



Foregrounding ‘Fallism’ and its Praxis Within the Context of Decolonial and Critical Theory

Wandile Goozen Kasibe*

Abstract

This article places the #RhodesMustFall movement in its proper context as a pivotal moment that sharpened societal contradictions around power relations. It unpacks what has been termed ‘Fallism’ within its political tradition, framing it as a decolonial response to colonial continuities and enduring matrices of power that sustain the structural asymmetries underpinning the current socio-political order. In doing so, this essay argues for the dismantling (‘falling’) of these oppressive systems to enable the birth of a new political order grounded in egalitarian values. In its overarching argument, this essay navigates the complexities of race relations and what it means to be Black in South Africa today. It draws on thinkers such as Frantz Omar Fanon, Jean-Paul Sartre, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and other scholars to foreground the view that the oppressed peoples’ cry for freedom cannot be understood outside the imperative to dismantle oppressive structures and to demand that these systems fall. It is when the oppressed master the courage to call boldly for such structures to fall that the inevitability of freedom becomes a foreseeable reality. Within this realm of possibility, this essay presents ‘Fallism’ as a resuscitation of the decolonising project, laying a foundation that enabled the oppressed to demand the fall of oppressive systems, both within and beyond the university. In so doing, it argues that this ‘Fallist’ logic is central to the #RhodesMustFall movement’s scholarly contribution to the academy.

Keywords: #RhodesMustFall, Fallism, power relations, structural asymmetries, decolonising project, whiteness, Blackness, critical theory

* African Scholar and Critical Thinker, South Africa. Email: gwandile@gmail.com

Résumé

Cet article situe le mouvement #RhodesMustFall dans son contexte approprié en tant que moment charnière ayant accentué les contradictions sociétales autour des relations de pouvoir. Il analyse ce qui a été désigné sous le terme de « fallisme » dans sa tradition politique, en le présentant comme une réponse décoloniale aux continuités coloniales et aux matrices durables de pouvoir qui maintiennent les asymétries structurelles à la base de l'ordre sociopolitique actuel. Dans cette optique, l'article plaide pour le démantèlement (« chute ») de ces systèmes oppressifs afin de permettre l'émergence d'un nouvel ordre politique fondé sur des valeurs égalitaires. Dans son argumentation globale, il explore les complexités des relations raciales et ce que signifie être Noir en Afrique du Sud aujourd'hui. Il s'appuie sur des penseurs tels que Frantz Fanon, Jean-Paul Sartre, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels et d'autres chercheurs afin de mettre en avant l'idée que l'appel à la liberté des peuples opprimés ne peut être compris sans la nécessité de démanteler les structures oppressives et d'exiger leur chute. C'est lorsque les opprimés trouvent le courage de revendiquer fermement la chute de ces structures que l'inévitabilité de la liberté devient une réalité envisageable. Dans cet horizon de possibilités, l'article présente le « fallisme » comme une relance du projet décolonial, en posant les bases permettant aux opprimés d'exiger la chute des systèmes oppressifs, tant au sein de l'université qu'au-delà. Ce faisant, il soutient que cette logique « falliste » constitue un élément central de la contribution intellectuelle du mouvement #RhodesMustFall au monde académique.

Mots-clés : #RhodesMustFall, fallisme, relations de pouvoir, asymétries structurelles, projet de décolonisation, blanchité, négrité (Blackness), théorie critique

A Brief Historical Background to the #RhodesMustFall Movement

'The concept of the ideological lens can be used by any framework of ideas and any conceivable thing can be viewed through it' (Sargon of Akkad 2016).¹ "'#Fallist, we are ... and we reject the rejectors of #fallism' (Mahlangu 2016).

'Rhodes' colonial architectural ideals are deeply embedded in the education system' (Matabeni 2018).

The #RhodesMustFall (RMF) movement was an independent formation of students, workers and staff (administrative and academic) who had come together in strong solidarity with the resolve to subvert 'White supremacy', institutionalised racism and deeply embedded Eurocentrism at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and broader society. This movement was catalysed on Monday, 9 March 2015, by Chumani

Maxwele's radical protest and an institutional critique of the presence of the statue of the colonialist par excellence, Cecil John Rhodes, on UCT's upper campus.

On this historic day, Maxwele was joined by other students who also put their bodies on the line to sound a clarion call, which set in motion a moment of rupture that shook the university to its core. Subsequent to this protest intervention, the broader student community joined by workers and some Black staff, gathered to formalise their presence under what became known as the RhodesMustFall movement.

Their collective voices spoke sharply into the psyche of an unfolding socio-political milieu, where voices, bodies and action coalesced to form an irresistible global current that brought a necessary focus on Black pain and the injustices inflicted on Black bodies.

In its operation, the movement adopted the intersection of the three cardinal pillars as its tools of analysis as it engaged with different strata of society (Figure 1).

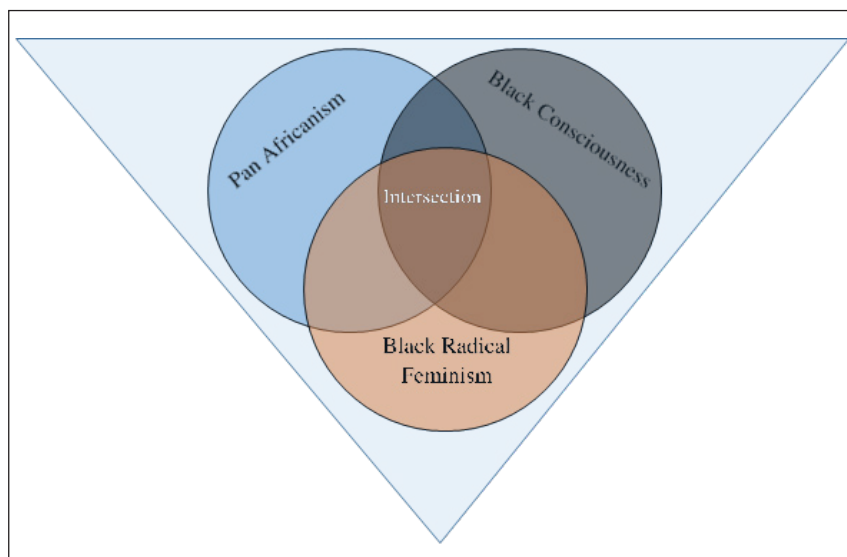


Figure 1: The intersection of the three cardinal pillars of the #RhodesMustFall movement

The RMF movement used an intersectional approach and sought to weave these cardinal pillars together to use as tools to challenge the structural inequalities that render Black bodies as less than humanity, and thus subservient to Whites. Through its unfiltered voice, the movement

questioned this assumption of 'White superiority' in a substantial way by calling for radical structural change that would eventually deepen discussions about historical injustices and the urgent need for the re-engineering and rethinking of society. In its approach to addressing these structural asymmetries, the movement invoked Frantz Omar Fanon's work on decolonisation, in which he argues that, 'in decolonization, there is therefore the need of a complete calling in question of the colonial situation' (Fanon 1963: 28). Guided by this ideological compass, the #RhodesMustFall movement navigated a volatile period, raising uncomfortable questions about the nature of colonialism and its negative effects on society today. Not only this, but it called for the solidarity of the oppressed against colonialism to fulfil Fanon's prediction when he states that: 'Decolonization unifies that people by the radical decision to remove from it, its heterogeneity, and by unifying it on a national, sometimes a racial basis' (Fanon 1963: 28).

