



# Remembering Lumumba's dismembered body-polity through Amin

Tawanda Ray Bvirindi<sup>a</sup>, Patience Chadambuka<sup>a</sup> and Felix Tombindo<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Department of Community Studies, Midlands State University, Gweru, Zimbabwe; <sup>b</sup>Department of African Studies and Anthropology, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, UK

## ABSTRACT

The paper is nested within the decolonial theme by repositioning Patrice Lumumba's decolonial thought within the radical writings of Samir Amin. As seen in his famous independence speech, Patrice Lumumba is arguably one of the African decolonial giants who championed the remembering of the black bodies by challenging their dismembering facilitated and sustained by the grand construction of the human by Euro-modernity. Rereading his decolonial ideas through repositioning it in Amin's works comes at an opportune time given the recent burial of his last known remains – a tooth that was removed from his body as a trophy by a Belgian officer who participated in his brutal murder in the 1960s. It is within this context that this paper seeks to underscore the logic and legitimacy of Lumumba's decolonial thinking by repositioning it in the works of Amin. By doing so, we aim to contribute to all non-European discourses aimed at decolonial self-reconstruction and self-definition, such as Afrocentricity.

## Introduction

We have seen that the law was not the same for a white and a black; accommodating for the first, cruel and inhumane for the other [...] We are no longer your monkeys. (Patrice Lumumba-Independence speech).

The decolonial project championed by Lumumba and Amin dovetails with what is captured in the title: the quest to re-member the dis-membered. Communities fashion various notions of place within a range of both non-sentimental and sentimental bodies with which they can share the world. The way Euro-modernity fashioned the human was troublesome in that it created bodies that belong and those that do not. Through hierarchization based on the principles of Otherism in which white bodies were created as desirable bodies and black bodies were created as undesirable ones, man as a performative idea fashioned a world characterised by inequalities and hierarchies used to exclude through various forms of violence. The anachronistic Other, or what Frantz Fanon termed the wretched of the earth, was excluded from the human family while the cultured and civilised Self gave itself the status of human. Through naming and categorising the Other, who in most cases are black bodies and any other non-European bodies, the status of humans became self-attributed to the dominant white people who suddenly possessed the power to define others in a dehumanising way while naming themselves as human enough than others.

Non-European bodies became what Césaire (1972, 21) called thingification. Through this thingification, non-European bodies became disposable resources which could be used for the benefit of European bodies before being discarded. What is important to note is that though mainly attributed to white bodies, the attribute of humans is not stable but in a state of flux—it can be expropriated from some and given to some at any given time depending on the circumstances. For instance, a person can have a light skin tone but be denied his or her humanity based on his or her sexual preferences, religious beliefs, economic status, class status, gender and geographical location, among others. As a result, this menacing possibility of the withdrawal or the perpetual denial of the humanity of certain bodies continues to drive and orient life within an environment of fear that makes being human an untenable condition and unguaranteed reality, hence their dismemberment (Soyinka 2004).

The process of dismembering the dark-skinned has led to white supremacy and what is also known as hetero-patriarchy. This has, in the end, led to a scramble for belonging to humanity that has, in the end, excluded people on the grounds of a difference than on skin colour only. The process of the dismembering of the Other by the Self has been thoroughly discussed by Agamben (2005, 26) in what he terms a powerful ‘anthropological machine’ in which those who occupy dominant and powerful political and social positions manufacture, give, or take humanness from those designated as the Other. The process is described by Agamben (2005) as a hierarchising social technology that distributes humanness by classifying people in the categories of race, sexuality, culture, age, body type, religious affiliation, geographic location and even origins. The exact process was termed ‘Kyriarchy’ by Schüssler (2001), in which she attempted to unpack the inter-relating, intertwining systems of domination and subordination that influence the modern world. As a hierarchised system, Kyriarchy includes sexism, racism, heteronormativity, militarism, and anthropocentrism.<sup>1</sup>

