

**Commission on Security & Cooperation in Europe:
U.S. Helsinki Commission**

“Human Rights at Home: Values Made Visible”

Committee Members Present:

**Representative Gwen Moore (D-WI);
Representative Emanuel Cleaver (D-MO);
Representative Marc Veasey (D-TX);
Representative Sheila Jackson Lee (D-TX)**

Committee Staff Present:

**Alex T. Johnson, Chief of Staff, Commission for Security and Cooperation in
Europe**

Witnesses:

**Ambassador Lamberto Zannier, Former OSCE Secretary General and High
Commissioner on National Minorities;
H.R.H. Maria-Esmeralda of Belgium, Journalist and documentary
filmmaker;
Kevin Gover, Acting Under Secretary for Museums and Culture, Smithsonian
Institution;
Dr. Wes Bellamy, Author and former Vice-Mayor of Charlottesville, VA**

**The Hearing Was Held From 10:00 a.m. To 11:20 a.m. via Videoconference,
Representative Gwen Moore (D-WI), Commissioner, Commission for Security
and Cooperation in Europe, presiding**

Date: Wednesday, July 29, 2020

MOORE: (In progress) – Good morning. I am Representative Gwen Moore, U.S. commissioner – Helsinki commissioner. I want to welcome all of you here today. And I call this hearing of the United States Helsinki Commission on “Values Made Visible” to order.

Before we start, I’d like to yield to Alex Johnson, the chief of staff of the Helsinki Commission, for modalities of the hearing. Alex.

JOHNSON: Thank you, Madam Chair.

Thank you for joining us today for this virtual hearing of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, also known as the U.S. Helsinki Commission. This hearing is being conducted in compliance with House Resolution 965, which provides for official remote proceedings during the COVID-19 pandemic. This hearing is being convened remotely to protect the health and ensure the safety of our witnesses, members, staff, and the public. This hearing is being broadcast live on our website, www.CSCE.gov, and on our YouTube channel, www.youtube.com/HelsinkiCommission.

Before we begin, I would like to review a few housekeeping items for our members and witnesses. Members and witnesses are asked to keep themselves muted when not actively engaging in the discussion to limit background noise. Members and witnesses are responsible for unmuting themselves when they seek recognition or when they are recognized by the chair. Please remember that there is often a short delay when muting or unmuting your microphone. Members and witnesses must keep their cameras on at all times during the hearing. If you need to step away for any reason, please make sure you leave your camera on. Finally, the chair may declare a recess at any time to address technical difficulties with these remote proceedings.

The hearing chair will now proceed with her opening statement, to be followed by opening statements from all witnesses. Commissioners and guest members may then offer statements or ask questions in the following general discussion with the witnesses. I yield back to the chair.

MOORE: Well, thank you so much, Mr. Johnson.

The United States has been a leader in the Helsinki process, and helped to forge some of the most important commitments adopted by the 57 OSCE participating states, including commitments on free elections, the rule of law, and freedom of religion. The Helsinki Commission has also frequently encouraged other OSCE-participating states to address difficult chapters of their histories, and called out those who propagate revisionism, distort the past for contemporary political purposes, stoke grievances against their neighbors, suppress academic freedom, or persecute NGOs or journalists who write about uncomfortable truths.

We like to be a leader in the world, but right now we are not doing enough at home. Black Lives Matter demonstrations have been held in virtually every state and territory of this union – in big cities and small towns. They have cast a light on the dark glorification of the Confederacy that is embedded in our public spaces and often maintained through federal

taxpayer dollars. From statues, squares, memorials, and monuments, through the names of streets, and bridges, and even some of the military bases that are home to service men and women who defend this country.

These relics of the past reflect poorly on who we are as a nation today, and the future we want to build tomorrow. This moment is not just about the statues that are coming – and they are indeed coming down – it’s about making our values visible. It’s about how we acknowledge the past as a basis for public policy today. And we are not alone in seeking to repair the past and foster restorative justice. I look forward to the insights we gain by looking at other countries’ experiences and efforts. Ultimately, however the burden is on us here in the United States, to put our own house in order.

Finally, before turning to our witnesses, I just would like to note that this hearing builds on the Helsinki Commission’s Truth, Reconciliation, and Healing panel convened in July of last year. We have heard at previous Commission events about initiatives in Sweden and the Netherlands. And I want to commend our Chairman, Mr. Hastings, for his consistent leadership to build safe, equitable, and inclusive societies across the OSCE region, and for allowing me to chair this hearing today.

And now, I have the pleasure of introducing our witnesses. I would like to say that our witnesses are distinguished, and their full biographies are on the Helsinki Commission’s webpage, with other background relevant to this hearing. But today, we’re going to hear from Ambassador Lamberto Zannier. He’s a friend of the Helsinki Commission, well known to us from his work as Secretary General of the 57-nation OSCE and, until July 18th, he served as the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities. He’s a retired Italian diplomat, and his career has encompassed conflict prevention, crisis management, conventional arms control, among other challenging areas. He’s also served as the U.N. Special Representative for Kosovo, and Head of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, with the rank of U.N. Undersecretary General. Ambassador Zannier, I just want to thank you for your long and distinguished service to the OSCE.

And after we hear from him, we’re going to hear from Princess Maria-Esmeralda of Belgium. She’s a journalist, a documentary filmmaker, author, a human rights campaigner, and environmental activist – all that. And she’s achieved numerous awards in recognition of her advocacy and has become a leading voice on confronting the past, addressing institutional racism, and building the future. Princess Esmeralda thank you so much for your advocacy and for sharing your voice with us here today.

And after we hear from Princess Esmeralda, it will be our pleasure to hear from Kevin Gover. He is the Director of the Smithsonian’s National Museum of the American Indian, the Acting Undersecretary for Museums and Culture for the Smithsonian, and a citizen of the Pawnee tribe of Oklahoma. He’s an attorney and previously served as the Assistant Secretary for Indian affairs in the United States Department of the Interior. I would also like to note that, 20 years ago, Mr. Gover issued an historic apology on behalf of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the ethnic cleaning and cultural annihilation the Bureau had brought against American Indian and Alaska Native peoples. The Smithsonian Institution is the world’s largest museum, education,

and research complex. It is a national treasure, our Smithsonian. And, Mr. Gover, we are delighted to have you here with us here today.

