

# SYNTHESE DE DOCUMENTS

## PT - LV1A

En vous appuyant *uniquement* sur les documents du dossier thématique qui vous est proposé, vous rédigerez une synthèse répondant à la question suivante :

***To what extent is it legitimate to keep Confederate memorials up?***

Votre synthèse comportera entre 450 et 500 mots.

Vous proposerez un titre à cette synthèse, comptabilisé dans le nombre de mots.

### Liste des documents :

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**Document 1:** "After a year of soul-searching, Richmond reimagines its Confederate monuments" by Sarah Rankin for *Associated Press*, July 3 2018

**Document 2:** "'Changing history'? No – 32 Confederate monuments dedicated in past 17 years" by Amanda Holpuch and Mona Chalabi in *The Guardian*, 16 August 2017

**Document 3:** "Why I Changed My Mind About Confederate Monuments" by Kevin M. Levin in *The Atlantic* August 19 2017

**Document 4:** "After a Year of Rising Tensions, Protesters Tear Down Confederate Statue on UNC Campus" – a photo by Gerry Broome for *Associated Press* published on *NPR*, 21 August 2018

**Document 5:** "A 150-year timeline of Confederate iconography". Photograph: Southern Poverty Law Center, 2016

## FIRST LOOK

**After a year of soul-searching, Richmond reimagines its Confederate monuments**

By Sarah Rankin for *Associated Press* (published in the *Christian Science Monitor*) July 3 2018

RICHMOND, VA.

As the one-time capital of the Confederacy wrestles with its Civil War heritage, a commission in Richmond recommended Monday removing a statue of Confederate President Jefferson Davis but leaving in place four others, including a soaring tribute to Gen. Robert E. Lee.

The panel of historians, academics, local officials, and others spent nearly a year studying the issue and taking input from a sometimes-angry public before unveiling the proposals Monday in a more than 100-page report.

The recommended changes would re-shape one of the nation's largest displays of Confederate symbolism along Richmond's famed Monument Avenue and in some ways re-envision how the city presents its history in the public square. In addition to removing the Davis statue, the commission advised adding historical context to the statues and erecting new monuments that would reflect a "more inclusive" story of the city's history.

"In the course of the work, it became abundantly clear the majority of the public acknowledges Monument Avenue cannot and should not remain exactly as it is. Change is needed and desired," said the report, which is not binding.

The recommendations mark the latest development in the national soul-searching over what to do with symbols of the Confederacy. A 2015 mass shooting at a black church in Charleston, S.C., and a 2017 white nationalist rally in Charlottesville have heightened the debate over whether such symbols are historical artifacts that should remain untouched or relics that elevate a racist past.

"Nowhere in the United States is a frank and constructive dialogue more necessary or fraught with potential controversy than here in Virginia, home to two Confederate capitals, and 136 monuments to the Confederate States of America," the report said.

While Richmond has plenty of other Confederate symbols, the commission's mandate was limited to the five giant Confederate statues that dot Monument Avenue, a prestigious residential street lined with mansions and divided by a grassy median.

Richmond City Attorney Allen Jackson has warned that because the Lee monument and surrounding circle belong to the state, the city would need permission to "take action" on that statue.

He also wrote in a legal opinion issued to the commission that any effort to remove a monument would likely run afoul of a state law that prohibits local governments or others from "disturbing or interfering with" memorials to war veterans. The statute, which the Republican-controlled General Assembly has shown no interest in amending, is at the center of a lawsuit currently playing out in Charlottesville over that city's effort to remove two Confederate statues.

The commission noted that obstacle, saying that "pending litigation or changes in state law," the Davis statue should go.

It "is the most unabashedly Lost Cause in its design and sentiment," the report said, referring to an interpretation of the war that historians say romanticizes the South and de-emphasizes the role of slavery.

An inscription on the Davis monument, for instance, "styles the Confederate president as a 'Defender of the Rights of States,' deflecting the question of slavery," the report noted. It also emphasized that Davis, who was born in Kentucky, is the only non-Virginian on Monument Avenue.

