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**9B18C011**

**MITCH LANDRIEU: USING COMMUNICATION TO LEAD CHANGE IN RACIAL CONFLICT[[1]](#endnote-1)**

*Dawn Oosterhoff wrote this case under the supervision of* *Professor Gerard Seijts solely to provide material for class discussion. The authors do not intend to illustrate either effective or ineffective handling of a managerial situation. The authors may have disguised certain names and other identifying information to protect confidentiality.*

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Racial conflict was an unbroken thread that ran through the history of the United States. Slavery, the Civil War, emancipation, segregation, and the civil rights movement were knots along the thread that continued into modern history with an ongoing struggle for equality of black Americans. The struggle crested on June 17, 2015, when a 21-year-old white man, Dylann Roof, attended a Bible study meeting at a historic church in Charleston, South Carolina, and murdered nine people, all of them black.[[2]](#endnote-2) Roof’s journal entries revealed that he intended to start a race war to suppress black Americans; a self-portrait showed Roof with a gun in one hand and the Confederate battle flag in the other.[[3]](#endnote-3) Within one media cycle, symbols of the Confederacy and Southern pride were revealed as emblems of white supremacy and reminders of the suppression of black Americans.[[4]](#endnote-4)

A movement called for the Confederate flag to be removed from public spaces. Public officials responded, state by state, removing the flag from state buildings and grounds. The movement then campaigned for Confederate monuments to be removed and streets to be renamed, arguing that those who had fought in defence of slavery should not be memorialized.[[5]](#endnote-5)

Louisiana had been a key member of the Confederacy. It’s capital, New Orleans, had been a logistical centre of activity during the Civil War, so the city was rife with structures, buildings, and defence ruins associated with the war.[[6]](#endnote-6) The city was also home to four notable Confederacy monuments, which stood within approximately a five-mile (eight-kilometre) radius in the heart of the city.[[7]](#endnote-7) Responsibility for addressing the movement’s call to remove Confederacy monuments in New Orleans fell to the city’s mayor, Mitch Landrieu. A “son” of New Orleans and white, Landrieu needed to navigate the conflicting, piqued emotions about Confederacy memorials in a city proud of its heritage and home to twice as many black Americans as white.[[8]](#endnote-8) How Landrieu addressed the issue and communicated to the city’s residents would make the difference between resolution and riots.

Confederate Symbols and Monuments

The American Civil War[[9]](#endnote-9)

The American Civil War (1861–1865) was the result of complex and overlapping political, economic, and social issues that had been driving deeper and broader wedges between the Southern and Northern states. The Northern states were becoming industrialized and had transportation systems, financial industries, and a communications network. Northerners primarily invested in manufacturing and infrastructure; agriculture remained dominant but farms were generally small and the work could be managed with the use of free labour. The Southern states, in contrast, relied principally on commercial crops produced on large farms, using slave labour. Southerners invested their money in property: slaves and land.

Northerners increasingly voiced their preference for emancipation of the slaves. New states joining the Union were not extended the right to slave labour if they didn’t already have it, and new states that did have it were forced to make compromises that enabled the gradual elimination of slave labour. Southerners, however, tenaciously clung to their rights to slave labour. For them, the loss of slave labour would mean impoverishment—not just the loss of significant wealth, most of it invested in slaves, but also the loss of a means to an income. Emancipation would destroy their economy, culture, and way of life.

When Abraham Lincoln, an abolitionist and leader of an explicitly antislavery party, won the election in 1860, eleven Southern states seceded from the Union, identifying themselves as the Confederacy. They considered themselves independent of the Union and claimed everything in their states, including federal buildings and land, for the Confederacy. The North had double the population of the South, more resources, a comprehensive infrastructure, a functioning government, and an existent army and navy. But the South had tactical advantages, a long coastline that defied the Union’s attempts at control, and, most importantly, a cause: they were fighting for an independent country that would sustain what they called the “Southern institutions.”

The war was fierce—the bloodiest war in the history of the United States—and the death rate enormous. The Confederacy lost, but for Southerners, Confederate leaders emerged as heroes for having sustained the battle for the Southern homeland and identity for as well and as long as they did.