And last, but certainly not least, is Dr. Wes Bellamy, an author and the co-chairman of a political platform focused on advancing the needs of Black people in America. He's the youngest person ever elected to the Charlottesville City Council and served as vice-mayor of Charlottesville. He helped lead the effort to remove statues of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson from city parks. He's also successfully developed a comprehensive plan, called the Equity Package, which included nearly \$4 million in aid for marginalized communities. Dr. Bellamy, \$4 million is a lot of money. That's no small thing. I certainly look forward to your testimony.

And with that, I would now yield the microphone to our witnesses in the order in which I named them. Ambassador Zannier, you have the floor.

ZANNIER: Good afternoon from the Netherlands. Good morning to you in Washington. I'm glad to have the opportunity to share with you some considerations on this very important and very divisive topic. This is something I've observed, not only during my last three years as High Commissioner on National Minorities, but also in previous phases when I served as Secretary General and when I was in Kosovo with the United Nations. Because I saw how history can have a divisive impact, and very often how historical narratives are at the very basis of conflict. And statues, and symbols – historical symbols are often highlighting these narratives, and they are becoming more divisive in the context in which they are displayed. So history will be the starting point of this short deliberations.

First of all, we see that the histories sometimes have been politicized. We see political leaders giving some very open statements underscoring certain aspects of certain interpretations of history that are not always shared by the community, and give the impression that they reflect national agendas, national perspectives. In history there is something historians call the mirror of pain and pride. This means that even if there is no disagreement on historical facts, those historical facts look very different depending on who you are. A battle can be a moment of pride, a great memory of great victory for some, but it can be a defeat and a terrible memory for others who lost. A hero for some can be seen as a war criminal by others. So history, in this sense, as societies are becoming more diverse, is becoming an element of tension and a factor of tension and an element of friction and potentially of conflict.

And there are two angles to this. One is the internal angle to our societies. And we see increasing polarization in our societies. We see increasing nationalization across the OSCE area. And it is majorities that often push historical narratives. And this is creating confrontation – internal confrontation within society, and minorities tend to react. And this is complicating what we are promoting as the OSCE, which is integration of the societies. So when a society is well-integrated, it's more stable. So if societies don't integrate, they become unstable and prone to crises, and prone to conflict. So this is the concern.

The second aspect is that, specifically looking at minorities, some minorities look at countries abroad as what we call kin state. So states to which they feel affinity for ethnic reasons

or linguistic reasons, or whatever. And if historical narratives are different, then these minorities become a kind of a Trojan Horse for that country in the country where they reside. And this creates increasing frictions between states. And the minorities are at the very center of these – of these frictions.

And I can give you some examples. For instance, just think of Russian minorities in the Baltic states, where there are victory monuments. And these victory monuments symbolize the victory of – the victory over the Nazi forces during the Second World War. But then for the Russian minorities in those countries, that was the liberation from the Nazi, the German occupation. But for the majority in the Baltic states, this marks more the beginning of the Soviet occupation of those countries. So that victory, those commemorations are seen in a very different way depending on who you are. And in the Baltic countries, the same. Just like in Kosovo, in Macedonia, every monument is history, and then very often a very complicated history.

And I'm mentioning some areas on which we particularly focus, but then we have seen Spain, Poland, the Netherlands, U.K., Belgium, my country Italy, France, up to Kyrgyzstan or the U.S. – we have seen these problems with statues, with symbols a bit everywhere. We started a couple of years ago, in the Office of the High Commissioner, to research this with a number of historians. And we have issued some recommendations, and I will in one minute just highlight the key – the key points.

First of all, history should be represented in an inclusive manner. The historians, in fact, are encouraging multi-perspectivity in history. Some see it as great; some others can see it in another way. In any case, investment in education is key. An educated public opinion will have a better understanding of where a certain symbol comes from and what it can represent.

Secondly, erasing symbols is not necessarily a solution. We have seen very different models of how symbols, statues have been – have been treated. There's some, they've been contextualized, repurposed, we've seen disclaimers added to them. It's important not to wipe out our past, because our past is there also to remind us of difficult phases we've gone through. But certainly we need to avoid that our past – the symbols of our past divide our society. So we are now looking at various models and putting them at the disposal of also local administrators, so that they can see a certain issue has been dealt with in another country and in a different context, and to what extent this can assist them addressing their own issue.

And the final point is that in addressing issues of public space and these symbols, what is key is proper consultation with all sides, including representatives of minority communities, so that they can express their views and be listened to. In fact, if needed set up commissions and make sure that there is a proper debate before taking action on any of these issues. Thank you very much.

MOORE: Thank you so much for those words.

We will now yield five minutes to Princess Esmeralda. Princess Esmeralda, welcome. Thank you.

MARIA-ESMERALDA: Thank you. Good afternoon. I want to thank Chairman Hastings and Congresswoman Moore, who is chairing this very important hearing, for inviting me to testify. During my career as journalist and activist for human rights and the environment, I have never experienced a time like this, which could become a turning point for our societies, allowing them to become more fair and inclusive. The brutal murder of George Floyd by White police officers in the United States forced us to face the reality of racism also in Europe. It made us also to acknowledge that the institutionalized racism that poisons all our structures stems from our colonial past and the slave trade.

Today I think minorities are too often discriminated against, whether it is through the access to employment or housing, how they are mistreated by the police and the criminal justice system. This injustices have a direct link to the narrative and the stereotypes of the colonial period, which established the unmatched superiority of the White race. In Belgium, the dark legacy of our colonial past in Congo has always been a taboo. From 1885 to 1908, the Congo Free State was the private property of King Leopold II. It was ruled in a particularly brutal and inhuman way. This huge country, more than 77 times the size of Belgium, was structured as a corporate state, which aim was to extract local resources using forced labor, terror, and the exploitation of the natives. Millions were killed. We will never know the exact number.

And the most heinous crimes and human rights violation were committed, among them torture, rape, limb amputation. After it became a Belgian colony and after its independence, although they were less abused and the colonial authorities built schools, hospitals, railways, transformation the country in the richest African colony, which boosted Belgian wealth dramatically, the Congolese had no right to own land, almost no access to higher education, and were living in a condition we might call economic apartheid. For 60 years after the independence, this period our history was ignored. Children, they don't learn at school about what happened in the colony and how Belgian wealth and great buildings were funded by the sales of ivory, rubber, and timber from Congo.