At the core of this intersectional reasoning and rationale to shift the contour lines of power lies the complex intersecting experiences of gender, sexuality, able-bodiedness, mental health, race and class, among other things. Through the constant sharpening of its internal contradictions and the advocacy for the disruption of broader colonial reasoning in the academy and society at large, Zethu Matebeni (2018) brings to our attention that it 'marked the beginning of the largest wave of student protests in democratic South Africa'.

After extensive internal institutional discussions, debates and students' activism, the statue of Rhodes was taken off its plinth on 9 April 2015. This marked the beginning of a new chapter in how the university engages with uncomfortable questions and put into action the project of decolonisation, which included the renaming of buildings. The vibrant activism of students, who invigorated the call for structural reengineering, effectively challenged the existing colonial legacies embedded in urban landscapes and metropolitan cities across the globalising world. Matebeni (2018) animates this point by suggesting that it had 'galvanised an electric energy around the world that could no longer be ignored' (Matebeni 2018). It is this electric energy, as Matebeni suggests, that cuts through the conscience of our modern world, calling for the decolonisation of the tapestry of the cultural landscapes across the metropolis.

Its revolutionary fervour had invoked the writings and ideas of Frantz Omar Fanon, Steve Bantu Biko, Bell Hooks, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, Audre Lorde and many other progressive voices, whose ideas later shaped the intellectual project of the #RhodesMustFall movement.

The moment at which RMF was conceived coincided with the rhythm of an intersectional 'voice' of the revolutionary spirit of a fearless generation of students, who heeded the call to redefine the mission of their time to call into question the colonial order, its suffocating ethos and violent symbolism, thus resuscitating the politics of decolonial thinking in South Africa's body politic.

It is worth noting that RMF was never just about the removal of the statue of Rhodes, but a 'rebirth' of a much deeper critical consciousness that speaks truth to institutional power across the country's political tapestry and shifting global paradigms. It became the 'nerve centre' of the 'decolonising' project and what later became known as 'Fallism', a tool of analysis to which I shall later return. But before we discuss 'Fallism', we must ask the question: why the statue of Cecil John Rhodes?

Why the Statue of Cecil John Rhodes?

'Colonialism's deadly agenda of dispossession, dehumanisation and denial of rights live on its "elephant in the room" – the statue of Cecil John Rhodes, an ardent believer in colonialism, which has been called out by students who view the statue as a disturbing feature and a glaring reminder of African Black people's genocide, whom Rhodes had killed mercilessly in his lifetime' (Kasibe 2015)

'For Black students and staff arriving at the university, the statue was a constant reminder of how and for whom the university was designed' (Matebeni 2018).

Cecil John Rhodes spent his life sustaining the institutionalisation of the British Colonial Empire and as an ardent believer of colonialism and 'supremacy' of the White race. As reflected through the collection of his speeches, Vindex (F. Verschoyle) captures him to have told the House of Assembly during a debate on the 'Native Question' in Cape Town in 1887, that 'there must be class legislation, that there must be Pass Laws, Peace Preservation Acts, and that we have got to treat natives, where they are in a state of barbarism, in a different way to ourselves. We are to be lords over them' (Vindex 1900). He further pontificates that, 'The native is to be treated as a child and denied the franchise' (Vindex 1900). It is this belittling denial of Africans' rights to life and human liberties, which Rhodes stood for, that privileged colonialists' interests and championed the intergenerational transfer of wealth, sustained over centuries.

In essence, Rhodes was a capitalist and colonialist par excellence, whose socio-political and economic deals led to forced removals and genocidal acts against indigenous and native peoples in southern Africa. In the time that

he was in Zimbabwe ‘he hunted down and killed those who stood in his way as he usurped Zimbabwe’s land as his own property in racist “land grabs”, terrorising local people with scores of lynchings – which would now be recognised as acts of genocide – supporting the colonial agenda to take by force land and resources that belonged to African people’ (Kasibe 2015). As a result of this land grab, achieved through the barrel of a gun, a large part of Zimbabwe became Rhodesia, meaning “the land of Rhodes.”

When he became Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in 1890, he ‘implemented laws that would benefit mine and industry owners’ and pushed Black people from their lands to make way for industrial development. This was a precursor to the devastating Land Act of 1913. Rhodes had reduced Black people as a race to units of production for exploitative profit. It is this glaring, painful legacy that Rhodes invokes, which led to the cataclysm of 20 June 1913, when the ‘South African native found himself not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth’ as Sol. T. Plaatje writes in his classic account, *Native Life in South Africa Before and Since the European War and the Boer Republic* (Plaatje 1916).

It is the presence of the statue of such a tainted figure that plunged the university and country into political upheaval, and the time to answer the question of its removal had come. The statue has great symbolic power: a monument glorifying a man who was undeniably racist, imperialist, colonialist, and misogynist. Before it was removed, the statue stood at the centre of what is supposedly the ‘greatest university in Africa’. The presence of Rhodes, representing South Africa’s history of dispossession and exploitation of Black people, is an act of violence against Black students, workers and staff, who felt violated by the presence of this colonial symbol at the university. The statue was therefore the embodiment of the experience of Black alienation and disempowerment and, therefore, the natural starting point of protest for the movement. Matebeni animates this point by arguing that,

Statues and monuments give those with the power and resources to erect them a history. Simultaneously, h(er)stories of those powerless are wiped out because, in essence, colonial and apartheid histories were already about obliteration. Black people mostly appeared as exploitable labour, dispossessed of their lands, bodies and minds. It is thus no surprise that, with the beginning of the democratic era, colonial-infused apartheid monuments, symbols and statues had to be reconsidered (Matebeni 2018).

The removal of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes on 9 April 2015 marked the beginning of a revival of broader, serious conversations about the decolonisation project at universities across South Africa, Africa, and globally. Since the removal of the statue, the country and the world has

witnessed the birth of students' movements at proportions previously unimagined: #RhodesMustFall Oxford (UK), Decolonise Wits, Decolonise Law (UCT), Open Stellenbosch (Stellenbosch), Black Students Movement (Rhodes University), #GeorgeMustFall (UKZN), #OutsourcingMustFall, #PatriarchyMustFall, #FeesMustFall, #RoyalMustFall (USA, Harvard), Trans Collective, and many other evolving movements whose posture is derived from the 'Fallist' approach catalysed by the #RhodesMustFall movement

In retrospect, one could safely argue that RMF became part of a long tradition of resistance against colonial and apartheid continuities, and its place in the unfolding South African history of students' movements can undoubtedly be situated alongside earlier movements. Although the RMF movement caught the attention of the world through its radical stance against colonisation, apartheid, institutionalised racism, perceived White supremacy and many other forms of oppressions, it never claimed monopoly over the struggle, but it saw its existence in the context of an unfolding history of South African student-led movements and activism. It was an idea whose time had come. Through ceaseless action(s) and robust intellectual engagement that sharply invoked renewed calls for structural asymmetries to fall, both within and outside of the university, it made a strong and compelling case for what later became known as 'Fallism'. But what is 'Fallism' and what is its praxis?

'Fallism' and its Praxis

Often people ask, 'What scholarly contribution has the RMF movement made to the academy?' And every time this question is asked, I pause to think, not because I am unable to answer it, but simply because I need to choose from the long list of things the movement has contributed to, in order to provide an appropriate answer. And one of those contributions, among many others, is the re-invigoration of 'Fallism', its praxis and political ingenuity, through which it was able to navigate its position in a volatile, politically charged space, within and outside of the university, at least in its formative stages before it gave rise to the #FeesMustFall (FMF) campaign later in October 2015.