Symbols of Southern Identity

The Confederate states did not erect monuments or memorials immediately after the Civil War, if for no other reason than because they were broke.[[10]](#endnote-10) There also seemed to be no desire to mark their loss, at least initially. When invited to participate in marking granite memorials at Gettysburg, Robert E. Lee declined, replying, “I think it wiser, moreover, not to keep open the sores of war, but to follow the example of those nations who endeavored to obliterate the marks of civil strife, and to commit to oblivion the feelings engendered.”[[11]](#endnote-11) However, within a few generations, the country was dotted with memorials, especially in the South.[[12]](#endnote-12)

In 2016, the Southern Poverty Law Center catalogued and mapped, to the extent possible, the monuments, institutions, and statues bearing Confederate names. The Center identified at least 1,500 memorials and confirmed that few memorials emerged in the period immediately after the Civil War. Rather, the vast number of memorials appeared in two later periods: during the first two decades of the 20th century (a generation and more after the Civil War) and from the early 1950s to the 1960s. During the first period, states were enacting laws to disenfranchise newly emancipated slaves (i.e., the Jim Crow laws), forcing racial segregation. The civil rights movement dominated the second period.[[13]](#endnote-13)

Historians have suggested that the memorials were an expression of nostalgia: an attempt during times of change to reclaim a heritage and a romanticized past. The Confederacy lost, and reinterpreting the experience was one way to reconcile with the loss.[[14]](#endnote-14) Others have suggested that the memorials were also an attempt to defy the triumph of the Union and, in the face of shifting race relations, reclaim the power of the white Confederates.[[15]](#endnote-15)

Some memorials were also established in the Northern states, believed to have largely been efforts to ease festering differences and reconcile with the South. Champions of the reconciliation efforts, notably U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, emphasized peace and resolution between the North and South, shoving aside the role of slavery and ignoring the continued animosity toward black Americans.[[16]](#endnote-16)

Emblems of White Supremacy

For black Americans, the memorials had become an affront to everything they had achieved and the equality they continued to fight for. The association of the Confederate flag with the 2015 massacre in Charleston, South Carolina, focused their feelings. To ignore the issue or preserve the memorials was to ignore, if not permit, continued white supremacy.[[17]](#endnote-17)

For others, the memorials were venerations of culture and homeland, not slavery. U.S. President Donald Trump tweeted, “Sad to see the history and culture of our great country being ripped apart with the removal of our beautiful statues and monuments.”[[18]](#endnote-18) For some, in New Orleans in particular—a city proud of its complex and deep history—removing the memorials would amount to removing an essential layer of its past.[[19]](#endnote-19)

Yet another faction countered that the memorials should remain, precisely to remind people of the country’s racist history.[[20]](#endnote-20) This group suggested that plaques or other sources of information should be added to the memorials to place them within their historical context.[[21]](#endnote-21) The issue was equated to other great monuments, questioning whether the Egyptian pyramids or Roman coliseum should be torn down because they had been built by slaves.[[22]](#endnote-22) Another suggestion was to add more memorials, specifically memorials that commemorated black Reconstructionist leaders.[[23]](#endnote-23)

Whatever the answer, emotions ran high and the arguments were fierce, fuelling protests, some becoming violent, and inspiring vandalism. Monuments were covered in paint, marred by graffiti, or pulled down by protestors impatient for government action. When memorials were officially removed, they were sometimes taken down after dark to minimize protests, and the workers, surrounded by police protection, wore special gear to protect against potential attacks.[[24]](#endnote-24)

The Mayor of New Orleans

Mitch Landrieu[[25]](#endnote-25)

Mitchell Joseph “Mitch” Landrieu was an American politician and lawyer, respected and well-liked, with roots deeply anchored in New Orleans. Married with five children, Landrieu was himself from a large family. He was the fifth of nine children born to Maurice “Moon” Landrieu, who served as a Representative in the Louisiana House of Representatives (1960–1966) and as mayor of New Orleans (1970–1978).