Our public space was dominated by effigies glorifying the colonizer. There was nothing recognizing the victims of their programs. In the wake of the homicide of George Floyd, statues started to be unbolted and removed. Monuments are not trivial, and their symbolism is very powerful. Unbolting the statues of Leopold II was part of a desire to expunge a past written with partiality by colonizer. Then on the 30th of June, King Phillippe sent a letter to President Tshisekedi, expressing his deep regrets for the acts of violence and atrocity. This was preceded by a vote in Parliament which agreed for a truth and reconciliation commission.

Why is this so important? For healing to happen, the full truth needs to be told. The lies and watered-down version based on a colonial nostalgia have to be replaced by their historical facts. It is essential that not only violent crimes, the human rights relation, but also the economic, social, and cultural impact of colonization are recognized. The fact that people were deprived of their identity, their language, faith, and culture under the justification of being civilized by Western culture and religion, was not only wrong but contributed to dehumanize and build an inferiority complex.

Ultimately, the apologize of Belgium to its former colony have to be given. The conversation about reparation has also to take place. To address the injustice of the past, a fair system of trade would be an excellent first step, together with the return of stolen artifacts and the cancellation of the debt of the colonized country. This debate is not going to disappear. Already Africans Rising, a pan-African movement, is launching a campaign to ask for the U.K. government to apologize.

I believe that all former European colonizers should face the legacy of colonialism and White supremacy. Indeed, it has to go beyond former European colonial powers, and include countries like Australia, New Zealand, and especially the United States of America, which is urgent need of a truth and reconciliation process, and must come to terms with its legacy of killing and exploitation of the indigenous people as well as the painful legacy of slavery. I believe racism must be fought with all our might, at all levels, in all sectors of society. It's not enough to be – not to be racist. It is essential to be anti-racist. Thank you very much.

MOORE: Thank you so much for that very compelling testimony.

And before we move on to Undersecretary Gover, I just want to acknowledge the Commissioner Representative Marc Veasey from the great state of Texas. I wanted to make sure he had an opportunity to say hello. We will have an opportunity for you to ask questions, but I wanted to make sure that everybody knew that you were here, and present, and a very active member of the U.S. Helsinki Commission. Thank you for joining us this morning. We're all so busy.

But, so Undersecretary Gover, we are very, very eager to hear your testimony here today.

GOVER: Well, good morning, Madam Chair. Thank you very much. Thank you for that kind introduction. It's an honor and it's an inspiration to be part of such a distinguished panel. On behalf of the Smithsonian, we offer our regrets that Secretary Lonnie Bunch could not be with us today. And we thank you for allowing me to appear in his stead.

These conversation about specific memorials and monuments can be rather fraught. So I thought it would be wise to focus on the set of monuments that are a part of the Smithsonian's presence. Specifically, the National Museum of the American Indian actually has two museums – one in Washington and the other in New York City. We are housed at the Alexander Hamilton U.S. Customs House, which was built in 1906. It's a glorious beaux-arts building down at the very foot of Manhattan and is really intended as a celebration of international commerce. There are four prominent sculptures in front of the building, and they are intended to represent the continent. They were sculpted by Daniel Chester French. He is the sculptor as well of the figure of Abraham Lincoln in the Lincoln Memorial.

These sculptures deliver a lot of very powerful messages. For example, the sculpture representing Asia, the figure is of a woman. She is on a throne that rests on a foundation of human skulls. At her side is an enslaved person. And what it implies is that the wealth and empire of Asia was built on conquest and slavery. Europe, on the other hand, is depicted by a

figure who is on a throne and is regal and competent, and her arm is resting on the world that she colonized.

There will be no surprised that America is rather well-treated in these depictions. America's figure is bold, surging. It's accompanied by a figure of a muscular White man and implies that the wealth of America was built on the labor of White men. To the rear of the figure is a Native American, who seems to be hiding, I suppose, behind the throne of America. And finally, there's Africa. Africa is depicted as bare breasted, and is the only figure that is asleep, implying Africa is either exhausted or perhaps lazy, and certainly that Africa is primitive.

Now, none of this should surprise us. In 1906, White supremacy was understood as an unchallenged truth. It was widely understood among American scholars, for example, including, I would add, those at the Smithsonian Institution. It was a part of the culture. It was in our laws – from Jim Crow to the fact that Native Americans were not yet citizens, to the discriminatory laws passed against Asian immigrants. So here's the question, should they be destroyed?

They are not, themselves, history. They are not teachers of history. They're neither accurate nor fulsome. They certainly do not represent our contemporary understandings. And they certainly do not reflect our contemporary values. Now, the building is owned by the General Services Administration. And the GSA, to its credit, has begun a process of working with the tenants of the building, including the Smithsonian and the National Archives, to consider this question together of what should be done with these sculptures.

At a minimum, they should be carefully and publicly interpreted. They should not be regarded as tellers of history. But perhaps they can stand as monuments to the folly of racism. The great value in this inquiry is in the transparent discussion of actual history. If the sculptures serve as a provocation for meaningful public conversation and reckoning, they have value. In the absence of such conversation, they are mere monuments to White supremacy and should not remain.

And the same may be said of many other monuments across our landscape – Confederate monuments, for example, at the very least should note that the defeat of the Confederacy resulted in the emancipation of 4 million enslaved Americans. Similarly, Columbus statues all across the country should note that his arrival in the new world resulted in the murder, enslavement, and despoliation of the prosperous peoples of the Caribbean by his hand.

So with that, Madam Chair, I thank you, again, for the opportunity to appear. That is my testimony.

MOORE: Thank you so much. And we certainly appreciate and respect and love Dr. Bunch. But he would be very proud to have had you come in his stead. And it was very informative.

Before we go onto our last speaker, Dr. Bellamy, I just want to acknowledge the presence of one of my favorite members of Congress – and better be, since I sat next to him for 14 years – right next to him and he prayed for me every single day. And that is Reverend Emanuel Cleaver.

Reverend Representative Emanuel Cleaver, from Missouri. He is a Helsinki Commissioner and he's here with us, welcome. You will have an opportunity to ask some questions of our witnesses, but I just wanted to make sure that you were leaning into this topic.

And of course, last but not least we certainly want to welcome Dr. Wes Bellamy. Thank you. You are now recognized for five minutes.