Through the various forms of violence stated by Fanon (1963), the conquered were to be pacified by arresting their appetites and, in the end, making them docile, obeying the colonial masters and subjecting them to foreign domination. The colonisers became the powerful who had the capacity to exploit, own and name through what Mamdani (2013) terms the ‘define and rule’ strategy. Through this strategy, those defined and named as deficient people lack something and deserve the leadership of the enlightened white European male. Through these strategies, the white European male was able to wield power. This power eventually led to the enslavement of the Other, who, in the end, was dismembered from the category of human. Against this dismembering, Lumumba developed his decolonial ideas in search of what Nabudere (2011, 1) terms Afrikology to achieve completeness through recognition, recovery, and restoration of those dismembered from being human. The substratum of this paper lies in the decolonial theme through repositioning Patrice Lumumba’s decolonial thought within the radical writings of Samir Amin. The paper starts off by delineating Lumumba’s decolonial thought as embodied in his independence speech. It then discerns the convergences and divergences between the ideas of Amin and Lumumba’s decolonial thoughts before discussing the strategies used to dismember the Other by the Self and what the consequences are on the Other. The last section then repositions and rereads Lumumba’s decolonial thought through the works of Amin.

## Lumumba's decolonial thought: the independence speech and its decolonial narrative

Given his relatively short tenure as the Prime Minister of an independent Congo, Lumumba's decolonial thought can be distilled from his famed independence speech, which he delivered on the 30 June 1960, the Independence Day of the Congo from Belgium. Delivered after the speech by the Belgium King and President of the independent country Joseph Kasavubu, Lumumba's speech would go down in history as one of the candid and radical independence speeches pregnant with a decolonial solid message. Its radical and strong decolonial message was delivered in front of the Belgian dignitaries and the King who, before Lumumba, had given a speech which eulogised European colonialism for its role in civilising the Congolese natives and bringing modernisation to a country which knew no civilisation and modernity. In response to this rather supercilious speech, Lumumba gave a counter-speech which aimed to debunk the speech delivered by the Belgian King and constructed a new narrative rooted in decoloniality (Hochschild 1998, 5).

In this speech, Lumumba voiced anger and denounced colonialism in the strongest terms. The speech given by Lumumba was given against the backdrop of a long history of African colonialism and slavery, which was at its worst between 1890 and 1910 (Hochschild 1998, 5). The speech was seen as a political error and having broken the rules of diplomacy and decency and would create a platform for his murder by the American Central Intelligence Agency (the CIA), the Belgians and his long-term friend and supporter Joseph Desire Mobutu. The decolonial tropes of Lumumba's speech can be cited to show Lumumba's decolonial thought.

The prelude to the speech was on praising the Congolese people for demanding their independence from Belgium instead of waiting for the independence to be granted through a concession. Through this, Lumumba refuted the Belgian King's assertion that the independence of the Congo was the end of the Belgian mission of civilising the Congolese. Considering this, Lumumba (1960) noted:

Although this independence of the Congo is being proclaimed today by agreement with Belgium, an amicable country with which we are on equal terms, no Congolese will ever forget that independence was won in struggle, a persevering and inspired struggle carried on from day to day, a struggle, in which we were undaunted by privation or suffering and stinted neither strength nor blood. It was filled with tears, fire, and blood. We are deeply proud of our struggle because it was noble and indispensable in ending our humiliating bondage.

Lumumba (1960) also highlighted the humiliation and suffering the Congolese suffered at the hands of the Belgians by saying:

We have experienced atrocious sufferings, persecution for political convictions and religious beliefs, and exiled from our native land: our lot was worse than death. We have not forgotten that in the cities, the mansions were for the whites and the tumbledown huts for the blacks; that a black was not admitted to the cinemas, restaurants and shops set aside for 'Europeans'; that a black travelled in the holds, under the feet of the whites in their luxury cabins. Who will ever forget the shootings which killed so many of our brothers or the cells into which were mercilessly thrown those who no longer wished to submit to the regime of injustice, oppression and exploitation used by the colonialists as a tool of their domination?

The theme of suffering and the dismembering of the Africans was also captured by Lumumba (1960) when he said:

We have experienced forced labour in exchange for pay that did not allow us to satisfy our hunger, clothe ourselves, have decent lodgings or to bring up our children as dearly loved ones. Morning, noon, and night, we were subjected to jeers, insults and blows because we were

'Negroes'. . . . We have seen our lands seized in the name of ostensibly just laws, which only recognised the right of might.