In addition to Lee and Davis, Monument Avenue is currently home to statues honoring J.E.B. Stuart, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, and Confederate Naval commander and oceanographer Matthew Fontaine Maury. A statue of black tennis hero Arthur Ashe, a Richmond native, was added to Monument Avenue in 1996, provoking a nationally publicized and racially charged dispute.

One of the panel's suggestions was to commission a monument dedicated to soldiers of the United States Colored Troops, regiments of mostly formerly enslaved men who fought for the Union.

"The juxtaposition to the Confederate Statues could be a powerful statement," the report said.

## 'Changing history'? No – 32 Confederate monuments dedicated in past 17 years

Amanda Holpuch and Mona Chalabi in *The Guardian*, 16 August 2017

**Trump complains that efforts to take down Confederate memorials amount to altering the past, but numerous examples made their mark in recent decades**

“You are changing history,” Donald Trump said on Tuesday of efforts to remove Confederate monuments in Charlottesville, Virginia, and elsewhere across the United States. “You’re changing culture.”

History about as old as the George W Bush presidency, it turns out in a surprising number of cases – and culture stretching back to the heyday of Britney Spears.

Thirty-two Confederate memorials have been dedicated in the past 17 years, according to a survey by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). That’s at least 135 years after the demise of the secessionist movement the monuments ostensibly celebrate.

The symbols include public schools, plaques and monuments, such as a stone in St Cloud, Florida, engraved in honor of Confederate soldiers and of Florida’s cattlemen and farmers “who risked their lives and fortunes to supply our troops fighting in defense of their families, state and nation”.

Iowa, a Union state, has three Confederate monuments, all dedicated after 2000.

In total, there are about 1,500 symbols of the Confederacy in public spaces, according to the SPLC, which attempted to catalogue them all in 2016.

The symbols vary: 718 are monuments, while 109 are public schools named for Confederate leaders. A quarter of those schools have student populations that are majority black. Ten of the schools have student bodies that are 90% African American.

Not all of the post-2000 monuments are new. Some were dedicated again, including a statue for the Confederate navy officer Raphael Semmes in Mobile, Alabama. It was rededicated in 2000 – 100 years after it was first dedicated – with a memorial plaque and ceremony featuring Confederate flags; red, white and blue balloons; and a cannon salute.

The most recent efforts to dedicate and rededicate Confederate monuments come amid decades-long efforts to remove them.

In 1994, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) led an effort to ban Confederate flags from South Carolina, including one that flew over the state house. In 2000, 50,000 people turned out to protest the state house flag. It finally came down in June 2015 after the killing of nine black people in a church in Charleston.

While some of the newer monuments are simple stones or plaques commemorating Confederate soldiers, others are large sculptures celebrating major Confederate leaders.

In 2009, Waverly, Missouri, dedicated a new bronze statue to Gen Joseph O Shelby, who was born to one of the wealthiest families in Kentucky and owned a 700-acre plantation worked by slaves. At the end of the war, he refused to surrender and traveled instead to Mexico, leading 1,000 men to a colony for ex-Confederates. He eventually returned to his home in Missouri.

Trump has been criticized by fellow Republicans, business leaders, military generals and a multitude of Americans for endorsing and spreading the explanation of white supremacists that a rally last Friday in Charlottesville was to defend the statue. The rally became a showcase for Nazi ideology and racist ideology – and then the scene of a murderous attack and a latter-day tragedy.

## POLITICS

**Why I Changed My Mind About Confederate Monuments**Kevin M. Levin in *The Atlantic* August 19 2017

Empty pedestals can offer the same lessons about racism and war that the statues do.

Six years before it would become the inspiration for bloody protests, the Robert E. Lee monument in Charlottesville, Virginia, was vandalized. The 2011 incident capped off my 11-year residency in the small city—where I'd taught high-school history and where my understanding of the legacy of the Civil War was nurtured. There was no better place to teach the Civil War than Charlottesville. Some of the most important battlefields in Richmond, Fredericksburg, and the Shenandoah Valley are within an hour's drive. But it was the region's monuments that played a central role in my teaching, and I believed they should be left alone.