Having been at the forefront and throughout the unfolding processes of the 'Fallist' movement, it is without any doubt that RMF will remain one of the most poignant moments in the country's unravelling history, and that of the world, in that it resuscitated the most important structural questions about societal asymmetries that continue to imprison our 'postcolonial' reality. Through its unconventional approach to South African politics, it set in motion centripetal and centrifugal political forces to shift the contours of power against the colonial presence entrenched in society. I use the term

‘resuscitation’, deliberately, to suggest that the movement was ‘born’ with a vigour and new impetus to reignite the revolutionary fires passed down from one generation to the next by those who came before us; therefore, the anti-colonial and decolonial contribution made by RMF should never be understood outside of this historical context.

Its fight against colonial continuities draws its essence from the wars of resistance and the fight for independence and self-determination waged by our worthy ancestors against European and Western colonising forces, long before we were born. This implies that RMF was part of a continuum, which sought to respond to the cries of those who came before us. To bring this into a proper context, let us invoke Amílcar Cabral, who argues that ‘we must act as if we answer, and only answer to *our Ancestors*, our *children*, and the *unborn*’ (Cabral 1969). In this passage, Cabral draws a visual image of a revolutionary struggle as a continuous sequence of the past, present and future with an intergenerational character. It is this intergenerational character of the revolutionary demands and anti-colonial posture of RMF that gives us confidence to suggest that its call for structural dismantling was a response to the cry of our ancestors, who died fighting against colonialism; and not only this, it also became a tool in the hands of the oppressed to fulfil their generational mission.

Through its aforementioned cardinal pillars, the movement succeeded in influencing the ways in which the academy thought about the production of new knowledge across South African universities and abroad.

While it remains an undisputed fact that it was through the activism of RMF that deeper questions about decolonisation, curriculum transformation and confronting institutional racism were resuscitated, it is, however, deeply concerning that since its birth more than ten years ago, there has been no substantial institute-initiated legacy project by any of the South African universities, let alone UCT, to acknowledge and preserve the important contribution made by RMF to the academy and society at large. There seems to be a conspiracy of silence. But this conspiracy of silence, and what seems to be systemic refusal to acknowledge the central role that RMF played in the broader politics that inform the tapestry of our heritage landscape, should not come as a surprise, because those who were offended by the action(s) of RMF are in charge of resources and, therefore, will use their power to silence any reference to the nobility of this revolutionary cause.

This may explain why most White people and clever Blacks are still angry at RMF and more than ten years later, they still characterise those who actively participated in the RMF activities as ‘barbarians’ who were anti-education and did not want to study. I argue that these anti-RMF critics

fail to understand the pain that gave rise to the actions of RMF activists. Not only this, but they are also oblivious to fact that some of us went on to acquire our doctoral degrees in order to contribute to the intellectualisation of our direct involvement in the struggle against colonial continuities. This ability to write about our own experiences has helped us express our side of the story and prevent our experiences from being appropriated by those who neither understand nor have any affinity for our cause.

What our detractors will not take away from us is the fact that history chose us, and we heeded the call and stood up when it was not fashionable to do so, and in so doing, we animated and injected a critical consciousness of what has been termed 'Fallism' into the body politic and ways of being in relation to the politics of our time. Perhaps the only way to respond to our detractors is to vehemently reject them with the same passion with which they rejected RMF.

We are seeking new trajectories from the complex interconnections of ideas that bridge the past and present – continuities that have now sparked demands for radical change in universities and public spaces. I now explain this 'decolonial' critique as a 'Philosophy of Fallism' that seeks to call for oppressive systems to fall. It is a philosophy in the sense that it presents a theory and guiding principle for our existence in relation to the asymmetrical distribution of power in society, and I argue that one way in which to engage this asymmetry is through 'Fallism'. Using critical theory as a tool of analysis, I seek to decolonise via the praxis of 'Fallism'.

What is 'Fallism'?

In the context of this essay, 'Fallism' is a newly invented sociological tool of analysis and a lens through which I question existing oppressive societal structures and colonial symbols that reflect essentialising colonial theories in society today. 'Fallism' is a collective effort towards decolonisation, and when applied practically in universities and public spaces, it includes the removal of colonial symbols, the fall of epistemic violence that draws its essence from the colonial matrices of power and scholarship. It constitutes the 'Renaissance of African scholarship', and while it attempts to use Africa as a point from which to analyse society, on the one hand, it also wrestles with the Euro-Western canon to find new pathways into critical scholarship on the other.

'Fallism' arises from the tradition of critical theory and is rooted in the 'Black existential reality' and the idea of speaking truth to colonial power in an uncensored 'voice'. Its dialectical approach opposes colonial epistemology, ontology and praxis. It calls for these structures to fall in

order for new structures to emerge; it deconstructs in order to reconstruct. 'Fallism' signifies what Fanon calls the 'creation of new men' (Fanon 1963: 28), new men not in a gendered sense but in the sense of 'newness', a call to reinvigorate our collective fight against all forms of oppressive structures that are embedded in society.

'Fallism' is an outcome of the Black oppressed, crying out to say that we are suffocating in this neo-colonial arrangement and status quo. It comes out of student activism at universities in a specific geography, South Africa, which has a long history of conquest and genocide from the first colonial encounters to the most recent, apartheid. It arose from the 'mother' of the 'Fallist' movement, #RhodesMustFall, which was sparked by the act of Maxwele who threw human excrement at the statue of Cecil John Rhodes on 9 March 2015 at the University of Cape Town (UCT); and now 'Fallism' has been extended to critique current societal structures and ideologies to question whether they should 'fall'.

'Fallism' is a direct response to White 'supremacy', which presents what could be called the episteme of rupture from captivating colonial and neo-colonial tropes, which have held people captive since the 'Enlightenment'. It premises its pedagogy of disobedience and the disruption of oppressive structures with the idea of restoring the dignity of people who have been subjected to past violations, which are still being perpetuated in various guises today. 'Fallism' is not an event, but an ongoing process of creating and seeking justice, inspired by the new histories from below and alternative ways of being and seeing in the world.

'Fallism' is an organic collective activism that evolves in response to ideas and concerns of the people. A key theme has focused on decolonising university and civic public spaces, as demonstrated in #RhodesMustFall (UCT), #RhodesMustFall (Oxford University), #RhodesMustFall (Caribbean), #RoyalMustFall (Harvard), #LeopoldMustFall (Queen Mary University, UK), #KingGeorgeMustFall (UKZN), #KrugerMustFall (City of Pretoria) and many other 'Fallist' interventions that have occurred in South Africa, and in the rest of the Africa and the diaspora. It is a movement that has gathered strength to review, rename and remove oppressive symbols of the slave-owning Confederacy in thirty US states. Notable events inspired by #RhodesMustFall (UCT) included the removal of the Confederate flag from the South Carolina state house by Bree Newsome on 27 June 2015, in the aftermath of the Charleston church massacre of 17 June 2015 – and the subsequent publicity succeeded in forcing authorities to remove the flag permanently two weeks later; the removal of statues of Silent Sam, a Confederate soldier (UNC-Chapel Hill), and

J. Marion Sims, who was lauded as the 'Father of Gynaecology' but who repeatedly performed surgery without anaesthesia on enslaved women who could not consent (City of New York, Central Park); and the removal of other Confederate monuments by mayors, Mitch Landrieu who wrote *In the Shadow of Statues: A White Southerner Confronts History* (City of New Orleans, USA), and Mayor Catherine Pugh, who removed several statues under cover of darkness 'in the best interest of my city' (City of Baltimore, USA) (Pugh 2017).