Additionally, about the dismembering of the indigenous Congolese through racist laws in segregation, while gesturing to the Belgian dignitaries present, Lumumba (1960) said:

We have seen that the law was not the same for a white and a black; accommodating for the first, cruel and inhumane for the other [...] We are no longer your monkeys.

It is on this note that Lumumba called for the remembering of the dismembered. This message thus dovetails with Amin's decolonial thinking. This paper now turns to rereading Lumumba's decolonial thought through Amin.

### **Amin and Lumumba's decolonial thoughts: the divergences and convergences**

The best description for Amin is that of a devout pan-Africanist, a Marxist-internationalist, and a revolutionary activist of the global South. The work of Amin mainly focuses on three elements. These elements are delinking as a development theory for third-world countries, value, and unequal exchange in the context of a global structure and the development of world capitalism. Amin adopted a Marxist standpoint in analyzing inequalities in the global order. Amin (1976, 2) states that capital accumulation is an essential inner law of the capitalist mode of production. According to Amin (1976), the capitalist mode of production took over the world in the nineteenth century. Thus, every concrete socio-economic formation of today can be understood through this world system (Amin 1976, 3). For Amin (1976, 3), since the pre-capitalist societies of the global South were subjected to the rules of capitalism, a theory of accumulation on a global scale should be utilised in understanding the development differences between the developed world and the underdeveloped world.

The accumulation theory holds that the developed countries form the core, and the undeveloped countries form the periphery. The developed countries as the core thrive through exploiting the periphery, hence inequalities on a global stage. Due to the unequal relationship between the core and the periphery, the terms and conditions of commodity exchange tend to be biased and benefit the core at the expense of the periphery (Amin 1976, 62–3). Due to the unequal relationship between the core and the periphery, the relationship between the two is based on exploitation. This then created the platform for the concept of delinking and decolonisation. Delinking presupposes the knowledge of where one should delink from. Delinking entails the 'desprenderse from the coloniality of knowledge and being controlled by the core (Mignolo 2007, 463) terms the 'theo-, ego and organo-logical principles of knowledge and its consequences'.

Amin's ideas on delinking and decoloniality took shape when he actively participated in the enunciation of 'The Bamako Appeal' of 2006. The appeal aimed to create a novel,

diverse and multi-polar historical subject. The Bamako appeal was made up of eight principles that enabled the emergence of a novel historical subject which emphasised the following:

- (i) a world based on solidarity among human beings and peoples.
- (ii) a world based on the full and complete affirmation of citizenship and equality of sexes.
- (iii) a universal civilisation that offers the greatest possibility for the creative development of diversity in all areas.
- (iv) socialisation through democracy.
- (v) a world based on the recognition of non-commodity status of nature.
- (vi) a world based on recognition of non-commodity status of cultural products.
- (vii) policies that closely combine democracy, social progress, and the affirmation of the autonomy of nations and peoples; and
- (viii) the solidarity of peoples of the North and South in construction of a new internationalism based on an anti-imperialist foundation (Amin 2008, 109–111).

Like Lumumba, Amin was an advocate of decolonisation through delinking. Though Lumumba was more of a political activist than an intellectual, Amin was an intellectual whose intellectual contributions were geared towards the need to decolonise all those oppressed internationally. As seen from the snippets from Lumumba's independence speech, decolonisation was central in ensuring the remembering of the dismembered. Decolonisation can be understood from multiple standpoints and has never been a uniform and singular school of thought. Decolonisation is a liberatory vision against racism, colonialism, imperialism, capitalism, patriarchy, and other forms of movements which dominate, repress and exploit those seen as the Other (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2021). Though Amin's decolonial thought was most rooted in Marxism while Lumumba's thought, as extrapolated from the speech, was more into Fanonism and the need to ensure that the dismembered Congolese are accessible from the shackles of colonial domination, Amin and Lumumba's decolonial thoughts aim to achieve the same liberation of the oppressed. Amin and Lumumba understood that the dismembering of the Other, notably the blacks, stems from slavery, whereby Africans were kidnapped and transported to the Americas and the Caribbean to become slaves. This laid the bedrock of the struggles against this dehumanisation that both Lumumba and Amin aimed to fight against.

