

Mr. GRAYSON. We have not talked, but Dean Kothe has asked if he could go first.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Dean, welcome. I know you have waited a long time. Your name has been spoken of often here, always positively, and so please begin your testimony, if you would.

Now again, gentlemen, I am going to ask you to keep your testimony relatively short, if we can, because you notice you will get a lot of chances to speak, because this panel has no reluctance to ask you questions.

Dean, please proceed.

**TESTIMONY OF A PANEL CONSISTING OF STANLEY GRAYSON, VICE PRESIDENT, GOLDMAN SACHS LAW FIRM, NEW YORK, NY; CARLTON STEWART, STEWART LAW FIRM, ATLANTA, GA; JOHN N. DOGGETT III, MANAGEMENT CONSULTANT, AUSTIN, TX; AND CHARLES KOTHE, FORMER DEAN, ORAL ROBERTS UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL**

Mr. KOTHE. Mr. Chairman and Senators, my name is Charles A. Kothe. I am of counsel to the firm of Clay, Walker—

Senator THURMOND. If you don't mind, I would get close to the microphone so we can hear you all over the room.

Mr. KOTHE. I am presently of counsel to the firm of Clay, Walker, Jackman, Dempson and Moller in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

During March of 1983 I was acting as the founding dean of the O.W. Coburn School of Law at Oral Roberts University (ORU). Being interested in our public relations and in our identity with the American Bar Association Accrediting Committee, I decided to have a program on civil rights. I had conducted many of them over the years.

I contacted the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and talked to Clarence Thomas. I did not know him before that. He said he would come out to a seminar, and asked if he could bring a member of his staff, and I said of course. And so in April of 1983 we had a seminar on civil rights on our campus, and that is where I first met Anita Hill. In fact, the first time I talked with her, I recall, was at a luncheon at which Mr. Thomas was to be the featured speaker.

I learned at that time that she was from Oklahoma, and just out of the blue I said, "How would you like to come home and teach?" And she said, "I would like it."

And after the press conference that followed the luncheon, I told Chairman Thomas about my conversation and asked what he thought of it. He said, "Well, if that is what she would like to do, I would be all for it." And I said, "Well, do you think she would make a good teacher?" And I believe he said, "I think she would make a great teacher."

Following that, I arranged for her to be put in the process of filing applications which would go through our assistant dean. I wouldn't be involved in the paperwork until all of the recommendations were in. And sometime late in May I received her application, I believe, and all of the recommendations, and one from Chairman Thomas that was one of the most impressive, strongest

statements in support of a candidate for our faculty that we had ever received.

Based upon that and, I believe, a conversation also with Chairman Thomas, I recommended to our provost that we engage her as a member of our faculty. That doesn't just happen perfunctorily at ORU, to get on the faculty because the dean says so. No one gets on the faculty at that school unless Oral Roberts approves, and after Oral Roberts, the chairman of the Board of Regents. And that happened in her case, and sometime in June she was offered a position on our faculty to take effect in August of 1983.

In 1984 I resigned as dean, to become effective in June, and during that time as she and I became better acquainted and I learned of her working on special projects, I spoke to her about my interest in civil rights, which had started with the act of 1964, and indicated I would be interested in some special assignments. And through her I was put in touch with Chairman Thomas, and led ultimately to my appointment in April of 1984, or maybe it was April of 1985, to a special assistant to Clarence Thomas at the EEOC.

During that time I had a number of assignments, one among which was, I wrote the 33-page report on the success story of Clarence Thomas, which was basically the improvements that he made and the progress he had made at EEO, and she conferred with me about that.

The CHAIRMAN. I'm sorry. I didn't hear you. You were assigned to do what?

Mr. KOTHE. I was assigned to work with the various persons in the EEO on the progress that was made from previous administrations. Anita had been working on a history of the EEO, and I put together a 33-page report which I labeled "The Success Story of Clarence Thomas", outlining the progress that had been made over previous years.

In 1986 ORU law school was closed, and Anita went to OU. I didn't keep in as close a touch with her at that time.

In April of 1987 a speech was made by Clarence Thomas in Tulsa before a personnel group, that I believe was arranged by Anita. She and I and my wife sat at the table together, and Clarence Thomas was there at that dinner.

After he spoke, he stayed at my home, which he has on several other occasions. The next morning we had breakfast together, and she attended the breakfast, and it was one of joviality and just one of joy. After that, as I recall it, she volunteered to take him to the airport in her sports car, of which she was quite proud.

During that period we were in touch only by telephone, and in April or May of 1987 she sent me a white paper on a project that had been under discussion for a seminar which she described as developing an EEO program that really works. The featured subject of that was to be sexual harassment, and I was to, as she outlined in the program, to open the program on that subject.

We had talked about it, and all the time we ever talked about it, never once did she tell me or hint to me that she had had any personal experience of sexual harassment; never once in any of that time that that was under preparation, or in any other of the discussions we ever had when she was on our faculty, when she was in

my home, whenever we were together at any time, that Clarence Thomas was anything less than a genuinely fine person. In fact, she was very complimentary about him in every time we have ever talked together.

The last time she and I were together was in late 1987 or 1988, when we were both on the program for some personnel group in Tulsa. In discussing the preparation for that with her, I took what was generally my role of outlining the success story of Clarence Thomas. She took the technical part, and I think it had to do at that time with a case that involved pensions and civil rights.

And at that time, I believe Clarence Thomas had been married by that time, but in our discussions about him she was always very complimentary and I felt that she was fascinated by him. She spoke of him almost as a hero. She talked of him as a devoted father. She talked to me about his untiring energy. She never, ever, in all of our discourse, in all of those situations, ever said anything negative about him; and when we discussed the possibility of preparation for a seminar on sexual harassment, never said a word about her personal experience, or even her insights to any great degree.

In my experience with Clarence Thomas as a special assistant, I didn't have an office assigned, and frequently I would make my work station at the large conference table that he had in his office. Sitting there, I was able to observe him as he had discussions with some of the staff. Some of the employees would come, and other guests.

I traveled with this man for hours on end in automobiles, when we went through the swamps of Georgia together where he showed me where he was reared, and I have traveled with him by plane. I have been with him in business meetings, at banquets, at dinners in my home at least four times. We talked on to the end of the night in discussions of things that were of interest to both of us.

Never, ever in all of that time did I ever hear that man utter a profane word, never engage in any coarse conduct or loose talk. Always it was sincere, many times religious. We were both reading together, you might say at the same time together, the books by Rabbi Kushner, the one, "Why Bad Things Happen to Good People", and I suppose that is almost prophetic, and the other, "Who Needs God?" In fact, as we last talked about the one, "Who Needs God?" he built a sermon on that that he later gave in the pulpit at the church where he was married.

The last time I was with Clarence Thomas, he was our speaker at the Oklahoma Bar Association prayer breakfast, and on that occasion he told the story of his life and his spiritual experience, at the close of which he gave a prayer that brought tears to my eyes and many others there. That day we heard a man of God talk.

I have been with this man. He is a man of strength. He is a man of character. He is a man of high moral standing, and I tell you that it is not possible that he could be linked with the kinds of things that have alleged against him here. If it were true, it is the greatest Jekyll and Hyde story in the history of mankind. This is a good man, a man I have known, and a man I respect, and a man I think is worthy of a position on the U.S. Supreme Court.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Now, since you have waited so long, we are going to continue that but, Mr. Doggett, if you could make your statement a little briefer, and the rest of you, so we get a chance to ask questions, since we are getting into past 11. Mr. Doggett?

Mr. DOGGETT. I appreciate that, Senator. About 6:30 this morning in Austin, Texas, I got a telephone call saying, "We would like you to get to Washington as soon as possible." Any of you who know about Austin, Texas know that that is not all that easy to do.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am glad we waited this long so you could make it.

Mr. DOGGETT. Well, I have been here for quite a few hours. I got here about 2:30 actually.

The CHAIRMAN. I know it has been a long day. I appreciate that.

### TESTIMONY OF JOHN N. DOGGETT III

Mr. DOGGETT. I appreciate what you are trying to do, because this is a very difficult process. The charges that Anita Hill has made against Clarence Thomas, if true, would justify all of you and all of us saying that he would not be fit to serve on any court, not just the Supreme Court. In fact, those charges, if true and if filed formally, would raise serious questions about legal liability on his part and possibly criminal liability on his part.

I am also saddened by the process of having some of the best and brightest people in our country coming before the world, throwing mud. Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill, as I knew them back then, were good, decent, bright, committed people, and it is hard for me to be here knowing that one of them has to be destroyed if our Nation is to be saved.

I appreciate how difficult what you are doing is. I don't think you have had a choice. Once those serious charges were made, you had no choice but to do what you could to find out whether or not there is any truth to them.

I have been impressed at the amount of work you and your staff have been able to do in such a short period of time. As a former litigator, I know I never would have tried to do what you have done in 2 or 3 days.

A week ago—well, let me tell you a little about who I am. I will try to be as short as I can, but I think this is very important.

I was born in a housing project in San Francisco, because my father left the east coast to be a minister to black workers who were coming from the South to work in the Navy Yard in San Francisco as part of the war effort. My family has had a commitment from the beginning to civil rights. My father was an associate of Martin Luther King. My father was the president of the NAACP, St. Louis branch, for 10 years. My mother was a teacher who served inner city students for all of her life.

At every step of my education in the public schools of Los Angeles, I was told by white teachers that I was not going to be able to excel because I was black. And my parents told me, "Whatever they say is irrelevant. You are going to do the best you can."

To give you an example, when I was in high school I asked for the catalogs for MIT and Cal Tech, and the college counselor gave me the catalogs for Illinois Institute of Technology. When I was in

high school, a good friend of mine who is now a tenured professor at Pomona College asked for an SAT application and she said, "You have to have your parents come here to get a SAT application." That is the world I grew up in.

I went to Claremont Men's College in 1965, and if you remember 1965, there was something called the Watts riots. That is what happened between my senior year of high school and my first year as a freshman. At Claremont Men's College, I was one of eight black students. All but two of us were freshmen. And when we would walk the streets of Claremont, people would stop and look at us. That is how strange we were.

And I can go on and I can go on and I can go on. I was the founding chairman of the Black Student Union of Claremont College, at the same time receiving an award from the ROTC as the most outstanding cadet in ROTC, in the midst of the Vietnam war, a war I opposed.

It was difficult for me to make a decision to come here, but I felt I had no choice. When I graduated from Claremont Men's College, I went to Yale Law School, and in my third year at Yale Law School, Clarence Thomas came as a first year student. My class at Yale Law School was the largest number of black students ever to be admitted at Yale Law School, and half of those who came, never graduated.

My first year at Yale Law School also was the time that there was the Black Panther trial, that the hippies and the yippies came to New Haven. It was a tumultuous time, and my experience at Yale Law School was a time where we said, as black students, "We are going to be the best possible people we can, and we are going to work on admission standards that guarantee that we get the best people we can possibly get." Clarence Thomas was one of those people.

In my senior year, in my third year at Yale Law School, one of the things we all did, we black law students, was to put together a seminar, a pre-entrance program, a week or so, in conjunction with the administration, to make sure that we could tell our colleagues about the ropes, so that they could maximize their performance. And I remember some of the students who had come before me saying, "It is impossible for black students to score the same on the law school admissions test as whites. It is impossible for black students to have the same GPAs."

And there were a handful of us who said that was—well, this is the Senate, and there are people who don't like obscenity—but there were a handful of people who had a very strong and negative reaction to that. And I remember with pride when the dean of Yale Law School was able to come up to some of those people and say, "I have in my hand a list of 15 applicants who are black, who have qualifications that meet the standards of anybody who is going to come to this law school."

I want to say that because that is my background.

When I graduated from Yale Law School, I took a job as a Reginald Hebrew Smith Community Lawyer Fellow, which is a special program the Government set up to make sure that legal service programs would have access to the best and brightest law students in the United States.

In the summer after I graduated, I took the bar exam at Connecticut while I was working full time as an attorney for New Haven Legal Assistance in New Haven. I studied for the bar examination in California, took that bar in February and passed it. In 9 months I took two different bar examinations and passed them, and worked as a legal services attorney and then eventually as the director of the Office of Legal Services of the State Bar of California.