The concerns of 'Fallism' move with political events, inspiring campaigns against economic injustice and societal discrimination, including #OutsourcingMustFall (university workers), #FeesMustFall (decommodification of university education), #PatriarchyMustFall (resulting from experiences of #RhodesMustFall), #AfrophobiaMustFall (after tragic incidents involving xenophobic attacks on immigrant students and workers in Johannesburg and Durban).

Around this time, a political call for the removal of the then South African state president began and was named #ZumaMustFall. However, this attracted criticism as it was seen as a direct result of the economic downgrading of South Africa to 'junk status', when White South Africans felt economically insecure and appropriated a #MustFall campaign to protect their pockets, with no thought of the plight of the majority of Black citizens. The #MustFall movement was created by students to highlight Black pain in a post-apartheid society, and this was opportunistically seized upon by White people, who were merely interested in economic self-preservation and wealth accumulation, so it was viewed extremely negatively. We also witnessed political parties jumping onto this bandwagon for political expediency.

As a political and intellectual phenomenon born of student activism, with an emerging praxis of calling for oppressive systems to fall, 'Fallism' continues a long tradition of resistance and of questioning the episteme of the status quo. It disrupts the grand narrative of a 'perfect' past and draws strength from the socio-political and academic struggles of Black people as a race, as well as those who are oppressed. Through its rubric, 'Fallism' challenges us to heed Fanon's call, 'O my body, make of me always a man who questions!' (Fanon 1963: 232).

'Fallism' stands diametrically opposed to any form of oppression that breeds social injustice, institutional racism, toxic masculinity, misogynistic tendencies, toxic patriarchy, perceived White supremacy and the institutions that maintain these socio-cultural behaviours. 'Fallism' critiques the past while being firmly rooted in the present, to dismantle and abolish these

structural oppressions with the intention of creating a much more egalitarian society. The contradiction with 'Fallism', however, is that while it seeks to question current structures, it creates new thinking and structures based on the ideas drawn from the current prevailing circumstances. In simple terms, it seeks to 'destructure' without dictating new forms, instead suggesting a future founded on African values of global humanism, which is not a new concept at all. These African values include the philosophy of Ubuntu, 'I am because we are' – drawing strength and identity from the humanity of the African community and wider society, which gives rise to the politics of care. There is a grounding in communal existence, where an individual belongs to the collective, which is reflected in the proverb 'It takes a village to raise a child'; and echoed in the statements of African women, 'Your child is also my child', indicating the adults are raising this child in community.

This extends to community governance with 'lekgotlas' (traditional gatherings) where issues are discussed, and consensus is reached, and communal land ownership, towards a politics of belonging. This is in sharp contrast to the imported European beliefs of capitalism, competition and the valorisation of individualistic consumption and ownership, which echoes in the legacy of one White settler owning thousands of hectares of land, while many thousands of Africans are dispossessed, landless and struggling to survive in a capitalist system. Figure 2 is a visual representation of the intersectional factors that have shaped the 'Fallism' movement.

At its intersecting horizons, 'Fallism' raises issues of historical justice, truth, restoration of human dignity, towards building an equitable society where the sanctity of human life is valued above profit. 'Fallism' presents itself as an anti-colonial/anti-capitalist theoretical framework that inclines towards a socialist model, with a Black Nationalist and Internationalist posture. If there is such a thing as a generational mission, as envisioned by Fanon, where he argues that 'each generation must out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfil it or betray it' (Fanon 1963: xxxi), then 'Fallism' would be the modality by which we call for structural dismantling, and 'Falliology' would then be the study through which we decode that mission.

Furthermore, as part of a long tradition of 'Black resistance', 'Fallism' claims no individual heroism, but began as a collective response to a systemic repressive colonial violence whose fundamental purpose was to create a system that will maintain the 'supremacy' of the Caucasian race at the expense of the colonial 'subjects'. As we have discussed, colonial 'subjects' are defined in this collegial submission as those communities and societies whose ways of life and identities have been targeted, decimated and nearly erased over time as a result of colonial conquests and acts of genocide.

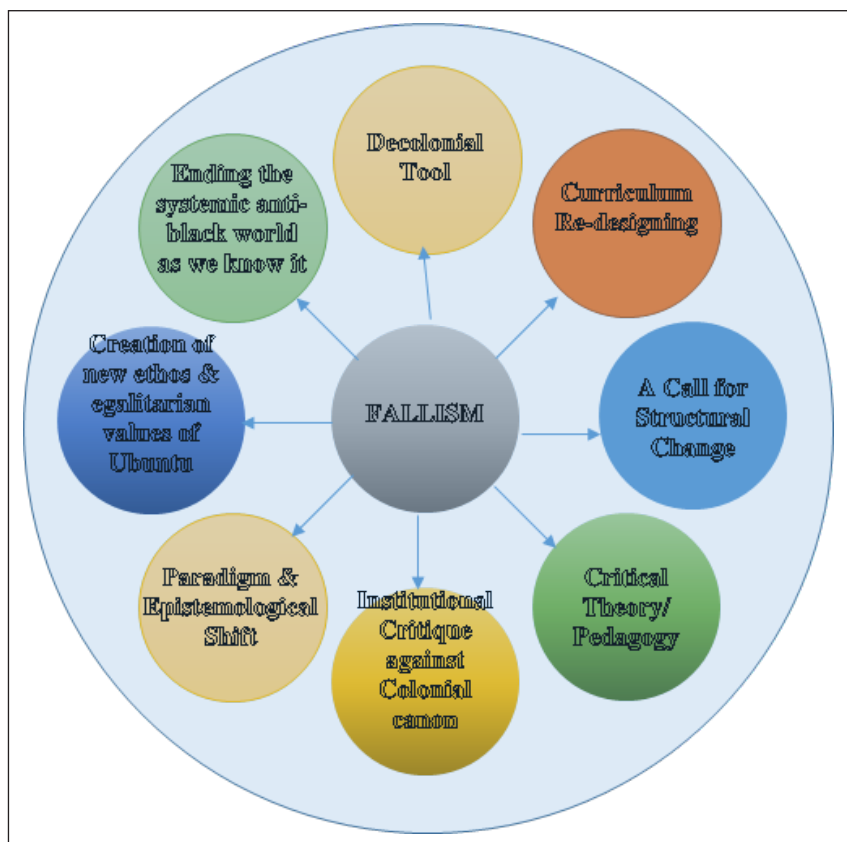


Figure 2: Diagram depicting what 'Fallism' may mean at the epistemological and political levels

Locating 'Fallism' within a 'Decolonial' Context

The proposed 'Fallist lens' looks specifically at the notion of 'decolonisation' as a practical response to the colonial epistemology encoded in the 'DNA' of institutions of knowledge production, such as universities. The concept of 'decolonisation' is not new, but its 'anti-colonial' praxis and meaning evolves as it addresses the changing dynamics of the 'post-colonial' era.² 'Decolonisation' is noted here in quotation marks precisely because of its changing meaning and interpretations, and linguistic limitations. For example, I ask: how could we execute a 'decolonial' idea through a colonial language? And borrowing from Audre Lorde's logic, I further ask: can the colonial master's linguistic tool dismantle the colonial master's systems of knowledge in universities? What does it really mean to utilise the coloniser's tools and methods to dismantle the lingering colonial system?