The issues raised by Lumumba in his independence speech were those strewn in the works of Amin, especially his ideas on delinking from the epicentre of pan-Africanist decolonialism. Black radicalism and consciousness underpin Lumumba's and Amin's decolonial thoughts. The intellectual interventions of Amin were critical of the African petit-bourgeois politicians who were at the forefront of the African struggles against independence (Amin 1990; Amin 2011). Amin was critical of what he saw as the colonial mentality that led the African-petit bourgeois to be unable to think beyond the bourgeois ideas of progress. Although Amin, like most Marxists, was not very clear on the issue of racism, Lumumba was, and he challenged Africans to shun ethnonationalism. Lumumba's stand against ethnonationalism dovetails with Amin's critical stance against territorial nationalism that was driven by Euromodernity, which is today driven and influenced by

Euro–North American imperialist and modernist world system (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2021). As a result, this places both Amin and Lumumba in the arcs of black consciousness and pan-Africanism. Both figures embraced the necessary ideologies against imperialism and what Kwame Nkrumah terms neo-colonialism. From this, both Lumumba and Amin noted that the dismembered Africans must be remembered.

### **On the dismembering of the other: the strategies employed and the consequences**

The concepts of re-membering and dismemberment are paramount in making sense of the avenues of the invention of otherness as a marker of sub-humanity. The quest to understand the dismembering processes and the need to re-member those dismembered comes from the need to appreciate the Other and the Other's struggle for resistance and reconstruction from the dehumanising orchestrated by the Self. For Jean-Paul Sartre, the modern world as it stands is a world fashioned in such a way that the Self as powerful and privileged beings have 'being' as opposed to the 'nothingness' and 'emptiness' of the Other (Sartre [1943] 2003). For those designated as the Negroes-the blacks, the Jews, the Arabs, the poor, the homosexuals, and anyone who does not fit the category of the macho white male European image, the sense of inferiority, inadequacy and deficiency was produced through a combination of the coloniality of power and knowledge. Through these processes, the 'Other' lacks wholeness, as described by Fanon (2008, 3). For Fanon (2008, 3), the 'Other' starts to self-hate and self-doubt.

Similarly, Du Bois ([1859] 1969: 45) noted that the oppressed develop 'double consciousness' because of this emptiness. Through these processes, the 'Other' ends up judging themselves according to the standards set by the Self. The Other is made invisible and silenced through an erasure of their humanity, rendering their lives disposable and 'ungrievable' (Butler 1993: xix). For Fanon (1963, 251), Europe took the leadership of constructing the being through violence, cynicism, and ardour. This left those categorised as non-human 'wretched' and 'damned'.

Through a combination of coloniality of power and coloniality of knowledge, the construction and reconstruction of being is taken away from some and given to others who monopolise it. For Maldonado-Torres (2007, 245), what is at play in this context is an 'imperial attitude' or a 'racist/imperial Manichean misanthropic scepticism'. Those Otherised, marginalised and conquered are dehumanised through labelling in which they are seen as lacking and deficient somewhere. Their languages and customs are driven to the periphery and seen as anachronistic, irrational, and barbaric. Within this context the task of liberation becomes an intellectual and political project of re-humanizing the dehumanised (Mpofu and Steyn 2021).

The present-day constructs of humans and man as we know them can be traced back to the Enlightenment writings of Immanuel Kant, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Carolus Linnaeus, Charles de Brosses and G.W.F. Hegel. These were either preceded or supported by travelogues seen in the case of the works of John Locke on his purported travel to West Africa in 1561, the works of Bruce's 1770 voyage to Ethiopia and Mungo Park's 1795, and reports by Herodotus, Diodorus of Sicily, and Pliny, plays by novelists such as Shakespeare on Othello, the hero. Through these, the groundwork for further classifications of some human beings as belonging and some as unbelonging was laid and

sustained by Social Darwinism, craniological research, Egyptologists *et cetera* (Mignolo 2015, 158). This way, the European macho male image represented by voyagers such as Vasco Dama, Amerigo Vespucci, and Christopher Columbus, which represented Christianity, was seen as the paradigmatic human. The European male was thus able to enter into relationships on an unequal basis. The European male became an empire builder, a merchant, a missionary who entered into the territories of the non-Europeans to colonise to cultivate and culture of the uncultured other through patriarchal values rooted in Christianity (Memmi 1965, 89; Fanon 1963, 151; Bhabha 1994, 40). The Christianising mission was in most cases accompanied by violence which according to Fanon (1963) took the form of physical violence, structural violence, and psychological violence.