There is a lot more I could say. I am not going to say it right now, but I just wanted to let you know that I have worked all my life to fight for a very simple idea: That is that we people who happen to be black are as capable as anybody else.

I now am a management consultant. I have refused, even though I have been asked by clients, to apply for the 8(a) program, and to this year I have not participated in any so-called set-aside, affirmative action programs. And the only one I ever participated in was this summer, where all you had to say was that you were 100 percent owned by blacks or by some other so-called minority group, because I wanted to prove that the reason people hired me was because I was the best there was.

I eventually went to Harvard Business School, where amazingly enough one of my friends was John Carr, the same John Carr who was here testifying on behalf of Anita Hill. And in fact, of Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and John Carr, John Carr is the person I am closest to because he is the person I knew the best. We were classmates at Harvard Business School.

I worked for Salomon Brothers during the summer. They offered me a full-time job. I turned them down. I joined McKenzie and Company here.

I met Anita Hill at a party in 1982, as far as I can remember, and I say as far as I can remember because, gentlemen, I had not thought about Anita Hill for 8 or 9 years, until I heard—until I read in the New York Times last Monday that she had made these charges against Clarence Thomas.

I was introduced to Anita Hill by a man named Gil Hardy, a Yale Law School graduate who eventually was a partner in the law firm that Anita Hill worked for initially. It is unfortunate that Gil Hardy is not here, and the only reason he is not here is that he is dead. He died in a scuba-diving accident off the coast of Morocco.

Gil Hardy knew Clarence and knew Anita more than anybody I know, and if he was here, we probably would not be here now.

I talked to Clarence on a number of occasions, and one of the reasons I came forward is that I remember those conversations, and Clarence told me—and let me tell you, at this time I was a Democrat, at this time I really had some reservations about whether or not the Reagan revolution was good for this country, at this time I was being hammered by Reagonites, because of my attitudes, and when I found out that somebody who had been a classmate of mine who I had assisted at Yale Law School was now in the position of being one of the top-breaking blacks in the Reagan administration, I wanted to go talk to this man and find out what was going on, because I knew he would tell me the truth.

One of the things that Clarence Thomas told me that really stuck in my mind, and one of the reason I said I've got to get this

information to this committee and let them decide whether or not it is valuable, is that he said, "John, they call me an Uncle Tom. They are at my back. They are looking for anything they can use to take me out." He was quite aware of the scrutiny that he was under and the fact that his positions were very unpopular.

I also remember him talking about Bradford Reynolds, who at that time was the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, and many of us, including myself, complained that this man was not qualified to lead the civil rights effort of the Justice Department. He said, "John, the Reagan administration went to every black Republican lawyer it knew, and they all turned the job down, and so nobody can complain about Brad Reynolds being there. But I will tell you, one of my jobs is to make sure that I can try to keep this guy honest."

John Carr and I went to business school together. He was in the joint program. I had practiced 7 years after Yale Law School and had decided that the only way to help poor people and people who were opposed, was to learn more about how the economic system worked, to learn more about how businesses worked.

Since John was in the joint degree program, after I graduated from Harvard and came down to Washington, DC, he remained at Harvard for another year and then went to New York.

In all the years that I have known John Carr, he has never mentioned knowing Anita Hill, and yet she stated that she dated that man and he said here that he would not call it dating.

In all the years that I have known Clarence Thomas, except for knowing that Anita Hill worked for him, he never mentioned her name. We never had any conversations about her. He mentioned the names of a number of friends. At times, it was clear he was very interested in trying to get me to know more black Republican conservatives, hoping to be able to convert me to the cause. He was not successful. But he never mentioned her.

And all the times that I had conversations with Anita Hill on the telephone and in person, that I observed her at parties of black Yale Law School graduates, she never ever talked about Clarence Thomas or talked about any problems or anything about that man.

I did have an experience with Ms. Hill just before she left to go to Oral Roberts University. And but for that experience, I would not be here, because other than that, my experience and relationships with Anita Hill was what I would consider very normal, cordial, and I thought of her as a decent person.

As you know, I submitted an affidavit to you. Ever since this committee released that affidavit to the press, the press has come to me saying would you talk about that affidavit. I said no, I am an attorney, I do not feel that is appropriate for me to discuss anything that is going to be discussed by this committee, before the committee has an opportunity to discuss it with me.

Ted Koppel's office called and said would you be on Nightline? Tom Brokaw's office called. Garick Utley's office called. I even got a call a couple of days ago, saying, well, if you won't talk to us before you testify, will you show up on a Good Morning or Today Show after you testify? I am not going to do that. I am sickened by the fact that the best people, some of the best black people in this country, some of the best people in this country are participating

in such a destructive process. But I respect the fact, Senators, that, given the severity of the charges, you had no choice.

There are many things that I could say. There are many things that I will say. I stand behind the affidavit that I submitted to you, and I look forward to the time when this body and your colleagues vote on the nomination of Clarence Thomas, and I very much hope that you confirm Clarence Thomas.

But there is one other thing that I want to say, before I wait to respond to your questions. My wife and I—my wife is here behind me—were at a Thai restaurant last night with a friend of ours who had flown in from Africa to do some business with us, and this all blew up in all of our faces. Another one of our friends came up to us and said, “John, I just want to look at somebody who is stupid enough to stand up to the world and say here I am, throw stones at me, throw knives at me, throw rocks at me.”

Since you released my affidavit that I submitted to you, the press—I received a number of telephone calls, 40 in 2 hours, immediately after. Most of them have been positive, but some of them have been negative and some of them have been threatening. One of them was a man who left a message that was very simple, “Boom, boom, boom, boom, boom,” click, and he was not imitating the Eveready Rabbits.

I am from Texas, now, and those are supposed to be gunshots.

Last night, at that same Thai restaurant, a woman came out, as we were leaving, and said, “Shame, shame, shame, shame.” I said, “Excuse me, do you know any of the people involved? Do you know Anita Hill? Do you know Clarence Thomas? Do you know me?” She kept saying, “Shame, shame, shame, shame.” I said, “Do you know any of the facts?” And she said, “You know nothing about PMS, and I can’t stand any man who says a woman is unstable.” I said, “But do you know anything about the facts?” And she said—and I’m sorry I have to say this—she said, “Put your penis back in your pants.” [Laughter.]

This is somebody I had never seen before, somebody I do not know, somebody I hope I will never see again.

But I will tell you, Senators, I am not here for any other reason than to say I had information that I thought would be of use to you. You have decided this information is useful, and when this process is over, except possibly talking to people as I leave this building, I hope to never have to talk about this again.

Senator DECONCINI. Mr. Stewart?

#### TESTIMONY OF CARLTON STEWART

Mr. STEWART. Good evening, Senators, Senator Thurmond—I see that Senator Biden’s seat is empty—and other distinguished members of the committee.

My name is Carleton Stewart. I am a graduate of Holy Cross College and the University of Georgia Law School. I was formerly house counsel to Shell Oil Company, in Houston, TX, and Delta Airlines, in Atlanta, GA, respectively.

Additionally, I was a senior trial attorney with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, in Atlanta, GA, and later a special assistant to Judge Clarence Thomas, in Washington. Subse-



quently, I was as partner in the law firm of Arrington & Hallowell, in Atlanta, GA, and I am currently a principal in the Stewart firm in Atlanta, GA.

As aforesaid, I was a special assistant to Judge Clarence Thomas at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission during much of the time that Anita Hill was employed there. At no time did I hear any complaints from Ms. Hill concerning sexual harassment. At no time during my tenure at EEOC, did I observe or hear anything relative to sexual harassment by Judge Clarence Thomas.

In August of 1991, I ran into Ms. Anita Hill at the American Bar Association Convention, in Atlanta, GA, whereupon she stated, in the presence of Stanley Grayson, how great Clarence's nomination was and how much he deserved it. We went on to discuss Judge Clarence Thomas at our tenure at EEOC for an additional 30 or so minutes. There was no mention of sexual harassment nor anything negative about Judge Thomas stated during that time.

Senator THURMOND. Would you pull the microphone closer to you, so that people in the back can hear you?

Mr. STEWART. Okay. I will boom for you.

I have known Judge Clarence Thomas for more than 30 years, and I find the allegations by Ms. Hill not only ludicrous, but totally inconsistent and inapposite to his principles and his personality.

I will shorten this, so that we can get on with this. Thank you.

Senator DECONCINI. Mr. Grayson?

#### TESTIMONY OF STANLEY GRAYSON

Mr. GRAYSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Senator Thurmond, members of this Judiciary Committee.

My name is Stanley E. Grayson. I reside in the city and State of New York. I am a vice president at the investment banking firm of Goldman Sachs & Company. Immediately prior to joining Goldman Sachs, approximately 20 months ago, I served as the deputy mayor for finance and economic development for the city of New York.

I am a graduate of the University of Michigan Law School and the College of the Holy Cross.

During the weekend of August 10, 1991, while at the hotel and conference headquarters for the American Bar Association's convention, in Atlanta, GA, I was introduced to Prof. Anita Hill by Mr. Carleton Stewart.

At this meeting, Ms. Hill, Mr. Stewart and I sat and conversed for at least 30 minutes. During the course of our conversation, in the presence of Mr. Stewart, Ms. Hill expressed her pleasure with Judge Thomas' nomination, and stated that he deserved it.

During this time, Ms. Hill made no mention of any sexual harassment by Judge Thomas, nor did she in any way indicate anything that might call into question the character or fitness of Judge Thomas for the U.S. Supreme Court. To the contrary, she seemed to take great pride in the fact that she had been a member of Judge Thomas' staff at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Senator DECONCINI. Thank you.

Dean Kothe, let me just ask you a question here. References are made here in different statements about a period of time when

Judge Thomas was visiting you and apparently staying at your home. There was a dinner, where Professor Hill was invited and a breakfast the next morning where Professor Hill was invited, as was Judge Thomas, then Chairman Thomas, and that she drove Judge Thomas to the airport.

My recollection is that Professor Hill said that you asked her to do that. Do you recall those incidents, and did you ask her to do it? And if you did ask her to do it, did she leave any impressions, verbal or physical, that she didn't want to be with Judge Thomas or had any problem doing what you asked her to do, if you did ask her to take him to the airport? Do you remember the incident, first of all?

Mr. KOTHE. Oh, yes, but you would have to describe the setting, to fully understand even the importance of your question.

You know, the part that offends me so much here is that Clarence Thomas has never been described. You say who is the real Clarence Thomas? Well, the real Clarence Thomas is a warm, wonderful human being.

Senator DECONCINI. Yes, I understand that.

Mr. KOTHE. Let me finish.

Senator DECONCINI. Just address the area, if you will, please.

Mr. KOTHE. Yes, I will. At that breakfast, if you ever heard him laugh, it would vibrate this room. Anita doesn't have just a modest little laugh, either, and the two of them were just laughing, and it was laughing at laughing, incidents they would bring up about things that they were privy to that I was not, but my wife and I would sit there and just watch these two people just enjoy one another, as you do when you are in his presence.

When it ended, time to go to the airport, whether I asked her to take him to the airport, I don't think it was that way. It was a question of his going to the airport and she just said, "Well, I'll take him," and that's the way I recall it. But it was in a setting of conviviality or joy.

Senator DECONCINI. Of close friendship and respect in the—

Mr. KOTHE. Oh, my, you would have had to have been there to understand it.

Senator DECONCINI. Thank you, dean, very much.

Mr. Doggett, your affidavit is of interest, of course, because if you want to draw something from it, you can, and if you don't want to, you don't have to. One thing you can draw from it is that perhaps Ms. Hill—when you knew her then, she was not Professor Hill, I don't believe—would somewhat fantasize as to a relationship that she thought she was going to have with you. Is that a fair observation or your interpretation?

Mr. DOGGETT. That was the conclusion I came to, in response to what I felt was an absolutely bizarre statement she made to me at her going-away party.

Senator DECONCINI. Thank you. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN [presiding]. Senator Thurmond?

Senator THURMOND. I have asked Senator Specter to propound to these witnesses.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

We have heard many impressive witnesses during the course of these proceedings, but I do not believe that we have heard any more impressive than this panel.

I want to divide the first portion of the 15 minutes into two segments. Professor Kothe and Mr. Doggett have both submitted affidavits, which develop the statement of a fantasy on the part of Professor Hill, and I will examine both of them to see if there was any connection or any suggestion as to their use of the word "fantasy," and I can see Professor Kothe moving forward to suggest to the contrary, but I will come to that.