BELLAMY: Thank you so much for having me. And I really appreciate all of our distinguished panelists. It is an opportunity that I do not take lightly to testify before you all. I think it would be important for me to begin my remarks with acknowledging many of the folks in Charlottesville who've been doing this hard work in terms of removing Confederate statues and advocating for equity much longer and prior to myself coming into City Council.

In fact, it was the bravery of a fifteen-year-old young woman at the time named Zyahna Bryant who initially wrote the petition to City Council, and members of her school, to have the Robert Lee statue removed. Subsequently, after doing so, she and I had conversations, and then that led to myself and a few others calling for press conferences to have the statues removed, and then pushing for policy legislation to have these statues removed as well.

I want to also be clear, in Charlottesville, we were working on this initiative when it wasn't popular to do so. In the year 2016, people were telling me personally that I was ruining the commonwealth of Virginia by pushing and advocating for statue removal. (Coughs.) Excuse me. There were individuals who were saying that they couldn't believe that something like this would happen. They were saying things like – or, excuse me – sending bomb threats to my children's school, sending death threats to our family's home. And we've endured a great deal.

However, we see now that it was all not for naught. And in fact, we've been able to kick off what I believe an awakening and a reckoning, not only through the White supremacist attacks that took place in 2017 – rest in peace to Ms. Heather Heyer – but also from what we've seen transpire across the country in this new movement for statue – Confederate statue removal. I want to be very clear with my next few comments. It's not just about a statue. When we see these odes to Confederate monuments and Confederate generals, individuals who fought for the Confederacy, in our public parks, it's not just us revering them in some regard. It's the fact that many individuals believe that, in fact, there's nothing wrong with them being there in the first place.

I would encourage and implore anyone who believes that way to consider what it may feel like to be an African American, a Black – or person who identifies as Black, a Caucasian person, or a person of any other ethnicity to walk by these large statues in your public parks, when you're paying taxes for, and understanding the history of such. For, in Charlottesville in the year 1924, when our Robert E. Lee statue was put up, there was a Confederate – or, excuse me – there was a Ku Klux Klan rally that transpired two weeks prior to the erection of the statue and two weeks after the erection of the statue. There were Klan marches up and down the city. There were people who clearly wanted to send a message to Black folk who live in the city of Charlottesville that this was their town.

Those messages still permeated throughout our city today and, I would argue, throughout many cities across the country. Those messages are not changed until we tactfully address them, not only with Confederate statue removal, but with resource allocation. I want to be very clear: There can be no reconciliation, there can be no healing, there can be no kumbaya moments unless there is a reallocation of resources to the individuals who have been admonished the most. More times than not, particularly where I live in Charlottesville, those people have looked like myself. They've been Black.

So in 2017, after writing the resolution to have the statues removed in our city parks, I also wrote something called the Equity Package. And the Charlottesville Equity Package was nearly \$4 million of resources to underserved communities. Within that package there was \$50,000 for anybody who lives in public housing to take the GED training and take that test for free, because there is a fee associated and there's a cost associated with the test. And another \$50,000 for anyone who lives in public housing, or below a certain area median income to attend our local community college for free.

There was a \$950,000 grant to renovate and add resources to our traditional African American Heritage Center. There was \$2.5 million to public housing redevelopment to get our public housing sites redeveloped. There was an additional job position created for Black Youth Achievement, known as the youth opportunity coordinator. There were resources to renovate the traditional African American park, Tonsler Park, which provided a new set of amenities for the park. And then in addition to that, there were several other measures that helped us bridge the gap in terms of bringing forth equity within our city.

But that was only one component. We followed that up in the year 2019 with what was known as the Business Equity Fund. And the Business Equity Fund allows for any individual who is classified as a minority serving – excuse me – individual, or socially disadvantaged individual – i.e., with an emphasis on those person who are Black – to receive up to \$30,000 at 1 percent interest to either start their business or scale up their business. And it's measures that are very pointed, such as these, that we truly believe will bridge the gap and bring forth equity.

And we're very clear. We're looking for equity, not just equality. Equality means everyone gets the same thing. Equity means people get what they need in order to be successful. And for far too long in our country, our brethren and our sisters who are of the American Indian persuasion, as well as Black folk in this country, have received the short end of the stick. So these statues, yes, need to be moved. We can understand our history and not look at them in public parks. We can have discussions about our history and not have to view them, and live through the pain, and endure the pain every day by looking at them in public parks.

But again, there must also be resource reallocation. And we need elected officials, policy leaders, community leaders, to push for reallocation of resources into the hands of those that need them the most. Thank you, and I appreciate you for having me.

MOORE: Well, thank you so much. Thank you, Dr. Bellamy. That was very compelling. And I just want to say, you're – again, your work is no small thing. And I will get to that in the Q&A period.

As the chair, it is my prerogative to ask questions first, but I do think that I would want to yield to my colleagues, I know how busy they are, and to give them an opportunity to either ask questions or to make a statement. So I do want to yield to my colleague, Emanuel Cleaver, to make some comments or to ask a question as he – as he sees fit.

Mr. Cleaver. Can you unmute yourself, sir?

CLEAVER: (Inaudible.)

MOORE: Mr. Cleaver –

CLEAVER: (Off mic.)

MOORE: With that, I think we will come back to Mr. Cleaver. We're having technical difficulties. And so I will yield now to our commissioner Representative Veasy. Thank you for joining us.

VEASEY: There we go. Can you hear me OK? OK. Good. Good. Excuse me. Let me turn this up a little bit. OK, there we go.

Madam Chair, thank you very much. And I appreciate the esteemed panel that we have with us today to talk about this issue, as we're trying to deal with this in the United States. And of course, this is an issue that the world is going to have to deal with. I was especially interested to hear some remarks from Undersecretary Gover, because he talked some about "tellers of history." And I also would be interested to hear from Mr. Bellamy – Dr. Bellamy as well maybe on this.

There was – in Richmond, Virginia, a couple years ago there was a report on 60 Minutes about the statues that they have there. And one of the issues that came up was the number of people that visited that city every year to go by and see these monuments. I've only been to Richmond once, but I think they call it monument row, or something of that nature. And the mayor at the time, a young, progressive, African American mayor, was talking about perhaps putting up something else to actually put the monuments there in proper context.

Something similar in Dallas, Texas a few years ago: there was a maintenance man that was working on the old courthouse in downtown Dallas, the Schoolbook Depository where the county commissioners meet, and found a – and wondered why this plate was above the water fountain. This plate had been above this water fountain for years. And so he decided to take the plate off. And there was an old "Whites only" – and it had been a Whites only water fountain that had been there. And the county commissioner's court actually debated on whether or not they were going to destroy it.