I argued my position in an essay for *The Atlantic*: "For better or for worse, monuments to Confederate heroes are part of our story, but each of us can choose how to engage with these places. We can express outrage over their existence. We can alter them with statements of our own. Or we can let them be, appreciate their aesthetic qualities, and reflect carefully on their history." I fell short on understanding what they still meant to some in the community. I didn't realize that so many of my neighbors didn't need further reflection at all.

Utilizing Confederate monuments in my classes offered students a window into the history of the war, but more importantly, it introduced them to the difficult distinction between history and memory. The tributes showed how communities like Charlottesville and Richmond chose to remember the conflict long after the guns fell silent, and how they used the memory of Confederate leaders to impart moral lessons on future generations. And my students learned how the monuments helped establish and maintain a system of Jim Crow segregation—by defining and enforcing the city's racial boundaries through much of the 20th century. Monument sites became classrooms where I could teach about the long and difficult history of racism in America. Taking them down seemed to represent the antithesis of my goals as a teacher.

But the fallout following the horrific 2015 murders of nine churchgoers in Charleston, South Carolina's Emanuel A.M.E. Church proved to be a critical turning point in my thinking. After photographs of the shooter, Dylann Roof, posing with Confederate battle flags were published, calls rang out to remove both the banners and rebel monuments from public spaces. For me, the lowering of the Confederate battle flag in Columbia and elsewhere needed little justification, as it'd been embraced as a symbol of "massive resistance" during the civil-rights movement. But I still held firm to my view of the monuments.

That summer, I traveled for the first time to Prague, in the former Soviet-bloc country of Czechoslovakia. I noticed almost immediately the concrete foundations and empty pedestals where monuments to communist leaders once stood. Some statues had been relocated to museums, while others were destroyed; skate boarders and sunbathers had since claimed their spot.

The experience forced me to reconsider my position on the markers back home. I imagined stepping back in time to convince the residents of Prague that the monuments helped them face their past, or gave teachers an important tool with which to engage their students. This proved to be a futile exercise. Regardless of their destination, the monuments were exactly where they needed to be as determined by the community members themselves.

After all, the people of Prague were not trying to erase their history or turn away from the lessons it might offer. They had lived this past and it would remain with them. The removal of monuments to Stalin and Lenin lifted the weight of the memory of oppression, allowing the Czech people to begin to imagine a new direction for their nation. They understood "that history can't be a sword to justify injustice or a shield against progress," as Barack Obama explained in his eulogy for the Charleston victims.

In the time since that visit, I have listened much more closely to the concerns of those who live in the shadows of Confederate statues, who see their removal as the next step in achieving a more equitable society. Nowhere have these voices been more passionate and forceful than in New Orleans, where workers this spring took down four Confederate and Reconstruction monuments. Local activists Terri Coleman and Malcolm Suber argued convincingly that they don't need reminders of the history of racial injustice, because it is present all around them. The city's mayor, Mitch Landrieu, has spoken about the need to acknowledge the damage these figures continue to do. In a May speech, he asked his constituents to look at the monuments through the eyes of a black child:

Can you look into that young girl's eyes and convince her that Robert E. Lee is there to encourage her? Do you

think she will feel inspired and hopeful by that story? Do these monuments help her see a future with limitless potential? Have you ever thought that if her potential is limited, yours and mine are, too?

I cannot. The removal of Confederate monuments across the country will not prevent me from doing my job as a history educator and public historian. Even empty pedestals offer important lessons that demand to be told—in fact, the statues' removal from positions of alleged moral authority is arguably the most important chapter in their long and controversial history.

And neither can some of my former students, who were among the counter-protesters in Charlottesville. While watching the violence play out on television, it occurred to me that some demonstrators were completing a process of personal reckoning that may have begun in the classroom. They understood this history. They understood it so well that they were willing to risk danger for the benefit of their community today and tomorrow.

The national debate over the monuments' future is not unlike what happened in Prague and other cities at the end of the Cold War. And I hope they meet the same fate. Confederate monuments were erected and dedicated by white southerners as an expression of their collective values—chief among them a commitment to white supremacy that secessionists were willing to die for. Many descendants of those southerners have decided, as the freedmen and their descendants already had, that the Lost Cause does not represent them—not as members of their respective communities, and not as Americans.