I first want to take up the testimony of Mr. Stewart and Mr. Grayson, because their testimony is much briefer, although by the time you finish your questioning tonight, you won't think so.

Going to a very important conversation which was held very recently, according to the statements of Mr. Stewart and Mr. Grayson, in August of this year, and a subject that I questioned Professor Hill about in detail, Mr. Stewart, you have already testified, and the critical part of your statement or your affidavit is, as follows:

"In August of 1991, I ran into Ms. Hill at the American Bar Association Convention, in Atlanta, Georgia, whereupon she stated to me in the presence of Stanley Grayson, 'How great Clarence's nomination was and how much he deserved it.'"

Mr. Stewart, are you sure that's the essence of what Professor Hill told you?

Mr. STEWART. Absolutely.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Grayson's statement refers to the weekend of August 10, 1991, at the American Bar Association Convention, in Atlanta, Georgia, where he says he was introduced to Professor Hill by Mr. Stewart, and this is his statement: "During the course of our conversation, in the presence of Mr. Stewart, Ms. Hill expressed her pleasure with Judge Thomas' nomination and stated that 'he deserved it.'"

Mr. Grayson, are you certain that Professor Hill said that?

Mr. GRAYSON. Yes, I am, Senator.

Senator SPECTER. Later I'm going to come back to what Ms. Hill said by way of denial. But for the point of the first 15 minutes, I want to move at this point to what Mr. Doggett and Mr. Kothe have had to say.

And, Professor, I want to start because of limitation of time, and you will be expanding in great detail on your statement, and I want to turn to the statement which you submitted on October 7th and ask you if you have a copy of that with you?

Mr. KOTHE. I have the statement I submitted on October 10.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator? Senator, I am not interrupting this. On an administrative matter.

Senator SPECTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In light of the hour, do you mind if I make an announcement about the remainder of the witnesses that people may be interested in knowing.

Senator SPECTER. I would be glad to yield to you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. And I apologize, but this has just been decided.

We have now only one more panel of witnesses and it will be limited to an hour. Because I would like to read to the Committee

a letter that I sent after a number of conversations with my colleagues, Democrats and Republicans, to Ms. Wright, who was going to testify, or potentially going to testify, had been subpoenaed, and to Ms. Jourdain, who was going to corroborate the testimony of Ms. Wright.

This is the letter that I telefaxed to her lawyer in the office in downtown Washington a few minutes ago after extensive negotiations and discussions with Democrats and Republicans and Ms. Wright's lawyer.

Dear Ms. Wright: It is my preference that you testify before the Judiciary Committee in connection with the nomination of Judge Clarence Thomas. But, in light of the time constraints under which the Committee is operating and the willingness of all the members of the Committee to have placed in the record of the hearing the transcripts of the interviews of you and your corroborating witness, Ms. Rose Jourdain, J-o-u-r-d-a-i-n, conducted by the majority and minority staff, I am prepared to accede to the mutual agreement of you and the members of the Committee, both Republican and Democrat, that the subpoena be vitiated. Thus the transcribed interviews of you and Ms. Rose Jourdain will be placed in the record without rebuttal at the hearing.

I wish to make clear, however, that if you want to testify at the hearing in person I will honor that request.

Signed: Sincerely, Joseph R. Biden, Jr.

Postscript on the bottom I attached from Angela Wright: "I agree the admission of the transcript of my interview and that of Ms. Jourdain's in the record without rebuttal at the hearing represents my position and is completely satisfactory to me."

[The letter referred to follows:]

JOSEPH R. BIDEA, JR., DELAWARE, CHAIRMAN  
 EDWARD H. KENNEDY, MASSACHUSETTS  
 EDWARD H. BREWSTER, IOWA  
 BYRON DEDMON, ARIZONA  
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 JOHN L. CRANE, MISSOURI  
 JOHN L. STAFF, CONNECTICUT  
 AND STAFF COUNSEL

STEVEN T. BRIDGES, SOUTH CAROLINA  
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 CHARLES E. BROWNLEE, NEVADA  
 ARLEN SPECTER, PENNSYLVANIA  
 MARK BRONKS, CALIFORNIA

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
 WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6275

October 13, 1991

**BY TELETYPE**

Ms. Angela Wright  
 c/o James G. Middlebrooks  
 Smith Eakins Mullis & Moore  
 Suite 1205  
 1615 L. Street, N.W.  
 Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Ms. Wright:

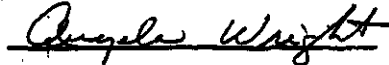
It is my preference that you testify before the Judiciary Committee in connection with the nomination of Judge Clarence Thomas. But, in light of the time constraints under which the committee is operating, and the willingness of all the members of the committee to have placed in the record of the hearing the transcripts of the interviews of you and your corroborating witness, Ms. Rose Jourdain, conducted by majority and minority staff, I am prepared to accede to the actual agreement of you, and the members of the committee, both Republican and Democrat, that the subpoena be vitiated. Thus, the transcribed interviews of you and Ms. Rose Jourdain will be placed in the record without rebuttal at the hearing.

I wish to make clear, however, that if you want to testify at the hearing in person, I will honor that request.

Sincerely,

  
 Joseph R. Bidea, Jr.

I agree. The admission of the transcript of my interview and that of Ms. Jourdain's in the record without rebuttal at the hearing represents my position and is completely satisfactory to me.

  
 Angela Wright

I want to testify at the hearing in person.

The CHAIRMAN. Translated Ms. Wright and Ms. Jourdain will not testify at the hearing. Their extensive interviews conducted by the majority and minority staffs will be placed in the official record available to all of our colleagues and to the press and the world, without rebuttal, in the record.

[The interviews referred to follow:]

**TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS**

**UNITED STATES SENATE**

\* \* \*

**COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY**

\* \* \*

In the Matter of:

THE NOMINATION OF JUDGE CLARENCE THOMAS

TO BE AN ASSOCIATE JUSTICE TO THE U. S.

SUPREME COURT

Telephonic Interview of ANGELA DENISE WRIGHT

Pages 1 thru 69

Washington, D.C.  
October 10, 1991

MILLER REPORTING COMPANY, INC.

507 C Street, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002  
546-6666

UNITED STATES SENATE  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

-----:;  
:  
In the Matter of the Nomination of :  
Judge Clarence Thomas to be an Associate :  
Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court :  
:  
-----:;

Thursday, October 10, 1991

Washington, D.C.

The telephonic interview of ANGELA DENISE WRIGHT, called for examination by counsel for the Senate Committee on the Judiciary in the above-entitled matter, pursuant to notice, in the offices of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Room SD-234, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., convened at 10:43 a.m., when were present on behalf of the parties:

CYNTHIA HOGAN, Staff of Senate Biden  
HARRIET GRANT, Staff of Senator Biden  
ANN HARKINS, Staff of Senator Leahy  
WINSTON LETT, Staff of Senator Heflin  
TERRY WOOTEN, Staff of Senator Thurmond  
MELISSA RILEY, Staff of Senator Thurmond  
MILLER BAKER, Staff of Senator Hatch  
RICHARD HERTLING, Staff of Senator Specter



## P R O C E E D I N G S

1  
2 MS. HOGAN: Hi, Angela. This is Cynthia Hogan,  
3 from the Senate Judiciary Committee, in Washington.

4 I am sorry we are calling you a little bit later  
5 than we had anticipated, but it took us a little bit of time  
6 to get ourselves together this morning.

7 I wanted to let you know that, in addition to the  
8 people I told you would be here, there are several others. I  
9 told you last night that someone from Senator Thurmond's staff  
10 would be here and that I would be here. Of course, I work  
11 for Senator Biden.

12 There are actually two people here from Senator  
13 Biden's office, myself and Harriet Grant, and two people here  
14 from Senator Thurmond's office. As well, there are four other  
15 lawyers here who work for different Senators. I wanted to  
16 let you know that, before I put you on the speaker phone, so  
17 that you were aware that we were here. We also do have a  
18 court reporter, as I told you.

19 I am with Senator Biden. Now, if I put you on the  
20 speaker phone, I want each of them to identify themselves and  
21 to tell you who they work for. I want to reassure you that  
22 it still remains that only two people are going to ask you  
23 questions, and that is me and Terry Wooten, who works for  
24 Senator Thurmond.

25 I just wanted you to be aware that these other

1 people are here, since I did not tell you that last night,  
2 and to make sure it was okay with you, before I put you on the  
3 speaker phone. If it is okay, I will ask each person to  
4 identify themselves for you, so that you are clear about who  
5 is here.

6 Is that all right? All right. Hang on.

7 MS. HOGAN: Ms. Wright?

8 MS. WRIGHT: Yes.

9 MS. HOGAN: All right. Why don't we just go around  
10 the room here. I want everyone to identify themselves for  
11 you, and I want to make sure we are on the record, so that  
12 you are aware of who is here.

13 MS. GRANT: Hi, Ms. Wright. I am Harriet Grant. I  
14 am with Senator Biden.

15 MS. WRIGHT: Okay.

16 MR. LETT: Ms. Wright, my name is Winston Lett, and  
17 I am with Senator Heflin.

18 MS. WRIGHT: Winston, what was his last name?

19 MR. LETT: Lett, L-e-t-t.

20 MS. WRIGHT: And with Heflin?

21 MR. LETT: Yes, ma'am.

22 MS. WRIGHT: Okay.

23 MS. HARKINS: Ms. Wright, my name is Ann Harkins,  
24 and I am with Senator Leahy.

25 MS. WRIGHT: Leahy?

1 MS. HARKINS: Leahy, L-e-a-h-y.

2 MS. WRIGHT: Okay.

3 MR. BAKER: Ms. Wright, my name is Miller Baker. I  
4 work for Senator Orrin Hatch.

5 MS. WRIGHT: Miller Baker, with Orrin Hatch?

6 MR. BAKER: Yes, ma'am.

7 MS. RILEY: Ms. Wright, I am Melissa Riley, and I am  
8 with Senator Thurmond's office.

9 MS. WRIGHT: Okay.

10 MR. WOOTEN: And I am Terry Wooten, with Senator  
11 Thurmond's office.

12 MS. WRIGHT: Okay.

13 MR. HERTLING: Ms. Wright, my name is Richard  
14 Hertling, H-e-r-t-l-i-n-g, and I am from Senator Specter's  
15 office.

16 MS. WRIGHT: Okay.

17 Whereupon,

18 ANGELA DENISE WRIGHT

19 was called for examination and testified, as follows:

20 BY MS. HOGAN:

21 Q Ms. Wright, I am going to ask you again, mostly for  
22 the benefit of the court reporter who is here, just to state  
23 your name, your address, spell your name for us, so we make  
24 sure she gets that down.

25 A Okay. I will state my name and address and I will

1 spell my name. I also would like to just preface whatever we  
2 are about to say. Okay?

3 Q Okay. That's fine.

4 A My name is Angela, A-n-g-e-l-a, Denise, D-e-n-i-s-  
5 e, Wright, W-r-i-g-h-t. What else did you want, my age or my  
6 address?

7 Q Both would be fine.

8 A Okay. I am 37 years old. My address is  
9  
10

11 Q I would also like to ask you to state where you are  
12 currently employed, but let me tell you that if you want to  
13 make your statement first, go ahead.

14 A Okay. Well, I will do both. I am currently  
15 employed as an assistant metro editor at the Charlotte  
16 Observer.

17 I want to preface what we are about to say by saying  
18 that I want to make it clear and I want it on the record that  
19 the information that I am about to give is not information  
20 that I approached anyone on Capitol Hill or on the Senate  
21 Judiciary staff with, but it is something that I have  
22 struggled with since I have seen Anita Hill on television on  
23 Monday night, and once I got a call from the Senate Judiciary  
24 Committee, that decision became quite obvious as to what I  
25 should do.

1 Now, I will take whatever questions you want.

2 Q Okay. I would like you just very briefly, if you  
3 could give us -- and I mean very briefly -- some background  
4 about yourself, say, your education and your job history,  
5 sort of, you know, one sentence.