Landrieu attended the Jesuit High School in New Orleans, and majored in political science and theatre at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. He then returned to New Orleans where he earned his law degree from Loyola University Law School. He stayed in New Orleans, practising law there for 15 years with a focus on mediation, arbitration, and alternate dispute resolution.

Landrieu was elected to the Louisiana House of Representatives in 1987, taking over the seat previously held by both his sister Mary (1980–1988) and his father (1960–1966). Landrieu served in the House of Representatives for 16 years, marking his legislative career with efforts in reforming Louisiana’s juvenile justice system to favour rehabilitation and reform over punishment and incarceration, and leading legislative efforts to create and fund a state cancer research consortium housed in New Orleans.

In support of the arts, Landrieu represented the artistic community and associated venue owners in repealing a state surtax on earnings made in venues that offered live music. As a private citizen, he supported the Jazz Foundation of America. In 2004, Landrieu was elected lieutenant governor of Louisiana, and over his six-year career in that office, he created the World Cultural Economic Forum, an event held annually in New Orleans to develop strategy for promoting international cultural economic development opportunities.

During his career in state politics, Landrieu had made two unsuccessful bids for mayor of New Orleans, the first in 1994 and the second in 2006. In 2010, he ran again, this time against 10 candidates. He was elected with two-thirds of the vote, spread across racial and demographic lines. Landrieu was the first white person to hold the office since his father finished his term in 1978. Landrieu was handily re-elected in 2014, securing, again, two-thirds of the vote. His goal as mayor was to bring racial harmony to New Orleans, where 60 per cent of the city’s residents were black, 33 per cent white, and economic disparities ran along racial lines.

The City

New Orleans was situated in a prize geographical position on the sea, at the mouth of a great inland river system. The city had been French, then Spanish, then French again, but was decidedly Southern. Before the Civil War, it ran the largest slave market in the United States—a lucrative trade that earned the city tens of millions of dollars—and it provided transport and export for the commercial crops of the Southern plantations.[[26]](#endnote-26)

When Louisiana joined the Confederacy, New Orleans became the logistical centre of activity. The city provided and coordinated troops, supplies, and arms; minted the currency; and built warships. However, given its prime location and activity, the city was also a target for the Union. Within the first year of the war, the Union occupied New Orleans, converting its logistical activities to the Union and subjecting the city to such high-handed martial law that resentment for the North ran deep and long.[[27]](#endnote-27)

When Louisiana was readmitted to the Union, its constitution granted universal manhood suffrage—one vote for each male citizen, regardless of race or property. Both blacks and whites held city and state positions, and New Orleans ran a racially integrated public school system and police department. In 1874, the system was challenged when the city was taken by a white paramilitary organization intent on overthrowing the new postwar government. Their occupation lasted only three days, but a few decades later, segregationists recalled the event as a victory and in 1891, erected the Battle of Liberty Place Monument to commemorate the event.[[28]](#endnote-28)

The Robert E. Lee Monument, an early Confederate memorial dating to 1884, had already been erected. Later, as segregation again divided the city’s blacks from whites, New Orleans added the Jefferson Davis Monument (dedicated in 1911 at a “whites only” ceremony) and the General Beauregard Statue (unveiled in 1915)—two of the many statues installed across the country during that time.[[29]](#endnote-29)

Leading Change

Objections to the Battle of Liberty Place Monument began on the heels of the civil rights movement. The monument became a gathering point for rallies, was vandalized several times and threatened with removal, and, in the end, was moved to a less central location.[[30]](#endnote-30) But with the movement in 2015 to remove Confederate memorials, the Liberty Place Monument came under threat again, and along with it, the three statues of Confederate leaders.

After the Charleston shooting in 2015, Landrieu proposed to New Orleans’ city council that all four statues be removed. The council adopted the proposal, declaring the statues a “nuisance,” but preservationists challenged the decision in court. Finally, with the legal challenges and appeals dismissed, New Orleans was ready to remove the statues.[[31]](#endnote-31)

Landrieu’s challenge as political leader of the city was to accomplish the deed, avoiding violent protests and leading the citizens of New Orleans forward in reconciliation. On May 19, 2017, Landrieu addressed the public from Gallier Hall, a city landmark, as the Robert E. Lee monument—the first erected but last remaining, and the greatest of the four Confederate monuments—was removed (see Exhibit 1).[[32]](#endnote-32)

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Exhibit 1: Mitchell Landrieu, “Truth: Remarks on the Removal of Confederate Monuments in New Orleans”

Thank you for coming.