In the final analysis, what would 'decolonisation' look like in a university context? Or what would a 'decolonised' university look like? It is through these questions and others similar to these, that we acknowledge the limitations of 'decolonisation' as an antithesis to colonization. Its locus of 'truth' lies in the fact that, as long as colonisation and its institutionalisation exist, a tension will persist: 'decolonisation' will always find expression in the body politic. Though 'decolonisation' may mean different things to different people, here we borrow its meaning from Linda Thiwai Smith to refer to 'a process which engages with imperialism and colonialism at multiple levels' (Smith 1999: 20).

Carla Wilson, engaging with Smith's work, argues that decolonisation entails 'a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values that inform research practices' (Wilson 2001), which have underpinned the production of a university with colonial entanglements. It proposes a new framework that would enable the disclosure of truths about the colonial foundations of European epistemology, in which Africa is still represented as the 'other', thus relegated to the margins.

'Fallism' and Critical Theory

'Fallism' has its intellectual roots in critical theory, decolonial reasoning towards realising critical pedagogy and praxis. According to Christian Fuchs, critical theory is defined sociologically as 'an approach that studies society in a dialectical way by analysing political economy, domination, exploitation and ideologies' and 'from the first, expressed an explicit interest in the abolition of social injustice' (Fuchs 2015). Stephen Eric Bronner says that critical theory questions 'all thought and practices that uphold domination and exploitation' (Bronner 1994: 3) and critiques ideology that attempts to essentialise ways of human existence, which are, as Fuchs reasons, 'historical and changeable' (Fuchs 2015).

In essence, Bronner brings to our attention the fact that 'critical theory is not a system nor is it reducible to any fixed set of prescriptions' (Bronner 1994: 2) but finds expression in Fuchs' reasoning, who argues that critical theory is 'connected to struggles for a just and fair society, it is an intellectual dimension of struggles' (Fuchs 2015). Critical theory draws on Marxist thought, which rejects philosophy as static. As Carl Marx himself argues, 'The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it' (Marx 1845: xi). However, Italian philosopher and political theoretician Constanzo Preve points out that Marx draws philosophical inspiration from four 'masters' – Epicurus for

'the materialism of freedom from the doctrine of the clinamen or random "swerving" of atoms' (Balibar 1995: 7); Jean-Jacques Rousseau for 'the idea of egalitarian democracy or association based on the direct participation of citizens in the formation of the general will' (Balibar 1995: 7); Adam Smith for the notion 'that the basis of property is labour', and from his great adversary, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel for ideas of 'dialectical contradiction and historicity' (Balibar 1995: 7).

Critical theory derives from Marxist thought, and the classical Marxist paradigm foregrounds the idea advanced by Etienne Balibar (1995), who argues that 'the means of production determines the very nature of society'. This is the linear idea of the base-superstructure relationship. 'The economy is the base of all social structure, including institutions and ideas' (Seiler 2008). In this model, Robert M. Seiler argues that the 'working-class groups are oppressed by the group (in power) who benefits from profit. [And that] all institutions that perpetuate domination within a capitalistic society arise from this economic system. Only when the working class rises against the dominant groups can the liberation of the worker be achieved' (Seiler 2008). His argument draws its essence from *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels', where they bring to the fore the argument that the 'history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles' (Marx and Engels 1848). To Marx and Engels,

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes' (Marx and Engels 1848).

In these passages, class is presented as the 'primary contradiction' of opposing social forces where hierarchies of the upper and the lower classes clash, within the structures of power that maintain these class strata. Underlying these layers of power is the question of capital and means of production: who produces for whom? Who controls and owns what has been produced? Who has access to the final product? These questions and others inform the characteristic of the Marxist posture and its utopia of a 'classless' society.

History records that a year after Marx and Engels wrote *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx was exiled to London in 1849 and lived there for the rest of his life. And that 'it was only in 1859, through Lassalle, that Marx learned of the existence of a certain economist named Rodbertus and thereupon Marx

looked up the “third social letter” in the British Museum’ (Engels 1893: 2). And ‘Much of [Marx’s] time was spent in the reading rooms of the British Museum (which then housed the British Library Collection) ... There he worked on his most celebrated book *Das Kapital*. It puts forward his theory of political economy, with its celebrated phrase “From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs” (Marx Reader at the British Library).

It is quite fascinating that this revolution in thought was born at the British Museum and continues in the museum’s original conception as a place of muses, where knowledge came alive through scholarship, dialogue, and the creation of new discourse. Importantly, the integration of the British Library and the Museum allowed a generative space for ideas, as well as consultation of the collections, archives and holdings. Until 1973, the British Library was part of the Museum and the major national research library.



Figure 3: The British Museum Library’s admissions register showing Karl Marx’s visit to the Library and the Museum (British Library: ‘Marx reader at the British Library’ Available at: <http://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item106263.html> (Accessed 13 October 2018)

During Marx’s London exile, he drew ideas from the material and exposure to the British Library and Museum, together with the archives, confirmed by records, for example ‘his entry in the 1873 admissions register’ (Figure 3). It is quite interesting that Marx did his work at the British Library and Museum, but somehow subverted this paramount institution of coloniality through his imagination, creating liberating ideas.

Though Marx defined class as the ‘primary contradiction’, writing in *The Communist Manifesto* that ‘Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other – bourgeoisie and proletariat’ (Marx and Engels 1954 [1888]: 120), in South Africa, I argue that the ‘primary contradiction’ of class is actually pre-determined by race and the history of separation of peoples. Leaving this

presupposition unexplained will create an impression that Marx's context of class as the primary contradiction is a universal phenomenon when in actual fact in the South African historical context, this has not been the case, as race was used by the apartheid regime as the main determinant of one's social status. Now I discuss this phenomenon.

Race as a Primary Contradiction in South Africa

Apartheid, 'translated from the Afrikaans meaning "apartness" was the ideology supported by the National Party (NP) government and was introduced in South Africa in 1948. Apartheid called for separate development of the different racial groups in South Africa' (South African History Online) and used race as an overarching ideological framework to separate people on the basis of their skin pigmentation.

As French economist Thomas Piketty argues in his work *Capital in the Twenty-first Century*, 'no government programme could be sustained without an "apparatus of justification"' (Piketty 2014). English political essayist George Monbiot notes that government programmes would be politically impossible, as 'Current levels of inequality would be considered intolerable. The destruction of the living world would be the occasion of constant protest. This apparatus of justification ... and the justifying narratives it generates allow the rich to seize much of our commonwealth, to trample the rights of workers and to treat the planet as their dustbin' (Monbiot 2016: 1).

One such justification that led to genocide and crimes against humanity was the exclusionary definition of 'Man'. Fanon reveals this psychopathic foundation of settler colonialism as follows: 'Leave this Europe where they are never done talking of Man, yet murder men everywhere they find them' (Sartre in Fanon, 1961: 8). Jamaican writer and cultural theorist Sylvia Wynter notes that the exclusionary definitions, the first being 'Man1' arose in the Renaissance with *homo politicus* (Wynter 2003: 257–337), a political subject of the state, founded on the humanist idea of man as a rational being, and was reinvented after the colonial encounter with the Americas, giving rise to the 'profitable brutalities that attend the realisation of Man-as-human' (McKittrick 2014: 7).