6 A I have a degree in journalism from the University  
7 of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill. Prior to working at the  
8 Charlotte Observer, I worked as the managing editor of the  
9 Winston-Salem Chronicle. prior to that, I worked for the  
10 National Business League in Washington. Prior to that, I was  
11 back in school in Chapel Hill. Prior to that, I was at the  
12 EEOC. Prior to EEOC, I was at the United States Agency for  
13 International Development. Prior to that, I was at the  
14 Republican National Committee, and before that I was at the  
15 Republican Congressional Committee, and before that I was at  
16 the office of Senator -- excuse me, Congressman Charlie Rose.

17 Q Ms. Wright, as I understand it, you know Clarence  
18 Thomas, is that correct?

19 A That is correct.

20 Q Can you tell us when you first met him?

21 A I first met Clarence Thomas in the late seventies,  
22 probably around 1978-79, when several black staff members of  
23 Republican congressional offices decided to form an  
24 organization called the Black Republican Congressional Staff  
25 Association. It was pretty much an informal organization

1 that disbanded eventually on its own, but our purpose was to  
2 try and form some type of support group and some type of  
3 group that could convince other black political-type people  
4 that the Republican Party was a viable alternative to the  
5 Democratic Party.

6 Q I'm sorry, did you meet Clarence Thomas in the  
7 course of meetings of this association?

8 A Yes, that is correct.

9 Q And how often did you see him in this context? You  
10 know, give me a rough estimate.

11 A Probably only three or four times. The organization  
12 didn't last very long and I didn't go to every meeting that  
13 was held.

14 Q Okay. Did you consider yourself a friend of his at  
15 this time?

16 A No, an acquaintance.

17 Q Now, it is also my understanding that you worked  
18 with Clarence Thomas at the EEOC, is that correct?

19 A That is correct.

20 Q And can you tell us when you were hired at the EEOC  
21 and by whom?

22 A I was hired in March of 1984 by Clarence Thomas.

23 Q Can you tell me a little bit more about how you  
24 found out about a job, or did you approach him about a job?  
25 Can you give me a little bit of background about that?

1           A     I was working as the Director of Media Relations  
2 for the United States Agency for International Development,  
3 when a friend of mine -- well, I guess I should really say an  
4 acquaintance of mine -- Phyllis Barry Meyers, who was at the  
5 time Clarence Thomas' Director of Congressional Affairs,  
6 approached me at a reception on Capitol Hill and said that  
7 Clarence Thomas was in dire need of a Director of Public  
8 Affairs and would I be willing to talk to him about it, would  
9 I be willing to consider that position, and I said yes. She  
10 subsequently went to Clarence Thomas and told him that I  
11 would consider it, and sometime later I went over and talked  
12 to him about the position and he offered it to me and I left  
13 AID and went to EEOC>

14           Q     And you joined EEOC, this was in March of 1984?

15           A     Yes.

16           Q     And your title was what?

17           A     Director of Public Affairs.

18           Q     And can you describe a little bit for me what your  
19 job responsibilities were?

20           A     We had an office that had several public information  
21 specialists, a video department, and my job was to coordinate  
22 that staff -- I think at the time there were 27 maybe staff  
23 members there -- and to produce in-house publications, to be  
24 the Chairman's publicist, so to speak, his connection with the  
25 media, to answer media questions, to advise him on public

1 appearances, his best contact with the media. He and  
2 actually other office directors, I was responsible for  
3 advising them on their contact with the media. We also  
4 produced seminars on the equal employment laws and things of  
5 that nature.

6 Q And did you report to Clarence Thomas?

7 A Yes, I did.

8 Q But you did at the same time work for others or  
9 handle publicity for other people, is that correct? I just  
10 want to make sure I understand --

11 A Publicity, if there was an office at EEOC that was  
12 involved in some issue and the media was interested in  
13 talking to that office director, generally the media came  
14 through me, asked me about setting up interviews with that  
15 particular person. It was not something that was required.  
16 There, of course, were some office directors who picked off  
17 directly from the media.

18 Q So, although you worked on publicity with other  
19 people, you reported directly to Clarence Thomas, is that  
20 correct?

21 A That is correct.

22 Q And can you give me a rough estimate of how much  
23 contact you had with him in the course of your employment?

24 A The contact with Clarence Thomas was pretty much a  
25 daily contact, in person or at least buzzing him on the phone



1 from my phone to discuss questions from the media or some  
2 other course of business. You know, those were pretty  
3 turbulent times for the EEOC, and we had lots of questions  
4 from the press.

5 Q Sure. Did you consider your relationship with  
6 Clarence Thomas at this time to be strictly professional?

7 A I considered Clarence Thomas at the time to be --  
8 well, it was -- I guess you could say it was strictly  
9 professional, in that there was no other contact between me  
10 and Clarence Thomas outside of professional activities.

11 Q Okay. Now, my understanding is that there are some  
12 statements or some comments that he made to you that you  
13 wanted to -- I don't want to characterize them for you, but  
14 that you are willing to tell us about. Can you tell me were  
15 there comments that he made to you that maybe you considered  
16 inappropriate?

17 A Yes, I can tell you that during the course of the  
18 year that I worked for Clarence Thomas, there were several  
19 comments that he made. Clarence Thomas did consistently  
20 pressure me to date him. At one point, Clarence Thomas made  
21 comments about my anatomy. Clarence Thomas made comments  
22 about women's anatomy quite often. At one point, Clarence  
23 Thomas came by my apartment at night, unannounced and  
24 uninvited, and talked in general terms, but also conversation  
25 he would try to move the conversation over to the prospect of

1 my dating him.

2 Q I think if it is all right with you, we need to try  
3 and go through some of these comments very specifically. You  
4 have mentioned now that he came to your apartment one evening,  
5 and I believe you said he came over uninvited, is that  
6 correct?

7 A Yes, that is correct.

8 MR. WOOTEN: Can we go back to maybe when it  
9 started, rather than -- if that is the first contact, fine,  
10 but --

11 BY MS. HOGAN:

12 Q I guess maybe I misunderstood. Was this the first  
13 time that you felt there was something inappropriate done by  
14 Judge Thomas?

15 A No, it was not.

16 Q Okay. Perhaps it would be easier if we could go  
17 back to the beginning. You became employed at the EEOC in  
18 March of 1984. Do you remember when the first comment or  
19 conduct that Clarence Thomas engaged in that you considered  
20 inappropriate?

21 A No, I do not.

22 Q Okay.

23 A Let me clarify one thing. The night he came by my  
24 apartment was the first and the only time he came to my  
25 apartment.

1 Q Okay.

2 A But, no, I cannot sit here and tell you I remember  
3 dates. What I can tell you is that this is a general course  
4 of action, this is an attitude and these are comments that  
5 Clarence Thomas has generally tended to make.

6 Q Okay. You mentioned just a moment ago that,  
7 generally, he pressured you to date him.

8 A Yes.

9 Q Was there anything that occurred along those lines  
10 prior to the time he came to your apartment, that you recall?

11 A Yes.

12 Q Okay. Could you tell us about that?

13 A Well, I will tell you about one -- let me be  
14 specific here. We are talking about a thing that, you know,  
15 pretty much pops out of Clarence Thomas' mouth when he feels  
16 like saying this. We are not talking about, you know,  
17 traumatic single events here.

18 Q Right.

19 A We are talking about a general mode of operating.  
20 I can remember specifically one evening when the comment of  
21 dating came up, it was when we were having -- the EEOC was  
22 having a retirement party for my predecessor, Alf Sweeney,  
23 which I had organized for Mr. Sweeney at Mr. Thomas' request,  
24 and we were sitting at the banquet table while the speakers  
25 and things were going through their speeches, and Clarence

1 Thomas was sitting right next to me and he at one point  
2 turned around and said this is really a great job, blah-blah-  
3 blah, and he said and you look good and you are going to be  
4 dating me, too. That was not like the only time he said  
5 something of that nature.

6 Q Okay. Do you recall at all approximately when this  
7 banquet occurred?

8 A Approximately, it was early summer or late spring  
9 1984. It was held at some type of officers club in Virginia.  
10 I can't remember what the officers club was, but at the time  
11 one of my staff members, John Hawkins, was a member of that  
12 club, and so he was able to procure it for us to have, you  
13 know, we would actually have, you know, a very elaborate  
14 retirement party for Mr. Sweeney.

15 Q And this was an evening event?

16 A It was, yes.

17 Q Was it like a dinner banquet?

18 A It was a dinner banquet.

19 Q Okay. And you said that you were sitting at the  
20 banquet table with Clarence Thomas?

21 A Yes.

22 Q Next to you?

23 A Yes.

24 Q And when he made this remark to you about you would  
25 be dating him, was anyone else sitting there with you?

1           A     Well, there were several people there at the  
2 banquet table, yes.

3           Q     Do you know whether any of them heard this comment  
4 that Clarence Thomas made to you?

5           A     I seriously doubt that any of them heard it. He  
6 was sitting right next to me and this wasn't something he was  
7 shouting. He was talking, practically whispering, because  
8 there was actually a program going on.

9           Q     Okay. Was this a well-attended event? Can you  
10 give me an idea of how many people may have been there?

11          A     Yes, there were lots of people there, lots of  
12 influential people there, including Congressmen, former  
13 Congressman and Mayor Carl Stokes, Congressman Lewis Stokes.

14          Q     So, this was not simply EEOC employees?

15          A     It was not simply EEOC employees. What we had done  
16 was to actually surprise Mr. Sweeney with a lot of old  
17 friends. In fact, his entire family was there. He did not  
18 know this banquet was happening, he did not know that these  
19 people would be there, and a lot of them were old journalists,  
20 like -- I cannot remember the lady's name, a black journalist  
21 well known in EEOC, and she just died last year -- anyway,  
22 there were also lots of people from the EEOC there. It was  
23 actually crowded.

24          Q     Now, after Clarence Thomas made this statement to  
25 you about you dating him --

1           A     Excuse me, I just remembered, Ethel Payne is the  
2 name of this journalist I tried to remember.

3           Q     I'm sorry, what was the last name?

4           A     Ethel Payne, P-a-y-n-e.

5           Q     After Clarence Thomas made this one comment to you,  
6 was there any further discussion of what he said?

7           A     No.

8           Q     Did you respond in any way to his comment?

9           A     No, I never did.

10          Q     And he did not follow up his comment with any  
11 additional discussion at that time?

12          A     No, he did not.

13          Q     Okay. Do you remember any other occasions on which  
14 he pressured you to date him?

15          A     No, I do not. I can't give you dates and times and  
16 tell you that it was a general course of conversation.

17                MR. WOOTEN: Was the banquet the first time that  
18 Thomas had said something to you?

19                MS. HOGAN: This is Terry Wooten speaking, for your  
20 information.

21                MS. WRIGHT: Okay. No, Terry, it was not.

22                MR. WOOTEN: If we need to talk more about the  
23 banquet, go ahead.

24                BY MS. WRIGHT:

25           Q     Was there anything else that occurred at the

1 banquet that you recall, along these lines?

2 A No.

3 Q Do you remember specifically -- now, I understand  
4 that you told us that there was this general environment of  
5 this, but do you remember any specific comments that Clarence  
6 Thomas made to you along these lines prior to this banquet?

7 A Prior to this banquet?

8 Q Correct.

9 A No, I cannot, any specific comments.

10 Q And what about after this banquet, do you remember  
11 any specific comments where he talked to you about dating him?

12 A No, I can only remember them in general.

13 Q Okay. Why don't you tell us what you remember, in  
14 general.

15 A In general, given the opportunity, Clarence Thomas  
16 is the type of person -- well, let me back up a minute. In  
17 general, given the opportunity, Clarence Thomas would say to  
18 me, you know, "You need to be dating me, I think I'm going to  
19 date you, you're one of the finest women I have on my staff,"  
20 you know, "we're going to be going out eventually."

21 Q And what do you mean by "given the opportunity"?

22 A Given the opportunity, you know, if there was no  
23 one else around or we were close enough that he could turn  
24 around and whisper something of that nature.

25 A Do you ever recall him saying anything of this

1 nature to you when other people overheard it?