The soul of our beloved City is deeply rooted in a history that has evolved over thousands of years; rooted in a diverse people who have been here together every step of the way—for both good and for ill. It is a history that holds in its heart the stories of Native Americans—the Choctaw, Houma Nation, the Chitimacha. Of Hernando De Soto, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, the Acadians, the Islenos, the enslaved people from Senegambia, Free People of Colorix, the Haitians, the Germans, both the empires of France and Spain. The Italians, the Irish, the Cubans, the south and central Americans, the Vietnamese and so many more.

You see—New Orleans is truly a city of many nations, a melting pot, a bubbling caldron of many cultures. There is no other place quite like it in the world that so eloquently exemplifies the uniquely American motto: *e pluribus unum*—out of many we are one. But there are also other truths about our city that we must confront. New Orleans was America’s largest slave market: a port where hundreds of thousands of souls were bought, sold and shipped up the Mississippi River to lives of forced labor, of misery, of rape, of torture. America was the place where nearly 4,000 of our fellow citizens were lynched, 540 alone in Louisiana; where the courts enshrined “separate but equal”;[[33]](#footnote-1) where Freedom Riders coming to New Orleans were beaten to a bloody pulp.[[34]](#footnote-2) So when people say to me that the monuments in question are history, well what I just described is real history as well, and it is the searing truth.

And it immediately begs the questions, why there are no slave ship monuments, no prominent markers on public land to remember the lynchings or the slave blocks; nothing to remember this long chapter of our lives; the pain, the sacrifice, the shame . . . all of it happening on the soil of New Orleans. So for those self-appointed defenders of history and the monuments, they are eerily silent on what amounts to this historical malfeasance, a lie by omission. There is a difference between remembrance of history and reverence of it.

For America and New Orleans, it has been a long, winding road, marked by great tragedy and great triumph. But we cannot be afraid of our truth. As President George W. Bush said at the dedication ceremony for the National Museum of African American History & Culture, “A great nation does not hide its history. It faces its flaws and corrects them.” So today I want to speak about why we chose to remove these four monuments to the Lost Cause of the Confederacy, but also how and why this process can move us towards healing and understanding of each other. So, let’s start with the facts.

The historic record is clear, the Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, and P.G.T. Beauregard statues were not erected just to honor these men, but as part of the movement which became known as the Cult of the Lost Cause. This “cult” had one goal—through monuments and through other means—to rewrite history to hide the truth, which is that the Confederacy was on the wrong side of humanity. First erected over 166 years after the founding of our city and 19 years after the end of the Civil War, the monuments that we took down were meant to rebrand the history of our city and the ideals of a defeated Confederacy. It is self-evident that these men did not fight for the United States of America; they fought against it. They may have been warriors, but in this cause, they were not patriots. These statues are not just stone and metal. They are not just innocent remembrances of a benign history. These monuments purposefully celebrate a fictional, sanitized Confederacy; ignoring the death, ignoring the enslavement, and the terror that it actually stood for.

After the Civil War, these statues were a part of that terrorism as much as a burning cross on someone’s lawn; they were erected purposefully to send a strong message to all who walked in their shadows about who was still in charge in this city. Should you have further doubt about the true goals of the Confederacy, in the very weeks before the war broke out, the vice president of the Confederacy, Alexander Stephens, made it clear that the Confederate cause was about maintaining slavery and white supremacy. He said in his now famous “cornerstone speech” that the Confederacy’s “cornerstone rests upon the great truth, that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.”

Now, with these shocking words still ringing in your ears . . . I want to try to gently peel from your hands the grip on a false narrative of our history that I think weakens us. And make straight a wrong turn we made many years ago, [so] we can more closely connect with integrity to the founding principles of our nation and forge a clearer and straighter path toward a better city and a more perfect union.