The Christianising mission in Africa was preceded by the Enlightenment writings in Europe by writers such as Immanuel Kant, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Carolus Linnaeus, Charles de Brosses and G.W.F Hegel, among others (Lévi-Strauss 1977, 45–56). It was through the Enlightenment writings in the non-Europeans were portrayed as anachronistic and as ‘savages.’ The Enlightenment treatises on ‘savages,’ in which an apparent political influence assumed the power of knowledge and science. For Martinot (2011), the Enlightenment is assumed to have set the stage for advancement and development in the West, underdeveloped and stifled the advancement of the South by darkening it and causing human suffering and pain through feeding into colonial typecasting (Mudimbe 1988, 29). Colonialism became a replication and a fulfilment of the authority of European dialogues on human races.

Colonialism was seen as heralding the infiltration of modernity into the backward colonies. Colonialism and the said infiltration of modernity in the global South led to the creation of the nation-state (Dussel 1996, 1). This, for Dussel (1996, 1) saw the beginning of the ‘invention’ and the ‘eclipse’ of the inferior Other by the conquering and superior Self. During colonialism, the conquered Other were inferiorized by being judged as people without religion. The Other was seen as ungodly, and through their godlessness which they were judged as inferior and, in the end, condemned and separated from those seen as the Self. Religion and God were turned into political capital and a helpful resource in dismembering the Other from the family of humans.

Colonialism also brought the gendered and racialized classifications of the Other. Gender was also used to explain racial differences. Those who were seen to have deviated from the white standard were seen as the feminine race (Stepan 1985, 190). The gendered and racialized classification of human beings started and was seen as an accomplishment of coloniality and modernity to non-European territories (Trinh 1989; Oyěwùmí 1997; Quijano 2000; Kitch 2009). Thus, in colonies, non-Europeans, especially black people in Africa, were seen as gender deviants and as the embodiments of prehistoric promiscuity and excess. Their femininity displayed the evolutionary backwardness of non-Europeans (McClintock 1995). These ideas were seen in the writings of Gobineau (1915, 149), who justified the seemingly incorrigible sexual relations between the Aryans and the black and yellow by describing the active Aryans as the ‘pre-eminently male groups.’ The desirable yellow and black races were then seen as the ‘female or feminized races.’ Race and gender became used to justify slavery, colonialism, and apartheid against dark-skinned people across the globe (Magubane 2007).

The dismemberment process of the Other has also been fully articulated by Dussel (2011, xv-xviii). Dussel (2011, xv-xviii) underscored six interconnected ways of



dismemberment: Hellenocentrism, Westernisation, Eurocentrism, secularism, periodisation and colonialism. It was through these processes that Europe could regard and define itself as the centre of reason and civilisation (Mbembe 2017, 11). It was through these processes that the European macho image of discovery was fashioned.

What became known as European secularism was invented as a science of death. This science was used in the justification of the coloniality of being that was mobilised to justify coloniality of being. (Ndlovu-Gastheni and Ndlovu 2021). Religion and the gospel were used in places of colonisation to pacify the colonised and advance the Western colonial and civilisation project. To Dussel (2011, xvi), it was through the new 'periodization', in which human history was put into a linear chronology of 'Ancient, Middle and Modern Ages' in which Europe was catapulted into the future and other areas in the past and seen as ancient. Europe was as a result, able to monopolise the 'modern'. Through this way, the dismembering process driven by Europe was achieved. Grosfoguel (2013, 74) also articulated the dismembering of the Other through his articulation of epistemicides or genocides. These epistemicides came in the sixteenth century in which the Alndalus was conquered, the enslavement of Africans in the Americas, the live burnings of women accused of being witches in Europe, and the extermination of Native Americans in the Americas.