2 A No.

3 Q If it is all right with you, you mentioned that  
4 this occurred once at your apartment.

5 A Yes.

6 Q Can you tell me a little bit more about that?

7 A He came to my apartment, I opened the door, I  
8 offered him a beer, we talked, he sat at what was actually a  
9 counter separating the kitchen from the living room area, we  
10 sat on bar stools and talked in general about general things  
11 and, you know, the conversation would turn to his desire to  
12 date me, and I would adeptly turn it to some other topic.

13 Q And this was the first and only time he was at your  
14 apartment?

15 A Yes, that is correct.

16 Q And he arrived uninvited?

17 A Yes, that is correct.

18 Q Did he say why he had come to your apartment?

19 A Not that I can recall. My recollection is that he  
20 was in the neighborhood or something, but I can't actually  
21 recall what he said when he came to the door or actually any  
22 specific things about the conversation, except for the nature  
23 of it.

24 Q So, you don't remember specific things he stated?

25 A No, I don't. You know, I wish I could apologize to



1 you for that, but it is not the kind of thing I was taking  
2 notes about or I wasn't keeping a journal.

3 Q No, I certainly understand that it is a number of  
4 years ago, and we just appreciate your sharing with us what  
5 you remember. The only reason I am trying to ask, you know,  
6 for specific recollections is in case you have them, I want  
7 to make sure that we give you an opportunity to tell you.

8 A I specifically recall being at a seminar, I can't  
9 even tell you which seminar, because we had many of them, when  
10 Clarence Thomas commented on the dress I was wearing and  
11 asked me what size my boobs were.

12 Q This was an EEOC conference?

13 A This was an EEOC seminar.

14 Q A seminar. I'm sorry, you said it was out of town?

15 A Yes.

16 MR. WOOTEN: Can we go back to the time frame when  
17 you say Judge Thomas came to your apartment? I don't know  
18 that we got the time frame. Can you give us an approximate  
19 date?

20 MS. WRIGHT: Well, it was not in the summer, it was  
21 like it was cold, it was the end of fall or early winter.

22 BY MS. HOGAN:

23 Q And do you know how he knew where your apartment  
24 was?

25 A Well, I lived in that same apartment for about 5

1 years on Capitol Hill, three blocks from the White House --  
2 excuse me, from the office building. Most of the people who  
3 knew me knew where I lived.

4 MS. HOGAN: I think it would be easier for her, if  
5 I continue.

6 MR. WOOTEN: If we could --

7 MS. WRIGHT: It doesn't matter to me how you want  
8 to --

9 MR. WOOTEN: I don't want to create confusion, but  
10 this is done in the time when you say Judge Thomas came to  
11 your apartment when you worked at the EEOC, is that correct or  
12 not? I don't want to put words in your mouth, but --

13 MS. WRIGHT: That is correct.

14 MR. WOOTEN: I am just trying to get a general time  
15 frame.

16 BY MS. HOGAN:

17 Q This was during the year that you worked with Judge  
18 Thomas at the EEOC?

19 A That is correct.

20 Q In the fall or possibly the winter?

21 A Yes.

22 Q The next thing you mentioned was this EEOC seminar,  
23 do you have any recollection of when this occurred,  
24 approximately?

25 A No. We went to several seminars. In fact, my only

1 recollection of it is that we were walking towards a meeting  
2 room and I was briefing him, giving him information on what  
3 this particular seminar was about; you know, the general run  
4 of the mill things that public relations folks do and there  
5 were other people walking just ahead of us, people in his  
6 legal staff. But I can't remember which seminar that was, or  
7 which hotel that was. We held seminars in Denver, in Miami,  
8 I think, in Texas.

9 Q Do you remember what the subject of the seminar was?

10 A Well, the subjects of the seminar generally were  
11 about the laws under which EEOC operated and the laws that  
12 EEOC was charged with enforcing. We held community seminars  
13 to simply go to the communities and tell people, you know,  
14 this is what is qualified as age discrimination, this is what  
15 qualifies as sexual harassment, this is what qualifies as  
16 race discrimination and this is what the law says, and we had  
17 other, you know, experts from around the agency -- lawyers and  
18 those type of people -- to pretty much sit on panels and  
19 discuss all aspects of discrimination law.

20 Q So these were seminars that the EEOC gave on some  
21 type of regular basis?

22 A That's true, yes.

23 Q And they were given across the country?

24 A Yes.

25 Q And they were given to who? Was the public invited

1 to these conferences?

2 A Yes, they were.

3 Q Okay, and can you give me an average of how many of  
4 these conferences you would attend with Clarence Thomas a  
5 year or in the year that you worked for him?

6 A I think during that year we had four or five. I  
7 can't say for sure, it is like four or five. But I want to  
8 make it clear that I did not attend them with him. I  
9 generally advanced him. My staff and I went out, prior to  
10 Clarence Thomas, or any of the legal people getting there.

11 Q Did he attend all EEOC seminars of this type that  
12 were given across the country?

13 A As far as I can remember, yes.

14 Q And you would do the advance work for all of these?

15 A Yes.

16 Q Okay, do you know whether anyone overheard the  
17 comment to him, the comment that he made to you in this hotel?

18 A No, I don't. If they did, they did not react to it.

19 Q Okay, did you tell anyone about it?

20 A No, I did not.

21 Not, let me put it, not, I did not walk away from  
22 that situation and go say, you know, guess what Clarence  
23 Thomas just said.

24 Q Okay.

25 A But in the course of other conversations that I had

1 with other people, particularly women, about Clarence Thomas,  
2 yes, I have made relayed that situation along with all others.

3 Q Do you recall any particular women that you spoke  
4 to about this?

5 A Yes.

6 Q Okay, could you tell me who they were?

7 A Well, I would be willing to name one of them.

8 Q Okay.

9 A Because it is interesting to me that that person is  
10 -- this is sort of in a denial -- but Phyllis Barry Meyers was  
11 one of them.

12 Q And this is the same woman who initially contacted  
13 you about working for Clarence Thomas?

14 A Yes.

15 Q And what was her position? She worked at the EEOC,  
16 correct?

17 A She did, as Director of Congressional Affairs.

18 Q And you told her or discussed with her --

19 A She and I discussed Clarence Thomas on many  
20 occasions and the conversations were, of course, always  
21 varied depending on what the topic of the day was, but the  
22 conversations also generally ended up talking about Clarence  
23 and his approach to women, too.

24 Q Do you know whether you mentioned to her or to  
25 anyone else the comments, the comment that was made to you at

1 Mr. Sweeny's retirement party?

2 A I can't sit down and remember specifically having  
3 that conversation with anyone, no.

4 Q Okay, and what about the fact that Judge Thomas  
5 came to your apartment. Do you remember if you ever mentioned  
6 that to anyone?

7 A Yes, I did.

8 Q And who did you mention that to?

9 A I would rather not say because I don't know if she  
10 would like to get involved.

11 Q Okay. Do you remember any other conversations with  
12 anyone else -- men, women, anyone -- where you discussed the  
13 comments made to you by Judge Thomas?

14 A No, I can't say -- no, I don't remember any other  
15 specific conversations about Judge Thomas where I made  
16 references to those specific comments.

17 Q Okay, did you have any other conversations with  
18 people generally about Judge Thomas' conduct toward women in  
19 the office?

20 A Yes.

21 Q And can you tell us anything about those  
22 conversations? Who they were with or what the conversations  
23 consisted of?

24 A No, I can't. I mean when you work for somebody you  
25 generally talk about work and those people. I talked with

1 Clarence Thomas about other, I talked with other people at  
2 EEOC about Clarence Thomas when I worked there, when I felt  
3 that perhaps some things he did were not, some positions he  
4 took were not the best ones to take, or some things he did  
5 were not the best things to do.

6 Q So these were -- you just generally, you had  
7 conversations on various occasions with other employees at  
8 the EEOC that may have included some of these comments, or  
9 other comments about Judge Thomas' conduct towards women?

10 A Yes.

11 Q Okay.

12 A Well, let me say this, too. There were select  
13 people at EEOC that I would have had those conversations  
14 with. I would not talk in general to people at EEOC about  
15 that because Clarence Thomas and I were both political people  
16 and I was very conscious of what to say to non-political type  
17 people.

18 Q Okay, you mentioned that you did discuss generally  
19 with Phyllis Barry Meyers?

20 A That's correct.

21 Q Do you recall what her reaction was when you  
22 discussed this with her?

23 A Yes, I do.

24 Q And what was her reaction?

25 A Well, I, I can almost quote her as a matter of

1 fact, "Well, he's a man, you know, he's always hitting on  
2 everybody."

3 Q I'm sorry, I didn't catch the last.

4 A "He's always hitting on everybody."

5 Q Okay, do you remember any other specific comments  
6 that you might have made?

7 A No, I can remember one conversation with her that,  
8 I can remember that that particular conversation with her  
9 went on for a while, but I can't tell you what else was said,  
10 you know, it was in general, the same kinds of comments.

11 Q Did you work closely with her in your capacity at  
12 the EEOC?

13 A Yes, pretty much, but, you know, her office, her  
14 responsibilities were very different. She worked as a  
15 liaison to Capitol Hill and I was a liaison to the media.

16 Q Okay, are there any other occasions on which you  
17 remember specific comments that Clarence Thomas made to you  
18 that you considered inappropriate?

19 A None that I can give you dates for, no.

20 Q Okay. Can you tell me how long you worked at the  
21 EEOC?

22 A For one year.

23 Q And can you tell me what the circumstances were of  
24 your leaving the EEOC?

25 A Yes. Clarence Thomas fired me.



1 Q And can you just describe for me the circumstances  
2 surrounding that?

3 A Sure. I came into my office one day and there was  
4 a letter in my chair and I opened that letter and it said,  
5 your services here are no longer needed as of -- whatever two  
6 weeks from the date was -- you know, you will no longer be  
7 employed by the EEOC.

8 And I read the letter. It was quite a surprise to  
9 me. I took the letter and I went upstairs to Clarence Thomas'  
10 office, whose secretary, Diane Holt, motioned me in without  
11 even, without any question. When I walked into his office,  
12 he was in the bathroom inside his office, and I sat down in  
13 the chair beside his desk and waited for him to come out.  
14 And when he walked out, I handed, I held the letter up and I  
15 said, "What is this? What does mean? Why are you firing me?  
16 And he says, "Well, well, --

17 [Pause.]

18 Q Ms. Wright, can you hear me?

19 A Yes, I can hear you.

20 Q Terrific, you were telling us about --

21 A I walked into his office.

22 Q Okay.

23 A Well, I said to him, you know, "What is this? Why  
24 are you firing me?" And he says, "Well, Angela, I've never  
25 been satisfied with your work."

1 I said, "Why have you not been satisfied with my  
2 work, and why have you not told me this up to this point?" He  
3 said, "Well, I told you to fire those folks down there, and  
4 you haven't fired a soul down there." And I said, "Well,  
5 Clarence, these people are career employees, not like I can  
6 just go in there and say you are fired. It takes almost an  
7 act of Congress to get them removed."

8 He said, "Well, I just in general am not satisfied  
9 with your work."

10 The day prior to that I had held a press conference  
11 on some issue that was real hot at the time, I don't remember  
12 what that issue was, but it was a very successful press  
13 conference. All the major media were there, the Wall Street  
14 Journal, the Washington Post, there were 13 representatives  
15 there in all. And that morning, that I was sitting there  
16 talking to him, he had a press kit in front of him with  
17 almost an inch of press clippings. So I picked that up and I  
18 said to him, I said, "How can you say that especially today  
19 of all days, you sitting right here, with a press packet from  
20 a press conference that I just held for you yesterday that  
21 was very successful, when you guys were on the hot seat?"

22 And he said to me, you know, "I never needed you to  
23 get me any publicity. I could always call my buddy Juan  
24 Williams over at the Washington Post if I needed publicity."

25 And I said, "Okay, fine. Well, look if you -- we

1 are both political so that is your prerogative. You could  
2 tell me to go because you don't like the color of my shoes or  
3 something like that", I said, "But the point here is,  
4 Clarence, we are political and I don't believe this stuff you  
5 are telling me about why you're firing me, but I do have this  
6 question. Why did you decide to do this? If you wanted me  
7 to leave this position, all you had to do was say, go to your  
8 friends at the White House and call and see if you can get  
9 another appointment", I said, "but your intent was to make me  
10 unemployed. And why is that? I have been, I tried to be  
11 loyal employee. I have tried to be your friend."