Last year, President Barack Obama echoed these sentiments about the need to contextualize and remember all our history. He recalled a piece of stone, a slave auction block engraved with a marker commemorating a single moment in 1830 when Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay stood and spoke from it. President Obama said, “Consider what this artifact tells us about history . . . on a stone where day after day for years, men and women . . . bound and bought and sold and bid like cattle on a stone worn down by the tragedy of over a thousand bare feet. For a long time the only thing we considered important, the singular thing we once chose to commemorate as history with a plaque were the unmemorable speeches of two powerful men.”

A piece of stone—one stone. Both stories were history. One story told. One story forgotten or maybe even purposefully ignored. As clear as it is for me today . . . for a long time, even though I grew up in one of New Orleans’ most diverse neighborhoods, even with my family’s long proud history of fighting for civil rights . . . I must have passed by those monuments a million times without giving them a second thought. So I am not judging anybody, I am not judging people. We all take our own journey on race.

I just hope people listen like I did when my dear friend Wynton Marsalis helped me see the truth.[[35]](#footnote-3) He asked me to think about all the people who have left New Orleans because of our exclusionary attitudes. Another friend asked me to consider these four monuments from the perspective of an African American mother or father trying to explain to their fifth-grade daughter who Robert E. Lee is and why he stands atop of our beautiful city. Can you do it? 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? We all know the answer to these very simple questions. When you look into this child’s eyes is the moment when the searing truth comes into focus for us. This is the moment when we know what is right and what we must do. We can’t walk away from this truth.

And I knew that taking down the monuments was going to be tough, but you elected me to do the right thing, not the easy thing and this is what that looks like. So relocating these Confederate monuments is not about taking something away from someone else. This is not about politics, this is not about blame or retaliation. This is not a naïve quest to solve all our problems at once.

This is however about showing the whole world that we as a city and as a people are able to acknowledge, understand, reconcile and most importantly, choose a better future for ourselves, making straight what has been crooked and making right what was wrong. Otherwise, we will continue to pay a price with discord, with division and, yes, with violence.

To literally put the Confederacy on a pedestal in our most prominent places of honor is an inaccurate recitation of our full past. It is an affront to our present, and it is a bad prescription for our future. History cannot be changed. It cannot be moved like a statue. What is done is done. The Civil War is over, and the Confederacy lost and we are better for it. Surely we are far enough removed from this dark time to acknowledge that the cause of the Confederacy was wrong.

And in the second decade of the 21st century, asking African Americans—or anyone else—to drive by property that they own, occupied by reverential statues of men who fought to destroy the country and deny that person’s humanity, seems perverse and absurd. Centuries-old wounds are still raw because they never healed right in the first place. Here is the essential truth. We are better together than we are apart.

Indivisibility is our essence. Isn’t this the gift that the people of New Orleans have given to the world? We radiate beauty and grace in our food, in our music, in our architecture, in our joy of life, in our celebration of death; in everything that we do. We gave the world this funky thing called jazz, the most uniquely American art form that is developed across the ages from different cultures. Think about second lines, think about Mardi Gras, think about muffaletta,[[36]](#footnote-4) think about the Saints, gumbo, red beans and rice. By God, just think.

All we hold dear is created by throwing everything in the pot; creating, producing something better; everything a product of our historic diversity. We are proof that out of many we are one—and better for it! Out of many we are one—and we really do love it! And yet, we still seem to find so many excuses for not doing the right thing. Again, remember President Bush’s words, “A great nation does not hide its history. It faces its flaws and corrects them.”

We forget, we deny how much we really depend on each other, how much we need each other. We justify our silence and inaction by manufacturing noble causes that marinate in historical denial. We still find a way to say “wait/not so fast,” but like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said, “Wait has almost always meant never.” We can’t wait any longer. We need to change. And we need to change now.

No more waiting. This is not just about statues, this is about our attitudes and behavior as well. If we take these statues down and don’t change to become a more open and inclusive society this would have all been in vain. While some have driven by these monuments every day and either revered their beauty or failed to see them at all, many of our neighbors and fellow Americans see them very clearly. Many are painfully aware of the long shadows their presence casts; not only literally but figuratively. And they clearly receive the message that the Confederacy and the cult of the lost cause intended to deliver.