The process of Otherism did not start by categorising people into categories through their skin colour. It was initially driven by the purity of blood and religion. For instance, the conquering of the Al-Andalus in 1492 targeted Muslims and Jews. The purity of blood drove it as a form of Othering and dismembering (Suárez-Krabbe 2016, 54). The strategies of what is known as ethnocide and genocides which were meted against the native Africans, the native Americans and Asians were the second part of the technology of coloniality. Notably, Africans experienced both slavery and were victims of genocidal killings. Through enslavement, racism, capitalism, and the inferiorisation of the Africans were naturalised (Suárez-Krabbe 2016, 56). Blackness was, in the end, invented, and the derogatory term 'Negro' was invented in the context of the capitalist, colonial and imperial history (Du Bois 1965, 20; Ndlovu-Gastheni and Ndlovu 2021). To Wa Thiong'o (2009), the dismemberment of Africans first came through their shipment as cargo to the Americas and the Caribbean as slave. It was then followed by the colonisation of the African continent in the nineteenth century. Those who were shipped to the Americas and the Caribbean experienced dismemberment on two fronts. Firstly, they were dismembered through being removed from their territory and secondly, through robbing them of their sovereign being (Wa Thiong'o 2009, 6). Those who remained on the continent were dismembered through losing control of their land and the natural resources found on it (Wa Thiong'o 2009, 6).

Considering what was noted by Wa Thion'go, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018a; 2018b) identifies six 'dimensions of dismemberment'. Firstly, there is what is termed the 'foundational dismemberment'. This dismemberment involves questioning the humanity of the Other and the invention of Otherness. The second form of dismemberment involves the enslavement of the Other, particularly the black Other. This form of dismemberment included the reduction of the slaves into commodities and fragmenting the African personhood into diasporic and continental divisions (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015). The third form of dismemberment included the scramble and division of Africa in the 1800s. This resulted in the division of the African continent into different colonial territories and the invention



of various ethnicities into various boundaries. The fourth dimension to the dismembering of the Other came through the erasure and expropriation of the history of the Other. This was done to deny the existence of the Other (Tibebu 2011: xiv). Fifthly, the Other was dismembered through the (re) production of the colonial matrices of dismemberment by the colonially produced native bourgeoisie under the postcolonial state. Lastly, the dismemberment of the Other comes through the (re) production of patriarchy aimed at dismembering women from knowledge, power, and their being. Given these, the dismembered find it challenging to recuperate themselves, a task both Amin and Lumumba made efforts to ensure the re-membering of the dismembered.

### **Repositioning and rereading Lumumba's decolonial thought through Amin: towards the re-membering of the dismembered**

The decolonial thought of both Lumumba and Amin dovetail with the question asked by Chinua Achebe (1989, 43), which reads: 'Where and when exactly did the rain begin to beat us?' Just like Achebe's meditation on the African politico-social condition, Lumumba's, and Amin's decolonial thought demands a return to the political and historical genealogies as well as sources in search of the place and time in which the dismembered lost their spot in the family of humans. In their decolonial thoughts, Lumumba, and Amin grapple with the need to understand the intersecting power relations that define the Self and the Other. As a result, both scholars made efforts to establish what exactly happened to the common humanity of human beings and, in the end, unpack the continuously shifting link between the human and the human.

The legacies of Lumumba find expression in the writings of Amin on delinking and decoloniality, which created a platform for critical reflections on the convergences of equality rooted in Marxism and the need to decolonise as a universal movement for the re-membering of the dismembered through ensuring that they are liberated from colonialism. Amin, just like Lumumba notes that the decolonisation process of the twentieth Century in the case of Lumumba and that of the twenty-first Century in the case of Amin should be aimed at ensuring the liberation of the Other from the traps of coloniality and Eurocentrism. At the centre of the decolonial thoughts of both Amin and Lumumba was the struggle against re-westernisation, a process that later led to the execution of the latter under the aegis of the Belgian authorities. The decolonial views of Lumumba and the Marxist orientation of Amin's writings and work envisioned a global system inclusive and free of racism, imperialism, capitalism, patriarchy, sexism, and colonialism. In the views of both these figures, a world characterised by these forces would generate poverty and inequalities.