12           And he said, "Well, I never cared anything about  
13 loyalty and I don't care a whole lot about friendship." And  
14 I said, "Well", I just pushed the chair away from the table,  
15 and I said, "Well, then, I hope you will be a very happy,  
16 successful man, but I doubt it."

17           And I walked out of his office and I went down to my  
18 office and I left EEOC. And that is the last conversation I  
19 ever had with Clarence Thomas.

20           Q     If I could just go back a little bit. You said  
21 that the first notice that you received of this was in a  
22 letter that was left in your office?

23           A     It was a letter, it was a letter that was left in  
24 my chair in my office.

25           Q     And who was the letter signed by?

1 A By Clarence Thomas.

2 Q Okay, and at that time, you went up to his office?

3 A I did.

4 Q And do you remember anything else that was said  
5 between the two of you in the meeting in his office?

6 A I, I, I think I just said it just about verbatim.

7 Q Okay. Do you recall when this was?

8 A It was, as far as I can recollect, in April.

9 Q And that is April of 1985?

10 A Yes.

11 Q Was anyone else present during this conversation?

12 A No.

13 Q Do you think that your failure to respond to any of  
14 Judge Thomas' comments to you had anything to do with him  
15 firing you?

16 A You are not the first person who has asked me that  
17 question. Several people at EEOC asked me that question.

18 Q Do you remember who at EEOC asked you that question?

19 A Well, actually the man who was my predecessor who  
20 you can't confirm, because he is now dead, Al Sweeney, that  
21 was the first question that came out of his mouth. And there  
22 were other people there but I, I really hesitate to drag  
23 other people's names into this conversation who are not now  
24 at all affiliated with this issue. I don't mind discussing  
25 people who are, you know, who have already made a public

1 comment on this, but I don't want to volunteer anybody else's  
2 participation.

3 Q Okay. Are there any other specific comments that  
4 Judge Thomas told you at any time that you want to tell us  
5 about?

6 A About the only thing I can tell you is that he did  
7 tell me at one point during that conversation when I asked  
8 him about why he was firing me that he was real bothered by  
9 the fact that I did not wait for him outside his office after  
10 work. It was a statement that I dismissed as one of his  
11 statements.

12 Q So you didn't follow up on that or respond to that?

13 A Well, I don't remember responding. You know, I  
14 wasn't a very happy person at that point. I was really  
15 trying to get to the truth of what was really going on and  
16 nothing he had said to me at that point sounded like the real  
17 deal.

18 Q Well, did that comment make you think that perhaps  
19 the firing had to do with your failure to respond to his  
20 comments?

21 A It did not make me think that at that moment. What  
22 I was thinking at that moment was he was grasping for all  
23 kinds of reasons. In retrospect I guess that is a possibility  
24 but that is not the first thought that came to my mind when  
25 he said it.

1 Q Okay. After you left the EEOC, what did you do  
2 next for employment?

3 A I did not -- when I left the EEOC I went back to the  
4 University of North Carolina because I had not completed the  
5 work on my degree. I went back to finish school.

6 Q Okay, and you finished school when?

7 A In December of 1985.

8 Q And this was your bachelor's degree in journalism?

9 A Yes.

10 Q And following your graduation from the University  
11 of North Carolina, what did you do?

12 A I moved to Charlotte, North Carolina and I worked  
13 for a while as a substitute school teacher, actually I worked  
14 three jobs -- as a substitute school teacher, as a radio news  
15 announcer, and as a freelance public relations.

16 I stayed in Charlotte for about, I guess that would  
17 have been, gosh, I would have come to Charlotte maybe in May  
18 of '86, and stayed in Charlotte until maybe September. And I  
19 went and just a month in Atlanta with some friends of mine  
20 there, just looking for work in Atlanta. And then went back  
21 to Washington, after someone that I knew called me up and  
22 asked me to take a position at the National Business League.

23 Q Okay, and following the National Business League,  
24 was when you went to the Winston-Salem --

25 A Chronicle, yes.

1 Q -- Chronicle, okay. And following that, you went  
2 back to Charlotte and took your present job, is that correct?

3 A That's correct.

4 Q Now, on any of these occasions when you took  
5 employment after the EEOC, did you ask anyone at the EEOC for  
6 a recommendation?

7 A No, I did not.

8 Q Okay, did you give anyone's name at the EEOC as a  
9 reference to a potential employer?

10 A No, I did not, but on my resume the EEOC, of  
11 course, is listed as a former place of employment.

12 Q Okay, did you have any, have you had any contact  
13 with Judge Thomas since you left the EEOC?

14 A No, I have not.

15 Q Have you ever called his office or spoken to him by  
16 telephone?

17 A I have called his office on one occasion but I  
18 never got to speak to him.

19 Q And can you tell us about that one occasion?

20 A Yes. I had a friend who owns a telecommunications  
21 firm. He installed telephone systems in businesses. He had  
22 done lots of work on Federal military bases. And he had  
23 contacted me about trying to talk to anyone I knew who worked  
24 in the Government to perhaps see if they would be willing to  
25 talk to him about using his phone system.

1           And I placed a call to Clarence Thomas on his  
2 behalf. My call was never returned and I never tried again.

3           Q    Who did you speak with? Did you call Judge Thomas  
4 at his office?

5           A    Yes, I called and I talked with Diane, his  
6 secretary.

7           Q    Okay, do you recall approximately when this call  
8 might have occurred?

9           A    In the summer of 1987.

10          Q    And you left a message with Clarence Thomas'  
11 secretary Diane?

12          A    Yes.

13          Q    And he never returned the call?

14          A    That's correct.

15          Q    Okay. Did you have any other occasions where you  
16 called him or his office?

17          A    No, I did not.

18          Q    Have you had any contacts since you left the EEOC  
19 with other employees of the EEOC who were there while you  
20 were employed there?

21          A    Yes, I have.

22          Q    And can you tell us whether in any of those  
23 conversations you discussed Clarence Thomas and any of the  
24 facts we have discussed today?

25          A    Generally, when I talk with people who work at the



1 EEOC, the conversation turns to Clarence Thomas, but no, not  
2 specifically about the things we are talking about right now.

3 Q Okay. Just one point of clarification on your  
4 degree from the University of North Carolina. You said you  
5 graduated in December of '85 or in May of '86?

6 A I completed the requirements in December of '85.

7 Q Okay.

8 A They mailed the degree to me, because I stay in  
9 Chapel Hill.

10 Q Okay. Ms. Wright, do you know Anita Hill?

11 A Do I know Anita Hill? I have never met Anita Hill,  
12 and I have never heard of Anita Hill before this week.

13 Q You are, I take it, aware of Professor Hills'  
14 allegations about Clarence Thomas?

15 A Yes, I am.

16 Q Do you feel that these allegations are in or out of  
17 character for Clarence Thomas, as you know him?

18 A I feel that the Clarence Thomas that I know is  
19 quite capable of doing just what Anita Hill alleges.

20 Q Do you have anything else you want to tell us today?

21 A No, I've told you all that I know.

22 MS. HOGAN: If you can bear with us just for one  
23 minute.

24 MR. WOOTEN: If you all have something, go ahead.

25 MS. HOGAN: If you will bear with us just for one

1 minute, please.

2 MS. WRIGHT: Sure.

3 BY MS WRIGHT:

4 Q To go back briefly and follow up, you told us that  
5 in the conversation you had with Clarence Thomas when he fired  
6 you --

7 A Yes.

8 Q -- he made a comment about you didn't was it  
9 outside his door for him at the end of the day. is that  
10 accurate? I don't want to --

11 A That is correct.

12 Q Okay. Did you have any sense of what he meant by  
13 that comment?

14 A Not at the time, no, and I don't remember if I  
15 pursued it with him or not.

16 Q Okay. And did that lead you to -- when he said that  
17 to you, was that in the context of explaining to you why he  
18 was firing you?

19 A Yes, it was. It was -- excuse me just a minute,  
20 please.

21 Q Sure.

22 A [Pause.] He was -- you know, I can't remember that  
23 specific part of the conversation. In general, he was  
24 talking about the kinds of things he felt that I should do,  
25 how I should report to him.

1 Q Okay.

2 A You know, I can't go back and say what exact words  
3 or which of his words preceded that or came out from that  
4 particular statement, but that statement was made.

5 Q Okay. In the conversations you had with other  
6 women at the EEOC about Clarence Thomas' conduct towards them,  
7 did any other women tell you that he had made specific  
8 references that they considered inappropriate?

9 A There were women who told me about specific  
10 references that he had made, but I don't remember them  
11 specifically saying that they considered it inappropriate.  
12 It was not --

13 Q Did they tell you that -- did anyone else tell you  
14 that he had made comments to them about their anatomy?

15 A No, I don't remember that.

16 Q Did any of them tell you that he had made comments  
17 about wanting them to date him?

18 A Yes.

19 Q And do you remember any specifics with regard to  
20 what these women told you?

21 A Yes, but one woman that I can think of right now,  
22 particularly, was a married woman and I certainly would not  
23 like to discuss that.

24 Q Okay. Are you still there, Ms. Wright?

25 A I'm still there. We can finish. I am not trying

1 to --

2 Q Okay. Sorry.

3 A Can I get you to hold on just a minute, so that I  
4 can get another call in?

5 Q Certainly.

6 A [Pause.]

7 Q When you say that he made comments to you and to  
8 other women about their anatomy, the only thing I believe you  
9 have mentioned to us specifically is that he made a comment  
10 about your boobs.

11 A Yes.

12 Q Were there any other specific comments about  
13 women's anatomy that you know of?

14 A Yes, Clarence Thomas talked about women's anatomy  
15 when he talked about the kind of women on his staff, he often  
16 said I've got some fine women on my staff, and he would say  
17 things about individual people's anatomy.

18 Q And can you be any more specific than that, in  
19 terms of the type of comments he would make?

20 A I remember specifically him saying that one woman  
21 had a big ass.

22 Q And this was a comment that he made to you about  
23 another woman?

24 A I was not the only person in that room, come to  
25 think of it, but I can't remember exactly who was there.

1 Q But this was a comment that he made in your  
2 presence?

3 A Yes.

4 Q And do you remember any other specific comments?

5 A No, I don't.

6 MS. HOGAN: Okay. I think those are all the  
7 questions I have for you right now. Terry Wooten, who works  
8 for Senator Thurmond, is going to ask you some questions.

9 Terry, are you ready to go, or do you want to take  
10 a few minutes' break?

11 MR. WOOTEN: Do you want to talk to me for a minute  
12 on the side, or are you ready to go? I've got some things  
13 that I can ask and then you can come back.

14 MS. HOGAN: Ms. Wright, do you want to take a break  
15 for a few minutes, or are you content to go forward now?

16 MS. WRIGHT: I'm fine. Go ahead.

17 BY MS. HOGAN:

18 Q I do have just one other question that I want to  
19 get on the record. Do you have anyone representing you, for  
20 instance, a lawyer?

21 A I have talked with friends who are lawyers, but I  
22 have not obtained legal counsel, no.

23 MS. HOGAN: Okay. Thank you.

24 BY MR. WOOTEN:

25 Q Is anybody there with you now, or are you alone?

1 A I am alone, me and my dog.

2 Q Are you at work or are you home?

3 A I am at home.

4 Q You said that the first that Judge Thomas made a  
5 comment to you was at a retirement party.

6 A No, I did not say that was the first time. That  
7 was one time, the time I remember.

8 Q Right. Could you go back and maybe tell us roughly  
9 when the first time it was that Judge Thomas had made some  
10 comment to you?

11 A No, I can't.

12 Q Is there any reason -- you can't give us the context  
13 of maybe what he said the first time?

14 A No, I can't remember the first time, because it was  
15 one of a general pattern with Clarence Thomas to pop these  
16 things out of his mouth whenever he felt like it.

17 Q When can you say, roughly, when was the first time  
18 he made comment to you -- and I don't know if you can or not,  
19 but it is obviously a very serious allegation that he made  
20 other kinds of comments, and you are somewhat vague about  
21 what those comments were or when they took place.

22 A Okay.

23 Q I would just like to see if you can't think back  
24 and maybe tell us when was the first time or how long had it  
25 been when you were employed at the EEOC before he made the

1 first comment.