And instead of destroying it, they actually put something up that talked about, you know, the legacy of that, and it was led by our very – our African American county commissioner, John Wiley Price, that has been a member of the commissioner's court for a long time, and certainly

someone that has worked very diligently to address some of the past discrimination in Dallas. And so I was just wondering, is there any value for these being storytellers, put in the proper context? Or do they need to be removed, because some of them – some of the racist legacies behind these are very troubling. I mean, you look at when some of our Confederate monuments were placed in the north Texas area that I represent, and you see that they were placed right after the movie “Birth of a Nation” came out. And that movie, because it was so popular, allowed the United Daughters of the Confederacy to raise money to be able to do things like that. So I mean, you have to deal with that too while we sort of grapple with this complicated history. And I would just love to hear your responses on that.

BELLAMY: Sure. If I may, I’d love to take that question. And I appreciate the question. The mayor that you’re describing in Richmond, his name is Mayor Levar Stoney. He’s still in office. And they actually just removed several of their Confederate statues from Monument Avenue, and they’re working on some others. I think, just in answer to your question, to be clear: We do not need statues to be in place in order to tell history. That’s what history books are for. And in fact, just like these Confederate statues, many of our history books are totally wrong. And I say that as the political science department chairman at Virginia State University, an individual who has studied these issues on several different occasions.

And it is a travesty, if I’m being quite frank, that we still have individuals who believe that the only way to tell the story about the past is by looking at huge monuments that were created and erected to essentially put Black folk in their place. As you just alluded to, when many of these statues were – or, excuse me – were erected, they did not take place – or, they were not put up right after the Civil War. In fact, in many cases they were 60 years after the conclusion of the Civil War. And then there was another set of Confederate monuments that were erected during the civil rights movement in the 1950-1960s.

In order for us to be able to tell the truth, we do not have to look at something that is painful for many Black folk. And that is one of my issues with America, a country that I love more than any other in the world. But we often believe that in order for some people to feel good, other people must feel bad. And in order for us to be able to tell the true story of what has transpired in our country, we don’t have to do so, again, by looking at statues that were erected to people whose fundamental principle – and if you look at the constitution of the Confederate States of America, Article 2 speaks very clearly: Black folk are inferior to White folk, will never be in the same place. So why should we have statues that are acknowledging and paying homage to these kind of individuals? I say not.

Lastly, I’d like to make this point: If we truly want to heal, if we truly want to tell the story, if we truly want things to be better, then there has to be a reallocation of resources. The same way in which many White people who revere the South and the traditions of the South, who love the South, there are Black people who feel the same way. But the difference in the two is that while many White people who lived in the South were able to get a leg up through the passing down of generational wealth, our folks were in bondage, and subsequently led to pass down not wealth but post-traumatic slave syndrome – post-traumatic slave disorders.

The trauma of being in bondage, the redlining effects, the trauma of not being able to sip water from the same water fountain as others, the trauma of watching your grandmother only being able to have a job as being someone's nanny, the trauma of not being able to pursue your own college degrees in neighborhoods or institutions that are right in your backyard, but instead having to be forced to go elsewhere. That's what we were passed down with instead of generational wealth. Let's do something about that. Let's make those changes today. Thank you.

VEASEY: Thank you.

MOORE: Well, those – that was the easy question that you guys tackled. I want to thank Commissioner Veasey.

And I don't know if Representative Cleaver's mic is working. But I would be happy to yield to him if it were.

CLEAVER: I'm here, Madam Chair.

MOORE: Oh, good. Good, good.

CLEAVER: Thank you. Thank you very much. And thank you, Madam Chair, for your opening introduction – your statement, which I was able to listen to.

You know, I'm interested in finding out if anybody has any idea why Israel never built a statue of pharaoh? I mean, I'm confused. I'm coming from my own background. And I've been all over Egypt. I've been all over Israel. And I can't find a statue of Moses in Egypt, and I can't find a statue of pharaoh in Israel. And I am confused. And so if someone can explain that to me, or help me understand it, I think it would help my ministry and it will help my service in Congress. Either of our witnesses.

Dr. Bellamy? Mr. Gover? Mr. Zannier?

GOVER: Good morning, Congressman. It sounds as though you know much more about both Egypt and Israel than I do. I guess I have to say, I don't think it's surprising that we don't find tributes from the oppressed of their oppressor, or their adversaries. And so I take your point, the same, of course, is true of the Confederate statues.

CLEAVER: The other thing, in Germany swastikas are outlawed. I mean, you can't – in Germany you can't go up and paint a wall with a swastika. And I'm not upset about it. I'm just – I mean, we have done something in our country that happens no other place in the world. No other place in the world. And that is the people who tried to overthrow the government, we build statues in their honor. And we did it as a reaction to the – as I think someone alluded to earlier – to the civil rights movement. So it's not like this is a new kind of thing. And I think history will record the – one of the greatest tragedies of the 20th century was trying to redesign the Civil War.

And one of the things that troubled me even back in high school, growing up in Texas, was that, you know, I had a high school teacher who said: Look, we're not going to refer to this war as the war between the states, which is what many southerners wanted to do. She said, that's not right. It was a civil war. And there's no need in us trying to soften what happened in the country. We had a division in the country and there was a civil war – no less a civil war than things that have taken place in South America, in Europe, in all over – frankly, all over the planet. And so that – I think history will record that that was one of the greatest tragedies of that period, when we tried to elevate, you know, people who tried to destroy the country.

But what I have not been able to do is understand – and I am very serious, but I think it would be important why – I can't understand why people have – are trying to connect themselves with these statues and saying that it's a part of our culture, it's a part of our history. Does anybody have any ideas on why that is being designed? Is it a subterfuge for something else?

BELLAMY: Well, what I would say, obviously, Representative, that the individuals – and first of all, thank you for being on the call, Representative Reverend Cleaver. I would say that individuals have been taught that this is their history. I mean, when you think about the deep-rooted efforts that individuals of the Confederacy went through in order to preserve the legacy of the Confederacy, it's astounding to say the least.

