-estatua-de-mouzinho-de-albuquerque/


Sabine Marschall Public Memory in the Context of Transnational Migration and Displacement (Palgrave MacMillan, 2020)

Confronting the Relics of the Old South
Ulrich Baer on Wiley, Mutu and Walker
Suffragist Memorial, Central Park NY
https://hyperallergic.com/517626/vote-on-central-parks-contested-suffragist-monument-is-postponed/
Stone Mountain
https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/what-will-happen-stone-mountain-americas-largest-confederate-memorial-180964588/

12. Monuments Fall in the Soviet Bloc

Edit Andras, "Public Monuments in Changing Societies," ARS (43) 2010
Collection of photos of fallen monuments:
https://www.ibtimes.co.uk/good-bye-lenin-statues-dictators-toppled-around-world-photos-1467932
Edit András - “Vigorous Flagging in the Heart of Europe: The Hungarian Homeland under the Right-Wing Regime” e-flux journal 53
Dario Gamboni, “The Fall of ‘Communist Monuments’” in The Destruction of Art (Yale, 1997)

13. 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)
14. African American Monuments

K Sue Jewel, *From Mammy to Miss America and Beyond: Cultural Images and the Shaping of US Social Policy*


15. European and U.K. Contexts

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

Engels Statue in Manchester: [http://econ.st/2uGGDEo](http://econ.st/2uGGDEo)

London’s “Murder Mile” of imperialist statues: [http://ind.pn/2x1TJZD](http://ind.pn/2x1TJZD)


Spain's monument to Franco: A divisive reminder
Erasing Franco’s memory one street at a time

16. 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:
http://www.timesnownews.com/india/article/70th-independence-day-Edward-Park-To-Subhas-Park-Story-Of-British-Raj-And-Freedom/72684

17. 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”
https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/18/tahrir-square-memorial-co-opt-egypt-revolution
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
http://theatln.tc/2uMDGQr
Fred Bohrer, “The Destruction of Art and Antiquities in Our Time,”  
https://electronicintifada.net/content/legacy-sabra-and-shatila-amnesia-and-impunity/7159

18. The Americas

“Women Never Forgotten: The Murals and Memorials of Ciudad Juarez,” Frontera NorteSur (New Mexico State University),  

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

Ian Alan Paul, Negative Monument, Poster, 2018  
https://www.janalanpaul.com/negative-monument/
Raphael Lozano-Hemmer “Voz Alta”--ephemeral memorial for the student massacre in Tlatelolco, Mexico 1968,  
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/
Joseph DeLappe, The 1,000 Drones -- A Participatory Memorial, 2014  
http://www.delappe.net/sculptureinstallation/the-1000-drones---a-participatory-memorial/
Joseph DeLappe, The Drone Project, 2014,  
http://www.delappe.net/sculptureinstallation/the-drone-project/
Yvegeniy Fiks, Monument to Cold War Victory, 2014
Sophie Calle “The Detachment” (artist project) 1996
On Bryan C Lee’s Paper Monuments:  
Amina Menia, Enclosed, 2012
Hassan Darsi, Le Point Zéro, 2014
Life of A Craphead, “King Edward VII Equestrian Statue Floating Down the Don River,”  
Rosemary Mayer  
https://hyperallergic.com/464226/monuments-not-meant-to-last/
Kara Walker  
https://hyperallergic.com/520353/kara-walkers-monument-to-monstrousness/
Isaac Julien  https://hyperallergic.com/545084/isaac-juliens-political-memory/
Decolonise Fest: for punx of colour: https://decolonise.org.uk/
Making Histories Visible: https://makinghistoriesvisible.com/