Lumumba's decolonial thinking and Amin's decolonial thought, which is deeply embedded in Marxism are at the epicentre of the problematic struggle on the need to deal with the colonial matrices of power and, in the end, achieve decolonisation. As seen in the radical speech by Lumumba, which is rooted in Afrocentric decolonisation by ensuring that Africans are free from colonialism, Amin's delinking concept does converge with the call by the decolonial movement to disengage from state-centric forms of governance, the economy of accumulation as well as personalities which are egocentric and work towards both the enactment and reproduction of Westernisation (Amin 1985). For both the Lumumba and Amin, liberation from the colonial and imperial mid-sets and

frameworks of coloniality is the primary goal of the decolonial movement. A juxtaposition of the ideas of both Amin and Lumumba points to the fact that the decoloniality of both figures manifests through calling for the need to re-member the dismembered through taking into consideration the continuously changing historical conditions of the Other.

## Conclusion

This article is on the remembering of Lumumba's Dismembered Body-polity through the radical writings of Samir Amin. It makes efforts to foster an understanding of Lumumba's decolonial thought reverberates in the radical writings of Samir Amin. The paper made efforts to unpack the decolonial thought of Patrice Lumumba encapsulated in his independence speech and how the decolonial thought finds expression in the works of Amin, a pan-Africanist, a Marxist-internationalist and a revolutionary activist of the global South. Within this enterprise, it became essential to reposition and reread Lumumba's decolonial thought through Amin to remember the dismembered. Overall, the article examines the politico-historical context of the ways in which the Self has dismembered the Other. At the centre of the article is the issue of dismembering and its connections with decoloniality. The article argues that though Lumumba was a politician and Amin an academic, their approach to issue questions of dehumanisation of the Other by the Self are closely related. In his delinking thesis, Amin's ideas find expression in the decolonial thought of Lumumba.

## Note

1. Heteronomativity is the belief in the omnipotence of heterosexuality over homosexuality. Anthropocentrism is the belief that only human beings are supreme and central entities in the universe. Militarism is the belief that a country should build and maintain military prowess to use it aggressively in defending and maintaining its national and foreign interests.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## References

- Achebe, C. 1989. *Hopes and Impediments: Selected Essays*. New York, NY: Anchor Books.
- Agamben, G. 2005. *State of Exception*, Translated by Kevin Attell. London: University of Chicago Press.
- Amin, S. 1976. *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism*. Sussex: Monthly Review Press.
- Amin, S. 1985. *Delinking: Towards a Polycentric World*. New York and London: Zed Books.
- Amin, S. 1990. *Maldevelopment: Anatomy of a Global Failure*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- Amin, S. 2008. *The World We Wish to See: Revolutionary Objectives in the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Amin, S. 2011. *Global History: A View from the South*. Oxford: Pambazuka Press.
- Bhabha, H. K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. 1993. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. London: Routledge.
- Césaire, A. 1972. *Discourse on Colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