Earlier this week, as the cult of the lost cause statue of P.G.T Beauregard came down, world renowned musician Terence Blanchard stood watch, his wife Robin and their two beautiful daughters at [his] side.[[37]](#footnote-5) Terence went to a high school on the edge of City Park named after one of America’s greatest heroes and patriots, John F. Kennedy. But to get there he had to pass by this monument to a man who fought to deny him his humanity.

He said, “I’ve never looked at them as a source of pride. . . . It’s always made me feel as if they were put there by people who don’t respect us. This is something I never thought I’d see in my lifetime. It’s a sign that the world is changing.” Yes, Terence, it is and it is long overdue. Now is the time to send a new message to the next generation of New Orleanians who can follow in Terence and Robin’s remarkable footsteps.

A message about the future, about the next 300 years and beyond; let us not miss this opportunity, New Orleans, and let us help the rest of the country do the same. Because now is the time for choosing. Now is the time to actually make this the City we always should have been, had we gotten it right in the first place.

We should stop for a moment and ask ourselves—at this point in our history—after Katrina, after Rita, after Ike, after Gustav,[[38]](#footnote-6) after the national recession, after the BP oil catastrophe and after the tornado—if presented with the opportunity to build monuments that told our story or to curate these particular spaces . . . would these monuments be what we want the world to see? Is this really our story?

We have not erased history; we are becoming part of the city’s history by righting the wrong image these monuments represent and crafting a better, more complete future for all our children and for future generations. And unlike when these Confederate monuments were first erected as symbols of white supremacy, we now have a chance to create not only new symbols, but to do it together, as one people. In our blessed land, we all come to the table of democracy as equals. We have to reaffirm our commitment to a future where each citizen is guaranteed the uniquely American gifts of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

That is what really makes America great and today it is more important than ever to hold fast to these values and together, say a self-evident truth that out of many we are one. That is why today we reclaim these spaces for the United States of America. Because we are one nation, not two; indivisible with liberty and justice for all, not some. We all are part of one nation, all pledging allegiance to one flag, the flag of the United States of America. And New Orleanians are in . . . all of the way. It is in this union and in this truth that real patriotism is rooted and flourishes. Instead of revering a 4-year brief historical aberration that was called the Confederacy, we can celebrate all 300 years of our rich, diverse history as a place named New Orleans and set the tone for the next 300 years.

After decades of public debate, of anger, of anxiety, of anticipation, of humiliation and of frustration. After public hearings and approvals from three separate community-led commissions. After two robust public hearings and a 6–1 vote by the duly elected New Orleans City Council. After review by 13 different federal and state judges. The full weight of the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government has been brought to bear and the monuments in accordance with the law have been removed. So now is the time to come together and heal and focus on our larger task. Not only building new symbols, but making this city a beautiful manifestation of what is possible and what we as a people can become.

Let us remember what the once exiled, imprisoned and now universally loved Nelson Mandela said after the fall of apartheid: “If the pain has often been unbearable and the revelations shocking to all of us, it is because they indeed bring us the beginnings of a common understanding of what happened and a steady restoration of the nation’s humanity.” So before we part, let us again state the truth clearly.

The Confederacy was on the wrong side of history and humanity. It sought to tear apart our nation and subjugate our fellow Americans to slavery. This is the history we should never forget and one that we should never again put on a pedestal to be revered. As a community, we must recognize the significance of removing New Orleans’ Confederate monuments. It is our acknowledgment that now is the time to take stock of, and then move past, a painful part of our history.

Anything less would render generations of courageous struggle and soul-searching a truly lost cause. Anything less would fall short of the immortal words of our greatest president, Abraham Lincoln, who with an open heart and clarity of purpose calls on us today to unite as one people when he said, “With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation’s wounds . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish—a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.”

Thank you.