This definition then evolved into 'Man2', *Homo oeconomicus*, in the wake of the nineteenth century, with the colonial episteme's embrace of Darwinism and scientific racism, translating White supremacy into 'survival of the fittest', that is of Europeans, while native races were assured of becoming extinct in the not-so-distant future.

As Sylvia Wynter explains:

[A]s Quijano rightly insists, race – unlike gender (which has a biogenetically determined anatomical differential correlate onto which each cultures system of gendered oppositions can be anchored) – is a purely invented construct that has no such correlate (Quijano 2000), it was this construct that would enable the now globally expanding West to replace the earlier mortal/immortal, natural/supernatural, human/the ancestors, the gods/God distinction as the one on whose basis all human groups had millennially ‘grounded’ their descriptive statement/prescriptive statements of what it is to be human, and to reground its secularizing own on a newly projected human/subhuman distinction instead. That is, on Quijano’s ‘Racism/Ethnicism’ complex, Winant’s ‘race concept,’ Mignolo’s ‘colonial difference,’ redefined in the terms of the Spanish states theoretical construct of a ‘by-nature difference’ between Spaniards and the indigenous peoples of the Americas (Padgen 1982): a difference defined in Ginés de Sepúlveda’s sixteenth-century terms as almost a difference between ‘monkeys and men’ (Wynter 2003: 263).

Consequently, in the colonial era it was justified to impose a gradation of social rank where indigenous Africans were cast out of humanity as non-human, stripped of their human rights and their labour was manipulated at will to produce wealth for White bodies. In other words, Africans became defined as the ‘sub-human’ and as Homi Bhabha recounts, ‘what is often called the Black soul is a White man’s artefacts’ (Bhabha in Fanon 1986: xv).

In South Africa, this ideology of domination could be traced from the early arrivals and encounters of the Portuguese, English East India Company and Dutch East India Company, which laid a foundation for continuing settler colonialism (see Theal 1890: 9). According to Adam Barker and Emma Battell Lowman, settler colonialism is ‘a distinct type of colonialism that functions through the replacement of indigenous populations with an invasive settler society that, over time, develops a distinctive identity and sovereignty’ which justifies its existence by creating ‘false narratives and structures of settler belonging’ (Barker and Lowman 2015) in order to erase the indigenous population.

In the book *National Life from the Standpoint of Science*, the eminent English statistician and eugenics supporter, Karl Pearson, discusses the South African condition: ‘We shall never have a healthy social state in South Africa until the White man replaces the dark in the fields and the mines, and the Kaffir is pushed back towards the equator. The nation organised for the struggle [of existence] must be a *homogenous* whole, not a mixture of superior and inferior races’ (Pearson 1901: 47–8).

The dispossession by the colonial state was not only physical, but also cultural, linked to the colonality of gender with the erasure of indigenous gender roles and power, replaced by a heteronormative patriarchal colonial structure, which defined a dichotomy of genders (men and women), and subordinated women in all categories to men, and women were stripped of rights and defined as property. According to Fredoline Anunobi, 'While the status of women in precolonial Africa varied greatly, the impact of European colonialism was mainly to reverse or further diminish their position in society' (Anunobi 2002: 44–5). Women's agency was limited politically and economically, with the colony becoming a mirror image of the restricted European ideas of the role of women in a patriarchal society. Additionally, there was a destruction of pre-colonial social structure and family relationships by capitalism and the introduction of a migrant labour system to support White settler colonists.

In this breaking down of indigenous society by the colonists, Black people found themselves in two worlds, one that served the White colonialist, and another as part of the Black community. This dichotomy requires code-switching between the two realities, enduring the oppressive cruelty of a slave–master relationship compounded by dehumanising experiences of being Black, and then traversing back into one's own community, angered at systemic violence against oneself and people, but required to be an upstanding, responsible member of the community. There is also an expectation that one will be an obedient citizen, even if one's rights are denied by the colonial and apartheid state. This is an untenable situation, which creates ongoing cognitive dissonance and erupts unexpectedly into anger and violence if there is no liberatory political agenda to disrupt the system.

This predicament leads to a psychology of survival where one looks through the eyes of the powerful 'other' and this consciousness of power-relations overtakes one's own identity and sense of self. This is a traumatic self-negation, that William Edward Burghardt (W.E.B) DuBois explains with the idea of 'double consciousness', where Black people have 'the sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others' (DuBois 1903: 3), the colonising Whites. Fanon argues further that by self-negating, 'he [the Black man] becomes Whiter as he renounces his Blackness, his jungle' (Fanon 1986: 18). He continues:

The Black man has two dimensions. One with his fellows, the other with the White man. A Negro behaves differently with the White man and with another Negro. That this self-division is a direct result of colonialist subjugation is beyond question ... No one would dream of doubting that

its major artery is fed from the heart of those various theories that have tried to prove that the Negro is a stage in the slow evolution of monkey into man (Fanon 1986: 17).

It is through this violence of colonially imposed self-erasure, that the Black person loses something of themselves as they fulfil Fanon's prediction 'for the Black man there is only one destiny. And it is White (Fanon 1986: 17).

In simple terms, Fanon uncovers the reality of power relations in the colony, with the Black native required to assume tropes of Whiteness to remain relevant within the colonial system. To maintain the colonial status quo, cultural genocide begins with people not allowed to speak their language or practice their culture, together with a deliberate psychological attack where Black people are forcibly dissociated from their own identity as they are assimilated into Whiteness by force, which is defined as a superior identity. This Black experience is in sharp contrast to the experience of the White European, first explorer, later coloniser, who travels the world to find that the definition of man is himself, the White European, a familiar fellow – an arbitrary and deliberate justification for displacement of local people and crimes against humanity committed by colonial agents. However, if assumptions are examined, the colonial logic irretrievably breaks down. Fanon discusses the importance of the idea that all men are created equal taken to its logical conclusion:

Thus the native discovers that his life, his breath, his beating heart are the same as those of the settler. He finds out that the settler's skin is not of any more value than a native's skin; and it must be said that this discovery shakes the world in a very necessary manner. All the new, revolutionary assurance of the native stems from it. For if, in fact, my life is worth as much as the settler's, his glance no longer shrivels me up nor freezes me, and his voice no longer turns me into stone. I am no longer on tenterhooks in his presence; in fact, I don't give a damn for him. Not only does his presence no longer trouble me, but I am already preparing such efficient ambushes for him that soon there will be no way out but that of flight (Fanon 2001: 35).

Now that a Black person realises they, too, are human, they can speak back, and they find their voice. They can speak back to something that has been imposed on them. However, the assertion of Black consciousness and an affirmation of 'Black is beautiful', a reclaiming of human rights and identity is seen as a threat to the powers that be. This has been seen over and over again in the reprisals against people such as Steve Bantu Biko, the leader of Black Consciousness (BC) who championed and affirmed the worth of Black people and their right to self-determination, and Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe who, speaking to students at Fort Hare as President of

the Students' Representative Council on 21 October 1949, called 'for the right to call our souls our own' (Sobukwe 1949), no longer owned by White people as 'artefacts', and that the stolen land must be returned.

The apartheid government found him so dangerous as a leader of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania that he was banished to solitary confinement on Robben Island. And then there was Malcolm X, who was portrayed as a dangerous 'terrorist' by the US government and the director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover. Malcolm X was simply calling for human rights for all, but concluded that the 'oppressed peoples must commit themselves to radical political struggle in order to advance a dignified approach to human rights' (Baraka 2017).