And I mean, even in southern states in which there's research that has proven that while individuals, and groups, and entities such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy – while they may not have been able to vote, they were able to get individuals on the school boards and places in which they had to approve all textbooks, and which no textbook could have anything other – no textbook could have any writing or documents that – or, excuse me – that showed the Confederacy in a negative light, and where it was consistent that the stories, as they were told, that it was just the war of the aggression – the war of aggression. That the northerners were actually the ones – the Union were actually the ones who came, and they started all the mess, and they're portrayed as the bad people.

You think about how individuals for generations were told these stories, they read this in their textbooks, where you go to school you believe that you learn in school is to be true as a little kid. You've been indoctrinated with this kind of information. What else would you believe as you get older? And for them, that is the truth. However, I do think the time of reckoning has come. In fact, it's beyond come. And many people in our nation today are refusing to accept the odes of yesteryear, and we're speaking up about what we want to see not only today, but tomorrow.

And it's up to individuals like yourself, like myself, and individuals on this call to continue to speak out about the oppressive nature of those who were in the past, to tell the truth no matter how uncomfortable it may make others and prove it with documented facts. And I think research and facts speak for themselves. It is just our responsibility to continue to speak about stuff.

CLEAVER: Thank you very much. Thanks, Madam Chair.

MOORE: Thank you, Representative Cleaver.

I am really excited. I don't see it here, but I have heard that Representative Shelia Jackson Lee is on this call with us. I'm hoping that that's true. Representative Jackson Lee certainly is really a very senior member of the Judiciary Committee. They have been very busy lately. I've seen her all over TV, everywhere. But she has taken time out to join us because I do know that this is a very, very important issue with her. I do want to say that I've had the pleasure of traveling with her to various Helsinki Commission meetings over in our OSCE countries. She's been very active, traveling with the Commission.

And, Representative Jackson Lee, I want to acknowledge you and recognize you, if you're unmuted now. Can you unmute Representative Shelia Jackson Lee? I'm sure hoping we can have her.

JACKSON LEE: Can you hear me?

MOORE: Yes.

JACKSON LEE: You can hear me?

MOORE: Yes, ma'am. We're recognizing you, Representative Sheila Jackson Lee. You're recognized.

JACKSON LEE: Thank you, Madam Chair. And this is important to me. This is important to me. We're in the middle of a hearing about a murdered young soldier from Texas, Ms. Guillen. But thank you for this important hearing.

Yesterday, we were in a hearing with General Barr. And I proceeded to question him about one of the Achilles' heels of the nation, the United States, but as well for many around the world, for people of color and who live in what is perceived to be majority communities. The question about systemic racism that finds itself in many areas of our life, but in particular the criminal justice system, where we find that African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans are arrested more, searched more, and incarcerated more.

And tragically, for African Americans, are killed more at the hands of police misconduct. For that reason, young protesters around the world went to the street, and they began to craft their vision for America. And part of that vision was to not celebrate and highlight treasonous activities of the Confederacy, which unbelievably – which is an unbelievable mindset, was all around the United States Capitol, which was to be the bastion of democracy and equality. So I appreciate this hearing. I condemn the bad language and bad talk of those who have attacked protesters and the violence that has been exhibited under the name of the president of the United States that has attacked protesters – peaceful protesters – which obviously has gone in a positive way.

So for this nation to be truly reckoning with its true values to create a more perfect union and to focus on human rights, this is key. So I'd ask the witnesses, and you can choose who will

answer – your royal highness, having an international perspective, the mayor – former mayor of Charlottesville. By the way, I went to and graduate from University of Virginia Law School, so I've spent a number of years in Charlottesville, Virginia. But what does it do when people indict peaceful protesters as wasting time with symbols, and symbols of the Confederacy they don't mean anything, they're history? What does it represent and how does it represent this nation if we don't show the world that we're not condoning and celebrating tyranny and the distinctive segregation and attitude of inferiority against one group?

And so how much do these symbols represent? How important it is for the broad perspective of human rights, human dignity, with what these young protesters have chosen to do, in the name of my constituent George Floyd? So maybe we'll start with Mayor Bellamy. You really – Charlottesville was – entered this so early. And then your royal highness. And of course, the other witnesses – ambassador and Mr. Gover.

Mayor Bellamy.

MOORE: And we'll have, like, a round robin really quickly.

BELLAMY: I'll try to make my remarks succinct. Thank you, Representative Sheila Jackson Lee. And thanks for all the work that you do out in Texas, and across the country for that matter.

I will say that – if we're being frank, many people have been indoctrinated and – just, to be honest – brainwashed to believe that these statues do not matter, that these statues have no significance. And then subsequently, many people fall on this sword of sorts in which they say, well, you know, the statues have been there for hundreds of years. These statues were here before I was born. They're going to be what they're going to be. Let's go focus on other things. And in fact, that's what – to be honest – many members of the Confederacy and others want us to believe. The pure fact of all of this remains is that psychologically you cannot – you cannot excuse or escape the fact of when you see a large – like, in our city – a 28-foot statue to a man who fought to keep Black folk in bondage, walk by it every day, and not think that it has some kind of effect on you if you are cognizant of that statue in any regard.

So I have four daughters. My oldest one is 12, my youngest one is 10 months. Every day when we go on our family walk, my daughter asks me about that statue. And she says: Dad, when is it coming down? Every day she asks me, why would this city that treats you so well, and that we all said we love and we like, why would this city put up a statue like that to a person who kept Black people in slavery? Those are the questions that we have to answer. And we would be lying to ourselves if we didn't think it had some – it has, rather, some psychological impact on our elders as well as the youngest of these.

So for that reason, these statues matter. And they must be removed. I didn't say desecrated. It didn't say that they have to be tarnished and broken. But they do need to be placed in a proper setting. And that setting is not in our public spaces. So when we see young protesters and older protesters and people on the street fighting for these same rights, not only for statue removal but resource allocation, they have every right to do so. If it is true that our

country was built on the matter of protests, then why is it so wrong when Black and White people are coming together today to protest the injustices, as well as the Confederate statues that we see?

I say that it's not wrong. And in fact, as we've seen in my city, if you don't do something about it, you will have racists come to your city, march in your city, try to take over your city. And we have to stand up and fight those individuals back. Thank you.