2 A Oh, there is no doubt in my mind, it hadn't been  
3 very long, but I can't go back and tell you just what day or  
4 how many weeks. You know, Clarence Thomas I think felt very  
5 comfortable around me, and I want you to understand that I am  
6 not sitting here saying to you that I was sexually harassed  
7 by Clarence Thomas. I am a very strong-willed person and at  
8 no point did I feel intimidated by him. Some other woman  
9 might have, but these were not situations that I ran home and  
10 ruminated on and wrote down in my diary.

11 Q When he made these comments, how did you feel about  
12 it?

13 A I felt that he was annoying and obnoxious pretty  
14 much, but, you know --

15 Q Did you take them as a joke, or did you take them  
16 as something that maybe, you know, you had been harassed?  
17 You said you had not been harassed. I mean did you take them  
18 as a --

19 A Not sexually harassment, no.

20 Q I mean did --

21 A Harassment to me dictates some -- I mean indicates  
22 some feeling that there is some threat. No, I never did feel  
23 threatened or intimidated.

24 BY MS. HOGAN:

25 Q When you use the word "harassment" -- this is

1 Cynthia Hogan again -- do you mean sexually harassed in a  
2 legal sense?

3 A I think that, yes, under the legal definition of  
4 sexual harassment, what Clarence Thomas did fit the legal  
5 definition, yes. I am not a lawyer, but as I understand it,  
6 that --

7 Q I'm sorry, it did fit the definition, as you  
8 understand it?

9 A As I understand it, yes.

10 BY MR. WOOTEN:

11 Q Let me go back. You had said before you just made  
12 this statement that you didn't feel like you were sexually  
13 harassed, that you felt like you were more annoyed by it.

14 A Yes, I certainly did make that statement. But what  
15 I am saying to you is I am aware that, under the legal  
16 definition of sexual harassment, his actions fit the criteria.  
17 But was I intimidated to the point where I felt like filing a  
18 sexual harassment suit? No, I didn't consider filing then  
19 and I wouldn't file one now.

20 Q All right. The first specific time you remember  
21 that Judge Thomas said something to you was at the retirement  
22 party, that was the first time that you can say specifically  
23 this is what he said to me?

24 A Well, I think the use of the word "first" is what  
25 is bothering me. That is the one time when I can specifically



1 remember the comment in the context of other circumstances.

2 Q Now, after that happened, were you annoyed or did  
3 you feel like you had been harassed, sexually harassed?

4 A Well, I think annoyed was as better term. I simply  
5 turned to Lewis Stokes, who was on my right-hand side and  
6 carried on a conversation with him.

7 Q All right. Did you ever tell anybody about that  
8 incident at all, the fact that Judge Thomas had made a  
9 comment to you at the retirement party?

10 A Well, I can't sit here and tell you that I had one  
11 conversation about that particular incident, no, but I can  
12 say that in the course of other general conversations, it is  
13 likely that I did, but I can't say that someone, that that  
14 was the focus of any other conversation I had, no.

15 Q Can you give us the name of any individual or  
16 individuals that you may have mentioned this to, the fact that  
17 something had been said to you at the retirement party?

18 A I could, but I am not willing to do that unless I  
19 would first check with them to see if they felt comfortable  
20 with me using their name in these proceedings.

21 Q Would you be willing to do that?

22 A I would be willing to check with them, yes.

23 Q Now, the second incident that you talked about to  
24 us is when Judge Thomas came to your apartment. Can you give  
25 us any indication as to how Judge Thomas knew where you lived?

1           A     I had lived in the same apartment for five years on  
2 Capitol Hill, three blocks from the Capitol, on C Street.  
3 Duddington's Restaurant was literally by backdoor. Anyone who  
4 knew me on Capitol Hill knew where I lived.

5           Q     Well, let me ask you again: Was there any way -- do  
6 you know how or have any indication as to how Judge Thomas  
7 would have known where you lived?

8           A     No, I didn't ask him.

9           Q     All right. Did you ever give him your address?  
10 Did you ever tell him where you lived?

11          A     I think I probably wrote that down on the employment  
12 application.

13          Q     All right. Other than putting that on the  
14 employment application, did you ever tell Judge Thomas where  
15 you lived?

16          A     Not that I can recall. I mean that may have been  
17 part of our conversation at some point, but nothing  
18 significant enough for me to remember.

19          Q     Well, if it was part of a conversation, I guess the  
20 question would be why would that come up in a conversation  
21 that you would have with Judge Thomas?

22          A     I can't answer that, because I can't recall a  
23 conversation I had with him where that did come up. I am  
24 simply allowing for the possibility.

25          Q     So, as best you can remember, you never told Judge

1 Thomas where you lived or --

2 A No, I am not going to say I never told Judge Thomas  
3 where I lived. That is probably unlikely. I tell most people  
4 who you have any type of relationship with, when you talk  
5 with them at some point you get to the topic of where you  
6 live.

7 Q But you don't have any memory that he asked you  
8 about where you lived?

9 A No, I don't have any memory of that.

10 Q Now, you said that he came over in the winter --

11 A What I remember is that it was not hot, it was cold  
12 or cool.

13 Q Well, could you go back and recount maybe what you  
14 were doing at the time, did you have a doorbell, did he knock  
15 at the door? When you realized that Judge Thomas was there,  
16 can you just pick up from there and tell us what you thought  
17 first, and then what you did?

18 A Well, I went to the door and he was standing at the  
19 door, I opened the door and I said probably hello, how are  
20 you, come in. My guess is the conversation probably had  
21 something to do with what are you doing in this part of this  
22 neighborhood. I offered him a beer. We talked. He actually  
23 stayed for some time and talked.

24 Q Can you tell us approximately what time it was that  
25 he came over?

1           A    No. I can remember about what time it was when he  
2 left, because it was after midnight and I was getting quite  
3 tired of the company.

4           Q    Well, did you tell him that he needed to leave?  
5 You said he stayed there for some long period of time.

6           A    I did not tell him he needed to leave. I probably  
7 made quite a few outward suggestions, like yawning and  
8 becoming distracted.

9           Q    Were you drinking, as well, at the time?

10          A    Yes.

11          Q    Now, I am sure that if the person who was your boss  
12 came over, I assume there would be some conversation. Can  
13 you give us maybe a little more general information about  
14 what you discussed while he was there? Was this the first  
15 time he had ever been to your apartment?

16          A    It was.

17          Q    So, is it accurate to say that you were probably  
18 surprised when he came there?

19          A    Yes, it is.

20          Q    Well, can you just give us some indication of what  
21 maybe you generally talked about?

22          A    I think, in general, we talked about the EEOC or  
23 changes he wanted to make there, most of them personnel  
24 changes. He talked often about wanting to clean out the  
25 public affairs department and fire all those folks down

1 there, because they were just a bunch of incompetents. I am  
2 sure that was the thrust of it. We discussed that generally  
3 whenever we talked, but then he would also, of course, discuss  
4 his desire to date me, and I am very adept at turning the  
5 conversation towards some other topic.

6 Q All right. Can you be just -- you said, I believe,  
7 my notes show that you said that you can't remember specific  
8 things. Let me ask you, if I could, Ms. Wright, to try to  
9 remember specific things. What did he say to you specifically  
10 about wanting to date you? Can you just be more specific  
11 about it? Because it is as very serious matter, in my  
12 judgment, to say that he came to your house. I mean if he  
13 came over to talk about work, that is one thing. If he came  
14 over to talk about other things, you know, that is another  
15 thing. We just need some information from you about what he  
16 talked about, if you could be a little more specific.

17 A I understand that this is as very serious matter.

18 Q I am not trying to --

19 A But I want you to understand that I am telling you,  
20 a best as I can, what I know and what I have experienced with  
21 the man named Clarence Thomas whom you are about to name to  
22 the Court, and in this situation, if it were not for the  
23 situation at hand, you probably would not be talking to me.  
24 I know that you understand that.

25 I did not keep a journal, I did not write down his

1 comments. I can only tell you in very general terms what my  
2 experience with Clarence Thomas has been.

3 Q Well, at the time that he came to your house, were  
4 you ever afraid of him?

5 A I was never afraid of Clarence Thomas.

6 Q Now, let's go back to this seminar that you said  
7 took place. I was just trying to get a rough time as to when  
8 you were at this seminar where you say Judge Thomas made some  
9 comment about your anatomy. Can you give us a rough time as  
10 to when that was?

11 A We had several seminars that year. The most I  
12 could tell you is that I can remember being at one of those  
13 seminars when Clarence Thomas made that comment. How can I  
14 tell you which seminar it was? Unfortunately, I know it  
15 would be most helpful for you, but I cannot tell you. I  
16 cannot remember that. Perhaps senility has set in at a young  
17 age here, but I can't remember that. We are talking of six  
18 or seven years ago.

19 Q Now, the term "boobs" came up. Is that a term that  
20 he used when he spoke to you?

21 A No, actually that is a term that I am using.  
22 Actually, what he said was what size are your breasts.

23 Q And at the time that statement was made, what was  
24 your reaction to it?

25 A I said something like I think you best concentrate

1 on remembering the names of people you are going to be  
2 sharing the panel with.

3 Q All right. Let me ask you, on either one of these  
4 two specific occasions when Judge Thomas came to your house  
5 or to your apartment or that he made the comments about your  
6 anatomy, did you tell anybody at all about that, anybody that  
7 you could remember who could corroborate that you, in fact,  
8 told them about it?

9 A You know, I really don't mind cooperating with you,  
10 but at this point I truly feel like I have answered these  
11 questions that you are asking me already. Now, if you have  
12 something new you want to ask me, I don't mind answering  
13 them, but I am not going to go over this over and over and  
14 over again.

15 Q My question to you is: If Clarence Thomas would  
16 come to your apartment, just as though Senator Thurmond would  
17 come to my apartment, I think that would be a pretty big deal  
18 and I would probably tell somebody. My question to you is:  
19 Did you ever tell anybody that Judge Thomas came to your  
20 apartment?

21 A At one point today I already said yes, I did  
22 specifically discuss the fact that Judge Thomas came to my  
23 apartment with someone else whose name I don't care to use,  
24 unless I call her, call that person and she says I don't mind  
25 if you use my name. I am not going to volunteer the

1 participation of somebody who at this point is not a part of  
2 this proceeding.

3 Q Let me ask you, would you be willing to do that?

4 A I would be willing to call this person; Lyons is  
5 her name, if you -- I guess that this person would mind  
6 because this person is still in a fairly political position.

7 Q Now, let's go to the time when you say that Judge  
8 Thomas had fired you.

9 You mentioned something about a press conference  
10 that you had held the day before.

11 A That's correct.

12 Q Was Judge Thomas agitated about that particular  
13 press conference?

14 A He did express some agitation at that press  
15 conference over the fact that Commissioner Gallegos was not  
16 there.

17 Q I see, and you said that he had said generally that  
18 he was never really satisfied with your performance?

19 A Yes, he did say that.

20 Q Do you, did Judge Thomas ever get more specific  
21 than that, that you can remember?

22 A No, the only thing he said was that I didn't fire  
23 the people in my office that he wanted me to fire.

24 Q And can you, did you have the authority to fire  
25 people in your office?



1           A     Political appointees, yes. I'm sure you understand  
2 about the authority to fire career employees, don't you?

3           Q     Frankly, I don't, but I presume it is not easy to  
4 fire them.

5           A     Career employees, let me just say career employees,  
6 you don't just walk in and fire a career Federal employee.

7           Q     I would assume it would be difficult. But I guess  
8 my question is, and you may have answered it, is whether or  
9 not Judge Thomas was more specific with you about why you  
10 were being fired?

11          A     No, he was not. But I think on that issue it might  
12 be, it might be important to point out, that you know, Judge  
13 Thomas gave me a wonderful recommendation when I took my  
14 current job. It's my understanding that he said to the  
15 person who called my references that firing me was the  
16 biggest mistake he'd ever made in his life. You can call  
17 that person, however, and ask her specifically what her words  
18 are. You can call my office and perhaps it is written in my  
19 files what he said, but I think that that, in itself,  
20 indicates, you know, or should be some indication of what I'm  
21 trying to tell you about that particular day. He was not  
22 specific. I never did believe whatever reasons that were  
23 that he gave me. My guess was that it was simply political,  
24 that there was someone more powerful than I who wanted a  
25 position as director of Public Affairs.