Source: Mitchell J. Landrieu, “Truth: Remarks on the Removal of Confederate Monuments in New Orleans” (speech transcript as released to the press, New Orleans, May 19, 2017), accessed August 24, 2017, www.nola.gov/getattachment/Mayor/Press-Conferences/5-19-17-Speech-Truth\_Removing-Confederate-Monuments-in-New-Orleans\_Mayor-Mitch-Landrieu.pdf, used with permission; also available at “Mitch Landrieu’s Speech on the Removal of Confederate Monuments in New Orleans,” *New York Times*, May 23, 2017, accessed August 24, 2017, www.nytimes.com/2017/05/23/opinion/mitch-landrieus-speech-transcript.html. Annotations added by the case authors.

Endnotes

1. This case has been written on the basis of published sources only. Consequently, the interpretation and perspectives presented in this case are not necessarily those of Mitch Landrieu, and the City of New Orleans or any of its employees. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. Richard Fausset, John Eligon, Jason Horowitz, and Frances Robles, “A Hectic Day at Charleston Church, and Then a Hellish Visitor,” *New York Times*, June 20, 2015, accessed January 4, 2018, www.nytimes.com/2015/06/21/us/a-day-at-the-statehouse-and-a-night-of-slaughter.html. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. Frances Robles, “Dylann Roof Photos and a Manifesto Are Posted on Website,” *New York Times*, June 20, 2015, accessed January 4, 2018, www.nytimes.com/2015/06/21/us/dylann-storm-roof-photos-website-charleston-church-shooting.html. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. Southern Poverty Law Center, *Whose Heritage: Public Symbols of the Confederacy*, April 21, 2016, accessed March 6, 2018, www.splcenter.org/20160421/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. Ta-Nehisi Coates, “Take Down the Confederate Flag—Now,” *Atlantic*, June 18, 2015, accessed January 4, 2018, www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/06/take-down-the-confederate-flag-now/396290; Stephanie McCrummen and Elahe Izadi, “Confederate Flag Comes Down on South Carolina’s Statehouse Grounds,” *Washington Post*, July 10, 2015, accessed January 4, 2018, www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2015/07/10/watch-live-as-the-confederate-flag-comes-down-in-south-carolina; “Remove Confederate Flags and Symbols,” Change.org, accessed January 4, 2018, www.change.org/m/remove-confederate-flags-and-symbols. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v., “American Civil War,” 2015. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
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33. “Separate but equal” was a phrase derived from a Louisiana law of 1890, referring to a legal doctrine in United States constitutional law that allowed racial segregation despite the constitution’s guarantee of equal protection under the law, so long as the facilities and services provided to each race were equal. In practice, this was not the case. (Lily Rothman, “The Long Death of the ‘Separate but Equal’ Doctrine,” *Time*, May 18, 2016.) [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
34. Freedom Riders were civil rights activists who rode interstate buses into the Southern states to challenge the states’ continued enforcement of segregation on public buses despite court decisions ruling the practice unconstitutional. (Marian Smith Holmes, “The Freedom Riders, Then and Now,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, February 2009.) [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
35. Wynton Marsalis, a black American, was an internationally acclaimed musician (trumpet), composer, bandleader, and educator, and a leading advocate of American culture. Most notably recognized as one of the world’s leading jazz artists, Marsalis also was a celebrated classical musician. Marsalis was born and raised in New Orleans and was instrumental in leading fundraising for relief efforts after Hurricane Katrina destroyed the city in 2005. (“Wynton’s Biography,” Wynton Marsalis, accessed September 7, 2017, http://wyntonmarsalis.org/press.) [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
36. Mufaletta was a sandwich made with Italian cured meats, Swiss cheese, Creole olive salad, and sesame bread. The sandwich originated with Italian immigrants in New Orleans. (“Muffaletta Sandwich: Stop 3 of 6 in the New Orleans Food History Tour,” New Orleans Historical, accessed September 7, 2017, www.neworleanshistorical.org/items/show/505.) [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
37. Terence Blanchard, a black American, was an internationally renowned jazz trumpeter and composer, born and based in New Orleans. (“About Terence Blanchard,” Terence Blanchard, accessed September 7, 2017, www.terenceblanchard.com/about.) [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
38. Hurricanes Katrina (2005), Rita (2005), Ike (2008), and Gustav (2008). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)