- Du Bois, W. E. B. [William Edward Burghardt]. 1965. *The World and Africa: An Inquiry Into the Part Which Africa Has Played in World History*. New York, NY: International Publishers.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. [William Edward Burghardt]. [1859] 1969. *The Souls of Black Folk*. London: Penguin Books.
- Dussel, E. 1996. *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of 'the Other' and the Myth of Modernity*, Translated by Michael D. Barber. New York, NY: Continuum.
- Dussel, E. 2011. *Politics of Liberation: A Critical World History*, Translated by Thia Cooper. London: SCM Press.
- Fanon, F. 1963. *Black Skin, White Masks*, Translated by Charles Lam Markmann. New York, NY: Grove Press.
- Fanon, F. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. London: Penguin.
- Fanon, F. 2008. *Black Skin, White Masks*, Translated by Charles Lam Markmann. London: Pluto Press.
- Gobineau, J. A. 1915. *The Inequality of Human Races*. London: Heinemann.
- Grosfoguel, R. 2013. "The Structure of Knowledge in Westernized Universities: Epistemic Racism/ Sexism and the Four Genocides/Epistemicides of the Long 16th Century." *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self Knowledge* 11 (1): 73–90.
- Hochschild, A. 1998. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Boston: Mariner Books.
- Kitch, S. L. 2009. *The Spectre of Sex: Gendered Foundations of Racial Formation in the United States*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. 1977. *Structural Anthropology*. London: Allen Lane.
- Lumumba, P. E. 1960. *Speech at the Ceremony of the Proclamation of the Congo's Independence, June 30, 1960*. Marxist.org. Accessed January 5, 2023. Available at; <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/lumumba/1960/06/indep>.
- Magubane, B. 2007. *Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other*. Pretoria: Unisa Press.
- Maldonado-Torres, N. 2007. "On the Coloniality of Being: Contributions to the Development of a Concept." *Cultural Studies* 21 (2-3): 240–270. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601162548>
- Mamdani, M. 2013. *Define and Rule: Native as Political Identity*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Martinot, S. 2011. *The Coloniality of Power: Notes Toward Decolonization*. Unpublished paper. San Francisco State University. Accessed 15 January 2023. <https://www.globaljusticecenter.org/papers/coloniality-power-notes-toward-de-colonization>.
- Mbembe, A. 2017. *Critique of Black Reason*, Translated by Laurent Dubois. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- McClintock, A. 1995. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in Colonial Contest*. London: Routledge.
- Memmi, A. 1965. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. New York: Orion Press.
- Mignolo, W. D. 2007. "Delinking." *Cultural Studies* 21 (2-3): 449–514. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601162647>
- Mignolo, W. D. 2015. *Yes We Can. Foreword to Can Non-Europeans Think? by Hamid Dabashi*. London: Zed Books, pp. viii–xlii.
- Mpofu, W., and M. Steyn. 2021. "The Trouble with the Human." In *Decolonising the Human: Reflections from Africa on Difference and Oppression*, edited by M. Steyn, and W. Mpofu, 1–24. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Mudimbe, V. Y. 1988. *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*. London: James Currey.
- Nabudere, D. W. 2011. *Afriology: Philosophy and Wholeness*. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa.
- Ndlovu-Gastheni, S., and P. P. Ndlovu. 2021. "The Invention of Blackness on a World Scale." In *Decolonising the Human: Reflections from Africa on Difference and Oppression*, edited by M. Steyn, and W. Mpofu, 24–45. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J. 2015. "Decoloniality in Africa: A Continuing Search for a New World Order." *Australasian Review of African Studies* 36 (2): 22–50.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. 2018a. "Racism and Blackism on a World Scale." In *Routledge Handbook of Postcolonial Politics*, edited by O. U. Rutazibwa, and R. Shillian, 72–85. London: Routledge.

- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J. 2018b. *Epistemic Freedom in Africa: Deprovincialization and Decolonization*. London: Routledge.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J. 2021. "Revisiting Marxism and Decolonization Through the Legacy of Samir Amin." *Review of African Political Economy* 48 (167): 50–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2021.1881887>
- Oyéwùmí, O. 1997. *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourse*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Quijano, A. 2000. "Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America." *International Sociology* 15 (2): 215–232. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580900015002005>
- Sartre, J. [1943] 2003. *Being and Nothingness*, Translated by Hazel Estella Barnes. London: Routledge Classics.
- Schüssler, F. E. 2001. *Wisdom Ways: Introducing Feminist Biblical Interpretation*. New York, NY: Orbis Books.
- Soyinka, W. 2004. *Climate of Fear*. London: Profile Books.
- Stepan, N. 1985. "Biological Degeneration: Races and Proper Places." In *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress*, edited by J. E. Chamberlain, and S. Gilman, 97–120. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Suárez-Krabbe, J. 2016. *Race, Rights and Rebels: Alternatives to Human Rights and Development from the Global South*. London: Rowman and Littlefield International.
- Tibebu, T. 2011. *Hegel and the Third World: The Making of Eurocentrism in World History*. New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Trinh, T. M. 1989. *Woman, Native, Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Wa Thiong'o, N. 2009. *Re-Membering Africa*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.