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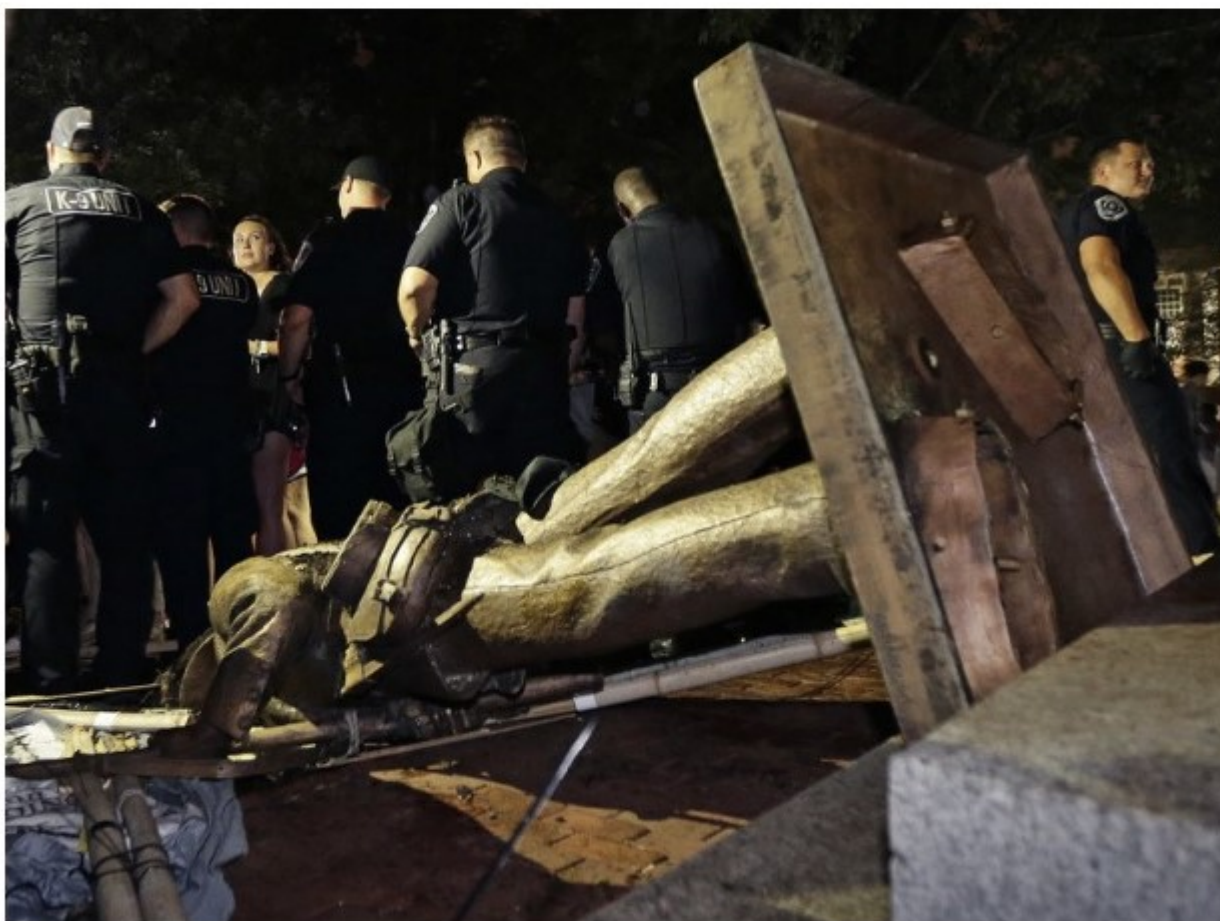


NATIONAL

# After A Year Of Rising Tensions, Protesters Tear Down Confederate Statue On UNC Campus

August 21, 2018 · 5:05 AM ET

VANESSA ROMO



Police stand guard after the Confederate statue known as "Silent Sam" was toppled by protesters on campus at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, N.C., on Monday.

*Gery Broome/AP*