There is also Assata Olugbala Shakur, who was briefly a member of the Black Panther Party and Black Liberation Army, and who continues to be on the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) 'Most Wanted Terrorist' list. In the late 1990s, Pope John Paul II was asked to pressure Fidel Castro to extradite Assata and she responded in an open letter, 'Why, I wonder, do I warrant such attention? What do I represent that is such a threat?' (Davis in Shakur 1988: 3). She wrote an open letter to the #RhodesMustFall movement in March 2015 in which she shared her experience with Black student activists:

I have one message for you and your comrades. Do not be naïve about the mind of the White person – it has been taught since birth to believe in its superiority, and to believe that the African child must labor and toil so that his wealth and power can drop into his hands like rain from heaven (Shakur 2015).

The Black identity that Sobukwe, Biko, Malcolm X, Shakur and others shared with the world presented a threat to White supremacists and others in the wider society who were taught to look at Blackness and positionality as an aberration of humanity. To Black leaders, assertiveness enables a moment of rupture, disjuncture and disobedience. The disobedience that locates Blackness as a questioning 'voice', whose truth and determination arise from a historical tradition of resistance against oppressive systems designed to silence it. Black assertiveness and questioning disrupt the 'normalcy' of 'Whiteness', problematising Whiteness as a strange phenomenon that requires an investigative scrutiny.

In the account *Whiteness: The Communication of Social Identity*, communication professors Thomas K. Nakayama and Judith N. Martin's describe, in the American context, the 'invisibility of Whiteness', which is in fact an instrument of power. They suggest 'by exposing the "visibility" of Whiteness, the study of Whiteness helps us understand the ways that White

domination continues' (Nakayama and Martin 1999: 22). Conceptual British artist and theorist Victor Burgin extends French philosopher Roland Barthes' concept of class invisibility to race:

White however has a strange property of directing our attention to colour while in the very same movement it exnominates itself as a colour. For evidence of this we need to look no further than to the expression 'people of colour', for we know very well that this means 'not White' (Burgin in Puwar 2004: 58).

Here, Whiteness exerts the power of classification on others, while remaining undefinable. South African psychologist and gender theorist Natasha Distiller and sociologist Melissa Steyn argue that 'Whiteness draws power to itself by refusing to be named' (Distiller and Steyn 2004: 6). In these passages, Nakayama, Martin, Burgin, Distiller and Steyn highlight 'Whiteness' as a place of privilege, authority and power, which has never been systematically interrogated or displaced from its position of power, provoking us to ask the question: Why is Whiteness not critiqued?

In South Africa, the former colony of Great Britain and the Dutch, everything is still centred on the mores and values of these former empires, everything bears the mark of Europe: language, culture, architectural designs, university curricula, the economic system, the judiciary, system of governance, legislative frameworks, etc. Fundamentally, in South Africa's new democratic dispensation, we have just changed the faces of government from White to Black, the system continues with a democracy constructed on Western norms and values; for example, the judiciary follows Roman-Dutch law, which does not take account of traditional African legal systems and customs, and a parallel system of traditional African courts, so structurally, Whiteness has not been shaken. There have been some efforts towards change, for example, to redress the imbalances of the past, affirmative action and employment equity have been instituted in legislation, but these are being challenged by Whites. Change has been slight, and not at the scale that one would expect, as Whiteness and settler colonials continue to hold the power of the knowledge economy and the colonial system remains untouched.

A conceptual shift towards reclaiming the production of knowledge has been noted by Distiller and Steyn: 'an important but still embryonic development has been the emergence of work which shifts the academic gaze from the problems that come with being "Black" and "raced" to the processes of racialization into "Whiteness" and the social location of racial privilege' (Distiller and Steyn 2004: 2). Could this status quo suggest that South Africa is indeed a 'post-apartheid' but still apartheid South Africa, meaning that we no longer live in the apartheid era but the apartheid era still lives in the 'heart' of our nationhood?

Notions of decolonisation and questioning the centrality of 'Whiteness' have emerged to shift the gaze from 'Black' to 'White'. This process of speaking 'truth' to White power is observed in French philosopher Jean Paul Sartre's preface, 'Orphée Noir' (Black Orpheus), to the Senegalese poet, cultural theorist and President Léopold Sédar-Senghor's anthology of African and West Indian poets, a key early publication of the Negritude movement, where Black writers joined together to assert their cultural identity, writing in French. Sartre writes: 'Here are Black men standing, looking at us, and I hope that you – like me – will feel the shock of being seen' (Sartre in MacCombie 1964: 13); and he continues, 'today these Black men have fixed their gaze upon us and our gaze is thrown back in our eyes' (Sartre in Coetzee and Roux 2002: 149). Sartre shows us the awakening of the Black person, affirming their own identity and perspective, shedding subjective assumptions about Whiteness, and speaking back as an equal. What is striking in this excerpt is that Sartre assumes the reader is a fellow White, addressing 'you – like me' and describing 'our gaze'. Sartre positions himself individually as a White colonial, also implicated in the problem as he introspects, speaking to the conscience of a wider White society. Would a wider reflection in society catalyse processes of transformation and decolonisation?

Echoing Distiller and Steyn's problematisation of Whiteness and racial privilege in the academy, British film theorist Richard Dyer alerts us to the fact that the 'point of looking at Whiteness is to dislodge it from its centrality and authority' (Dyer 1997: 10) and as an act of resistance and disobedience it is not an easy task; as British sociologist Nirmal Puwar observes, 'it means training the eye to see the racial nature of that which has been defined as outside race, to be unmarked by race, as just normal' (Puwar 2004: 135). It is precisely in this normalcy that Whiteness has, over centuries, centralised its power. So Puwar suggests, 'in order to shift the centrifugal place of masculinity and Whiteness ... the central place of Whiteness and masculinity needs to be named and problematised' (Puwar 2004: 135). I have argued elsewhere that, 'to problematise Whiteness we need to look to the very internal structures in which "Whiteness" is rooted and established' (Kasibe 2006), and as British sociologists Vron Ware and Les Back argue in *Out of Whiteness*, 'we need to go beyond the surface appearance of Whiteness to investigate its complex and awesome internal structures' (Ware and Back 2002: 1). And since Ware and Back call for the investigation of Whiteness as a system of power, not White people per se, I want to argue that 'Fallism' could be applied as that investigative tool and institutional critique through which White supremacist ideas and

internal structures that perpetuate racial and economic asymmetries could be challenged. Those who apply it (Fallists) in their daily lives almost make a lifetime commitment and allegiance to something bigger than themselves. This allegiance is as Athabile Nonxuba, an RMF activist, puts it, ‘an oath of allegiance that everything to do with oppression and conquest of Black people by White power must fall and be destroyed’ (Kayum 2019: 149).

In an anti-Black world, therefore, ‘Fallism’ as a stricture against any form of injustice emanating from either colonialism or contemporary manifestations of slavery and oppression becomes a *sine qua non* in the process of decolonisation and re-engineering of society. It is what Thobani Zikalala (aka Iphara) describes as ‘the politics of defiance and resistance inspired by Black Consciousness, Pan Africanism and Black Radical Feminism, intersectional in orientation and Socialist in form’ (Zikalala 2022). To animate Zikalala’s point, I argue that ‘Fallism’ could become a philosophy and school of thought, an alternative tool for analysing society and generating ideas to confront colonial matrices of power and pervasive injustices that compound inequalities today.