MARIA-ESMERALDA: Yeah. I completely with Dr. Bellamy. I mean, the statues – first of all, I also have a son who is 19. And he always tells me, what are statues for? I don't learn history with the statues. I just see a man there, rarely a woman I have to say, it's usually a man. I see there a White man. I'm supposed to think he's a great man because he has a statue. And I don't know anything about it. And then I have to learn that he's a murderer, or he's a slave owner. It is very painful for many communities. And I completely agree that there is no place for those statues. I mean, in my country, in Belgium, there are lots of them, of colonizer. People don't even know what they did. And there is no explanation. So, yes, they should be removed. They should be maybe put in a museum where their whole explanation is given about the man, and what he did, and the crimes, and all that. But not be glorified in a public space. It's too painful. It's not right.

JACKSON LEE: Ambassador. Ambassador, hello?

MOORE: Ambassador Zannier, she would like for you to unmute.

ZANNIER: Yes, it re-muted. OK, sorry.

Yeah, I would have a few comments myself. Symbols and statues do matter when they are in public spaces because they have an impact. I think the point that was made about Israel and Egypt is very interesting, because it shows how historical memories are integral part of ethnical and national identities. Nations rely heavily on historical interpretation to create a common sense of purpose and of belonging. So in this case, it's Moses, or the Israelis and the pharaohs for Egyptians, makes sense in that context.

The situation changes when societies are diverse, and when a symbol, or a monument, or the name of a street becomes provocative for part of the population, or when they represent only a segment of history and they need, as the last point that was made, the need to be taken out of that narrow context. I was recently in my – in my trips in Lithuania. And I visited a park – that the Lithuanians set up outside Vilnius. It's called Grutas Park. And in this park, they moved all statues from the Soviet time. And it is about where they are displayed there for whoever wants to see them and then see the symbols. It takes a historical lens. It's a nice environment. There is no offense to those statues, but they've been removed from the public street.

And so if someone wants to look a piece of history that can be very controversial of the country, it find that in that dedicated area. So there are ways to addressing these things. But simply ignoring them is not a solution.

MOORE: Well, thank you so very, very much.

JACKSON LEE: Thank you.

MOORE: Thank you so very, very much. And I will yield myself time at this time. And I have questions of all of you.

And I guess I want to start with you, Mr. Gover. Show me the money. It's alleged that about \$40 million has been spent on Confederate monuments over the course of a decade. And I would imagine that there are maintenance efforts as well. I remember my first time going into the new African American Smithsonian Museum, and noticing the sort of monetization of slavery there. And so I – so the question I'm going to ask you – and I'm going to ask all of them at the same time. I'm going to ask you about – you know, since it seems to be so hard to raise money for photos of our colleagues, you have to get private raising. How is it that we're spending public money on these Confederate statues? Tell us a little bit about that, since that was a Smithsonian Magazine investigative report?

For you, Dr. Bellamy, I want to hear a little bit more about the African American Heritage Center. You've been really busy. Redevelopment of public housing sites, support for an African American Heritage Center, job trainings. You know, I want to hear a little bit more about that. Princess Esmeralda. I do appreciate the apology that was provided, the regret expressed by King Phillippe for the atrocities. And I guess I want you to talk about the connection of colonialism and structural racism today. And Ambassador Zannier, how can we use this Helsinki process and these OSCE – this organization? Since this seems to be an international problem, and since the Black lives movement has captured the imagination globally, what can the OSCE do to further advance the education and the discussion about the macro oppressions that these monuments provide, and what we need to do as the OSCE?

And so I would yield first to Mr. Gover, to the princess, to Dr. Bellamy, and then you can wrap it up for us, Dr. Zannier. Thank you.

GOVER: Thank you, Madam Chair.

In the late 19th and early 20th century, one of the most successful gaslighting operations in the world's history was taking place with the invention of the myth of the "lost cause" to explain the Civil War. The monuments were a part of that, but it was really quite a comprehensive propaganda operation, where supposed scholars were writing lengthy texts, explaining that the war wasn't really about slavery, it was about northern aggression, or about states' rights, and that sort of thing. But it was incredibly powerful, and really became the dominant narrative for the first half of the 20th century.

During this time, these monuments were a part of that effort, glorifying these folks. And as Dr. Bellamy points out, at some point, you know, a young person is just going to accept that as being true because they're hearing it from people in authority. So I think it's no surprise that even in our time, you know, much, much later, decades later, that there are huge numbers of people out there raised on the myth of the lost cause and just unable to separate themselves from

it. And that goes for elected officials as well as the population at large. And so when the time comes to spend public money on these monuments, I suspect that they don't give it a second thought, that of course this is something you would do.

What's really interesting to me is I'm sure they would be shocked and dismayed be accused of perpetuating racism through these simple acts. And yet, I'm afraid that's exactly what they are doing. And so we have a lot of work to do. And I'm really quite moved by what's been going on in the last few years to address these Confederate memorials. It's almost like, you know, our education system for many years taught the myth of the lost cause. But it feels like these young people today were taught something different, or at least that they didn't buy that old narrative. And so they're going to lead us into a new and better place with regard to our public spaces.

BELLAMY: Thank you, Mr. Gover. I would just say to answer the question that was asked to me with regard to the resource allocation, so we took a very targeted approach in Charlottesville. When you hear the movement across the United States in regards to defunding the police or resource reallocation, one of the items that I did when I was on council was look at the budget, literally line by line. And I looked at different measures that we could take to maybe remove or shave off a piece or a percentage of the budget from one particular item and then place it in a new pot of money that would have a much targeted and direct approach for individuals who are most in need in our community, based off of my experiences.

And that's how we came up with the allocations of \$2.5 million for public housing redevelopment, and so forth. Public housing is something – redevelopment, rather, in public housing in our city was something that had been talked about and discussed since the year 1990, according to city records. Well, I was born in 1986. So literally for almost my entire life there have been discussions about public housing without any real tangible measures or resources being allocated to address such. But that was one of the – that was one of the things that I said, we have to take on this on immediately.

When we looked at our Jefferson School African American Heritage Center, it was a building that was the old Black school within our city. And subsequently had run into some financial issues. And I thought that there's no better entity than local government to be able to say that we will be a place of refuge for you in terms of providing resources. We provide resources for tons of other items – whether that be museums, whether that be to clean up and keep up the parks, whether that be to clean up and keep up the statues, and so forth.

And even when you look at some of the other budgetary items, from the Black youth position or Black youth achievement, that we call the youth opportunity coordinator, and other items in terms of GED training and so forth – all of this boils down to whether or not local elected officials and those who are in a position of influence have the political will to say that they're going to put their money where their mouth is. Black lives cannot matter unless Black policies do. And Black lives cannot matter unless you're showing me that you're willing to put your time, your talent, and your treasure behind your words.

You show me what you care about, municipalities show me what they care about, states show me what they care about, countries show me what they care about by what they budget for. I remember going to Brussels, Belgium, for the German Marshall Fund and the Transatlantic Union Leadership Conference and seeing the statues to Leopold. I was just talking to my friend Tracy Tansia, who's there in Belgium – who's there in Brussels. And I remember being in awe that there were actually statues to similar persons, Leopold and so forth, who were on par with some of the bad work that we've seen here in the States.

If countries can spend money to upkeep those statues and tell those stories, why can't they spend money to address the needs of the underserved? And not just the small amounts of money that are allocated currently in the budget. We have to be bold in terms of making substantial and significant budgetary allotments to address these systemic issues that have transpired for generations. This isn't something that we can nickel and dime our way out of. To reinvest in our communities, to change these systems, we have to make significant budgetary allotments. And until we do that, we're going to run ourselves in a circle. I hope that all of you on this call, all of you who are on this platform, will use your platform to advocate for such.

MOORE: That's why I would call this values made visible.

Princess Esmeralda, we are going to hear from you, then we're going to hear from Ambassador Zannier.

MARIA-ESMERALDA: Well, so as I said in Belgium, we have been in that state of denial for so many years, especially in the schools. Nobody was learning anything about that. We said about the public space also being full of those effigies. And also this negative, how many times have I heard people saying: Oh but, you know, colonization had good things. See the schools. See the hospitals. They were better at the time. No. They were not better. The system was wrong. It was a system of exploitation, of domination, that cannot be justified by any action of maybe one or two individuals who did good.

So this is all what has to change. And I think the truth and reconciliation commission will be very important because all the communities will be able to talk, to open the archives – some of which are closed for many years. We will learn probably horrible facts, but we will be able to talk about it, to communicate, to build a better understanding between the communities, and have this narrative which is the history and not the sort of nostalgia that some want to perpetrate. So I think that's very important. I also think it's important for the state to apologize to the former colony. And that might come. For the moment we had only regrets.

And I want to say that it was my great granduncle who was the sovereign Leopold II at the time. And I think it's very important for me, for someone from the family, to be an advocate for this transparency, and this new building relationship, and fairness. And that's what I'm trying to do.

MOORE: Ambassador.

ZANNIER: Yes. When it comes to the OSCE, I will say that first of all some of the key principles having to do with the promotion of human rights are very relevant in this area. The fight against discrimination, and racism, and protection of minority rights, and all these elements are present, I would say, in this – should be present in this debate. So in every discussion that is taking place in the context of a human dimension in the OSCE, these issues can be brought up from that perspective.

Then specifically, as I was mentioning, we started working on a set of recommendations on controversial historical memories, because we saw that as a very divisive issue. A couple of years ago, we presented the first outline of this in the permanent council. And to my surprise, there were a couple of Western countries that intervened to stop me, and to say: Oh, this is very sensitive. It's issues that have to do with internal matters. And you should be very cautious in entering this.

In the end, I continued talking to everybody and I think now there is more of a greenlight for work to proceed. And I'm very advanced in this work. So these recommendations on historical memories could be issued pretty soon. The problem is, of course, that we have this institutional crisis in the OSCE. All heads of institutions have been not extended. And therefore we will need to have a new high commissioner in place for him to complete the work and issue that recommendation. So this might take some time. Perhaps the Parliamentary Assembly that is fully functional could raise this issue, could have a debate of this thing.

And there are colleagues – former colleagues in the Office of the High Commission, or even I myself, if you want me to come and explain the work that was done and the recommendations. This can be done. There can be a debate around these things with all the member states of the OSCE, and perhaps with a set of witnesses, as we have in this very debate. I heard a lot of very relevant things. Issues on truth and reconciliation is fundamental on all of these things, opening the archives, and history. And also the broader issue education. When you have a highly education public opinion, you can have a more civilized debate, in a way, around these issues. And still very divisive, of course.

But still need to invest also in ensuring that also history is taught – and I think at the beginning Mayor Bellamy was mentioning that – but is taught in ways that are not necessarily impartial. And that complicates things. So all of these things are included in these recommendations that we're planning to issue. So to have maybe a preview of these things and the debate, a political debate, would certainly be one of the things that the OSCE can do. Thank you.

MOORE: So this has really been very informative. This has been very informative, this hearing. Visible values. Show me the money. You show me your budget and I'll know what your values are. Once again, I want to thank my fellow commissioners for joining us. I realize how busy Shelia Jackson Lee, representative, is. Running from hearing to hearing, and yet she stopped in. I just want to mention that she does have a truth and reconciliation bill before our Congress that she is pushing for.

And so I just want to say, Princess Esmeralda, you said that this – you tweeted out that this is a moment – this is not a moment, this is a movement. I hope you're right. And I think it's up to us to make sure that that's true, that it's not just a moment. And when we see work that's being done by the young Dr. Wes Bellamys of the world, I think that we can rely on continuing this work.

You know, our public spaces represent our country and our values, both to our own citizens and to the world. It is tragic to think about Dr. Bellamy's 12-year-old daughter walking past those macro oppressions every single day. I just cannot imagine it, having not experienced those kind of statues in my own community. They telegraph to the world what our principles are. And we must make our values more visible in this public places that we administer on behalf of the American people. Certainly if we're putting our treasure there, they need to reflect our values. But we must adopt policies that reflect those values.

I just want to thank each and every one of you again for being here today. I wish we could do this in person but, again, this technology has allowed us to gather, even from Belgium, even from across the waters. And so then as we move forward with our work, we're not going to let oceans, or anything, divide us on the issue of our values. And maintaining the safety of our commissioners, we will not yield to staying in touch and in communication with each of them.

Speaking of staff, I just want to thank all of your staffs for the tremendous work that they put in helping to prepare you for today. And certainly, I want to thank the amazing staff of the Helsinki Commission under the leadership of Alex Johnson, my own staff. We will be keeping a record of this hearing. There's a plan for 48 hours for you to submit additional comments, just things that you did not have an opportunity to present while you were here in this formal meeting today, any comments you may want to submit, the books are open for the next 48 hours.

And with that, this hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:20 a.m., the hearing ended.]