In a nutshell, ‘Fallism’ therefore becomes one of the most progressive tools that the ‘Fallist’ movement has given to this generation, and it is up to society to use it where it deems fit. Perhaps only time will tell whether we, as the oppressed, have taken advantage of this tool to dismantle our own oppression and redress the imbalances of the past, thus freeing the next generation and the one that will come after it.

Notes

1. ‘Sargon of Akkad’, the pseudonym of a British right-wing YouTuber and political commentator Carl Benjamin, gained prominence in 2016 for criticising progressivism, identity politics and the mainstream media.
2. This term is used cautiously to refer to the period after Africa’s independence from the rule of the former European and Western empires that colonised it. The colonial traces and legacies, however, remain intact on the African continent.

References

- Ahmed, A.K., 2019, ‘The rise of Fallism: #RhodesMustFall and the movement to decolonise the university’ (Unpublished thesis, University of Cape Town).
- Anunobi, F., 2002, ‘Women and development in Africa: From marginalization to gender inequality’, *African Social Science Review*, 2(2).
- Baraka, A., 2017, ‘Malcolm X and human rights in the time of Trumpism: Transcending the masters tools’, Blog, 22 February. Available at: <https://www.ajamubaraka.com/blog/2017/2/22/malcolm-x-and-human-rights-in-the-time-of-trumpism-transcending-the-masters-tools> (Accessed 8 September 2018).

- Barker, A.J., and Lowman, E.B., 2015, *Settler: Identity and Colonialism in 21st Century Canada*, Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.
- Barker, A., and Lowman, E.B., 2015, 'Settler colonialism', *Global Social Theory*. Available at: <https://globalsocialtheory.org/concepts/settler-colonialism/> (Accessed 4 September 2018).
- British Library, Marx reader at the British Library. Available at: (Accessed 13 October 2018).
- Bronner, E. S., 1994, *Critical Theory and its Theorists*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Burgin V., 1996, In/Different Spaces: Place and Memory in Visual Culture, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, in N. Puwar, 2004, *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*, London: Berg Publishers.
- Balibar, E., 1995, *The Philosophy of Marx*, London: Verso.
- Bhabha, K.H., 1986, 'Foreword' in F. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, London: Pluto Press.
- Cabral, A., 1969, *Revolution in Guinea: An African People's Struggle: Selected Texts 1924–1973*, London: Stage 1.
- DuBois, W.E.B., 1903, *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches*, Chicago, IL: AC McClurg & Co.
- Davis, Y.A., 1988, 'Foreword', in A. Shakur, Assata: An Autobiography, London: Zed Books.
- Dyer, R., 2004, *White: Essays on Race and Culture*, London: Routledge, 1997) p. 10 in N. Puwar, 2004, *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*, London: Berg Publishers.
- Distiller, N., and Steyn, M., 2004, *Under Construction*, Cape Town: Heinemann Publishers.
- Engels, F., 1893, 'Preface', *Das Kapital: Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, Hamburg: Verlag von Otto Meissner.
- Fanon, F., 1963, *The Wretched of the Earth*, English transl. by C. Farrington, (French edition, 1961, Paris: François Maspero éditeur S.A.R.L.), New York: Grove Press.
- Fanon, F., 1986, *Black Skin, White Masks*, transl. by C.L. Markmann, London: Pluto Press.
- Fuchs, C., 2015, 'Critical theory', in G. Mazzoleni (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Political Communication*, London: John Wiley & Sons.
- Kasibe, G.W., 2006, 'Malundeness, personal memory and the diaspora: Politics of the skin' (unpublished thesis).
- Kasibe, G.W., 2019, 'No middle ground on genocidal Rhodes'. Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/opinion/no-middle-ground-on-genocidal-rhodes-1833325> (Accessed 2 May 2020).
- Mahlangu, V., 2016, Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/vemahlangu/posts/pfbid0e8ziTagew1d8WxA3RPHVVbzh23MCurty2qKCYSHHBX1gm7Pzfx-oJzpCZHourtPhpl> (15 December 2016).
- Marx, K., 1845, *Theses on Feuerbach*, Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- Marx, K., and Engels, F., 1848, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm> (Accessed 20 August 2019).

- Matebeni, Z., 2018, '#RhodesMustFall – It was never just about the statue'. Available at: <https://za.boell.org/en/2018/02/19/rhodesmustfall-it-was-never-just-about-statue> (Accessed 2 May 2020).
- McKittrick, K., 2014, 'Yours in the intellectual struggle: Sylvia Wynter and the realization of the living', in K. McKittrick (ed). *Sylvia Wynter: On Being Human as Praxis*, Durham, NC.: Duke University.
- Mignolo, W.D., 2000a. *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Monbiot, G., 2016, *How Did We Get Into This Mess: Politics, Equality, Nature*, London: Verso.
- Nakayama K.T., and Martin, N.J., 1999, *Whiteness: The Communication of Social*, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Pagden, A., 1982, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pearson, K., 1901, *National Life from the Standpoint of Science*, pp. 47–8, in P. Brantlinger, 1985, 'Victorians and Africans: The Genealogy of the Myth of the Dark Continent', *Critical Inquiry*, 12(1).
- Piketty, T., 2014, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Pugh C., 2017, in N. Fandos et al., 'Baltimore Mayor had statues removed in 'best interest of my city'. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/16/us/baltimore-confederate-statues.html> (Accessed 2 November 2018).
- Puwar, N., 2004, *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*, London: Berg Publishers.
- Quijano, A., 2000, 'Qué tal Raza' Paper prepared for the Conference of Coloniality Working Group, at SUNY-Binghamton.
- Sartre, J-P., 1961, 'Preface' in F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Paris, *François Maspéro* éditeur.
- Sartre, J-P., 1964, transl. J. MacCombie, 'Black Orpheus', *Massachusetts Review*, 6(1): 13. www.jstor.org/stable/25087216
- Sartre, J-P., 'Black Orpheus', in P.H. Coetzee and A.P.J. Roux, 2002, *Philosophy from Africa*, 2nd edition, Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Seiler, R.M., 2008, 'Human communication in the Critical Theory tradition', pp. 6–8. Available at: <http://www.ucalgary.ca/~rseiler/critical.htm> (Accessed 20 August 2018).
- Shakur, O.A., 2015, 'Pull down the statue', Former Black Panther Assata Shakur's Open Letter to UCT Students. Available at: <http://hsrccpress.bookslive.co.za/blog/2015/04/07/pull-down-the-statue-former-Black-panther-assata-shakurs-open-letter-to-uct-students/> (Accessed 8 September 2018).
- Smith, T.L., 1999, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, London: Zed Books.
- South African History Online, A History of Apartheid in South Africa. Available at: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-apartheid-south-africa> (Accessed 20 August 2018).

- Theal, G.M., 1890, *A Short History of South Africa, 1486–1826*, Cape Town: Darton Brothers & Walton.
- Vindex (Verschoyle, F.), 1900, *Cecil Rhodes: His Political Life and Speeches: 1881–1900*, London: Chapman and Hall.
- Ware, V., and Back, L., 2002, *Out of Whiteness: Color, Politics and Culture*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Wilson, C., 2001, 'Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*'. Available at: https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/journals-and-magazines/social-policy-journal/spj17/17_pages214_217.pdf > (Accessed 20 June 2017).
- Wynter, S., 2003, 'Unsettling the coloniality of being/power/truth/freedom: Towards the human, after man, its overrepresentation – An argument', *The New Centennial Review*, 3(3): 257–337.
- Zikalala, T., Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/elaseKhuzeni> (Accessed 1 April 2022).