1 Q Right. Obviously you don't think you should have  
2 been fired?

3 A No, I do not. I don't think I should have been  
4 fired, but I'm really happy that he did.

5 Q Okay.

6 A And let me point out, obviously he didn't think so  
7 either.

8 Q But because you say that he said that he made, that  
9 that was the biggest mistake that he'd ever made?

10 Or a mistake that he had made to fire you?

11 A Yes. You know, I'm quoting someone on my staff,  
12 Mary Newsome, I mean someone at the newspaper who did the  
13 actual calls on my references so I don't want to put words in  
14 his mouth, that weren't there. I'm sure she wrote those  
15 comments down for the file, but you know, he said that I was  
16 a great employee and would be an asset to everybody's staff,  
17 etc.

18 MR. WOOTEN: If you will excuse me for just a  
19 minute.

20 [Pause.]

21 BY MR. WOOTEN:

22 Q But you, since you were fired, you never -- and this  
23 is a little bit unclear and somebody has asked me to clarify  
24 this -- did you ever give Judge Thomas' name as a reference?

45 A I never gave his name as a reference.

1 MR. WOOTEN: Will you excuse us just a second.

2 [Pause.]

3 MS. HOGAN: Ms. Wright, would you like to take a  
4 break for a few minutes?

5 MS. WRIGHT: Yes, I would like to get a glass of  
6 water.

7 MS. HOGAN: Okay, that's fine.

8 [Pause.]

9 BY MR. WOOTEN:

10 Q Ms. Wright, if we could just continue?

11 A Okay.

12 Q It is my understanding -- and this is a question  
13 that someone else has asked me to ask -- that Judge Thomas  
14 gave you a recommendation at some point, some kind of glowing  
15 recommendation. Is it from your current employer?

16 A Yes.

17 Q And the question would be, how did your current  
18 employer, if you know, how did your current employer have the  
19 opportunity or the ability to contact Judge Thomas if you had  
20 never used his name as a reference?

21 A When I apply for work, I generally, for my resume,  
22 every place that I have ever worked before. People that were  
23 interested in hiring me at the Charlotte Observer did a  
24 thorough check and they called every place that I had ever  
25 worked before.

1 I mean you asked me if I have ever used Clarence  
2 Thomas as a reference. I take that to me, do I list him as a  
3 personal reference of someone that I want to be called? The  
4 answer is, no, but I mean, you know, when I, my resume has  
5 every place that I have ever worked at it, and I have no  
6 problem with people checking every place I have ever worked  
7 before.

8 Q Okay. Were you aware, obviously you were aware  
9 that Judge Thomas was nominated to the Supreme Court?

10 A Yes.

11 Q I presume that you are aware of that very early on  
12 in the process. I think he was nominated or the President  
13 announced his intent to nominate, it may have been July the  
14 1st.

15 A I am aware of that.

16 Q Can you tell us just what your feelings were at the  
17 time that you heard he had been nominated to the Supreme  
18 Court?

19 A I never wavered in my feelings about that. I don't  
20 think, I don't think that Clarence Thomas is a good man and I  
21 did not think that he should be on the Supreme Court.

22 Q And that's based on what?

23 A It's based on several conversations that I've had  
24 with him and, and my opinion of him that he's really a kind  
25 of, you know, not such a good person.

1 Q Well, is it based on the comments that annoyed you  
2 or is it based on something else?

3 A Well, I mean, I can, I can give you several  
4 comments that I've heard Clarence Thomas make that I think,  
5 you know, are unbecoming of any individual, period, but  
6 certainly unbecoming of someone who is going to spend the  
7 rest of his life on the Supreme Court.

8 Q Well, can you just -- you said that you didn't think  
9 that he should be on the Supreme Court, could you just tell  
10 us why? So you say it's because of comments. Is it the  
11 comments that we've discussed this morning, or something else?

12 A No, they are comments other than what we discussed  
13 this morning. Let me name, I would say three. My  
14 predecessor, Al Sweeney, who was an older man and quite  
15 sickly. I, you know, Clarence Thomas in my opinion pretty  
16 much wanted to force him to retire. Obviously I benefited  
17 from that; once the position was open I was named Director of  
18 Public Affairs.

19 But I remember Clarence Thomas saying to me, "Al  
20 Sweeney is old, he's no good. He has one foot in the grave,  
21 and the other one on a banana peel."

22 A second situation here. I remember sitting in a  
23 staff meeting with Clarence Thomas and the majority white  
24 staff there, and Clarence and several of the legal staffers  
25 had gone to Mississippi for some type of meeting there. And

1 one of the staff members were saying they felt pretty  
2 intimidated in Mississippi because they were with an  
3 interracial group, and I remember Clarence sitting there and  
4 rearing back in his chair with a cigar in his mouth and  
5 saying, "I have no problem with Mississippi. You know why I  
6 like Mississippi, because they still sell those little  
7 Pickaninnies dolls down there. And I bought me a few of them,  
8 too."

9           Okay? There was another occasion that I remember  
10 when Clarence was talking to Jeff -- his last name was Funder  
11 or something, Funderburk or something like that and he was  
12 general counsel at the time. And Jeff was complaining about  
13 not being able to get money for something. I don't remember  
14 what that something was, mortgage or whatever. And I  
15 remember Clarence saying to Jeff, "Well, you know, why you  
16 can't get any money, because you're not black enough. Now,  
17 if you grew a Dashiki, and if you grew an Afro and put on a  
18 Dashiki, you would get all the Government money you want."

19           I remember Clarence telling me that one of the  
20 people that Clarence wanted me to fire he wanted me to fire  
21 him because he said this man was "a sycophant". He wanted me  
22 to fire this other person because he said, "This man was a  
23 dufus."

24           You know, I am of the opinion that Clarence is, you  
25 know, not a very nice person. I was of that opinion before I

1 left EEOC and even, I can assure you that even if I had left  
2 there under better circumstances, if he had thrown me the  
3 biggest party in the world, I would still be of the opinion  
4 that Clarence Thomas should not sit on the Supreme Court.

5 Q So what about his political philosophy? Does that  
6 weigh into your decision that you don't think he should be on  
7 the Court?

8 A Because of his political philosophies?

9 Q Right.

10 A No, his political philosophies are his own. He has  
11 a right to whatever opinions he wants, I mean, he holds on  
12 various issues. I am talking about character, pure and  
13 simple.

14 Q Well, let me ask you -- I assume you are aware that  
15 the committee had a lot of hearings. We heard from a lot of  
16 witnesses.

17 A Yes.

18 Q I think we went for about eight days and most of  
19 them were covered on TV. Can you tell us why you chose to  
20 wait until now to come forward?

21 A Well, I think a more appropriate explanation of  
22 what is going on here is I'm answering questions that are  
23 just now being asked. But I must say that I was perfectly  
24 willing to keep my opinions to myself, except, of course,  
25 when asked about the Clarence nomination. I did not feel

1 that it was a good thing, until I saw Anita Hill on television  
2 Monday night and my conscience started bothering me because I  
3 knew I felt from my experience with Clarence Thomas that he  
4 was quite capable of doing what she said. And it became a  
5 very moral struggle with me at that point.

6 I was struggling with trying to determine, trying  
7 to decide whether to say something, when I got a call from  
8 the Senate Judiciary Committee and that question became no  
9 longer a question.

10 Q All right, now you say that you got a call from the  
11 committee, when you decided you were going to come forward,  
12 did you call somebody or did somebody first call you?

13 A Somebody first called me.

14 Q Can you tell us who that was?

15 A It was Dugas Mark Schwartz.

16 Q And so he first called you?

17 A Yes.

18 Q Do you have any idea as to how he got your name?

19 A He said that he had gotten information that I  
20 worked for Clarence Thomas. He knew of a column that I had  
21 written that was not going to be published detailing my  
22 opinion of this, of Hill's allegations.

23 Q I am sorry, your opinion of what?

24 A Oh Hill's allegations.

25 Q I see, could you make that available to us?



1 A No.

2 Q Can you give us some general description of what  
3 you said?

4 A No, I'd rather not.

5 Because the column was not written in, with the  
6 intent of publishing it. It was written in the context of a  
7 discussion that I was having with my, with my supervising  
8 editor about becoming a columnist.

9 Q Okay, so the first contact you had was when  
10 somebody from the committee called you as opposed to you  
11 calling the committee?

12 A That's correct.

13 Q Has anybody from the committee -- and I am not  
14 talking about just from Senator Biden's staff -- but has any  
15 staff member, from any member in Washington, have they called  
16 you about this?

17 A No, they have not.

18 Q Can you just give us some indication as to how many  
19 conversations, how many times you have talked to congressional  
20 staff? And I presume you have just talked to Mr. Schwartz,  
21 you said?

22 A Two or three times.

23 Q Okay.

24 MS. HOGAN: I might state, for the record, that  
25 after -- Ms. Wright, correct me if I misstate anything --

1 after you spoke to Mark Schwartz, I and Mark Schwartz called  
2 you back to set up today's telephone call. So I did speak  
3 with you last night about the procedures for today.

4 MS. WRIGHT: The answer may be yes, there was  
5 another woman involved and I am sorry to get into that issue,  
6 but I remember only Mark Schwartz name.

7 MS. HOGAN: I can state that it was me, but I just  
8 wanted to be clear that another conversation occurred at  
9 which I was a part.

10 MS. WRIGHT: Okay, thank you, yes.

11 BY MR. WOOTEN:

12 Q Okay, when did you have the first contact with the  
13 committee, with Mr. Schwartz?

14 A Yesterday.

15 Q Okay.

16 A At probably about maybe 5 o'clock or something like  
17 that, I guess, I'm not really sure.

18 Q Okay, has anybody else -- and obviously it wouldn't  
19 be any staff people -- has anybody else called and urged you  
20 to come forward, or is this something did of your own  
21 volition?

22 A People who know me who know that I know Clarence  
23 Thomas have suggested and urged me to make a statement since  
24 the day that Clarence Thomas was nominated, or at least since  
25 the day the nomination became public.

1 MR. WOOTEN: Give me just one second, I think we  
2 are pretty close to wrapping up here.

3 [Pause.]

4 BY MR. WOOTEN:

5 Q When you decided to come forward and people had  
6 talked to you about coming forward, did you choose to come  
7 forward because of the statements that Judge Thomas made to  
8 you about dates, and the fact that he came to your house, or  
9 did you come forward because of his character, that you just  
10 didn't think he was somebody who should be on the Court?

11 MS. HOGAN: Excuse me, I just want to clarify that  
12 I am not misunderstanding something. My understanding, Ms.  
13 Wright, is that you did not come forward, that you were  
14 contacted by Mark Schwartz of the committee?

15 MS. WRIGHT: Actually I was just about to correct  
16 that, myself. I am sorry, Terry, but I cannot answer, I  
17 cannot answer the questions if you are going to insist that I  
18 decided to come forward. Obviously I did not come forward  
19 with anything. I am just answering questions that are just  
20 being asked of me.

21 BY MR. WOOTEN:

22 Q Let me see maybe I can rephrase. You said that  
23 other people had suggested that you come forward. I guess my  
24 question is, is the thrust of your concerns about Judge  
25 Thomas, is it the comments that he made to you, or is it just

1 your general belief that he should not be on the Court?

2 A The thrust of my concerns at this point was to not  
3 watch a woman, who I believed in my gut to be telling the  
4 truth about a man who I believe to be totally capable of  
5 doing what she said he did, the thrust of my concern was not  
6 to watch her become victimized, when I knew of similar  
7 situations that I had had with Mr. Thomas.

8 Q I think we are very close, just maybe one or two  
9 questions, but we are very close to being finished.

10 A Let me just go on and clarify one other point I  
11 think you are getting to here, as far as whether I, at any  
12 point, felt the need to rush out and try and stop Clarence  
13 Thomas' nomination to the Supreme Court. The obvious answer  
14 to that is, no.

15 Q All right.

16 Others have given me some questions, and I want to  
17 give everybody their chance to have their say through me, I  
18 suppose.

19 Let me ask you, do you need a break?

20 A No, I am fine, go ahead.

21 Q Let me ask you one other question, did you and  
22 Judge Thomas, I presume you all never had dated, or never did  
23 date, or never go to dinner or anything like that?

24 A That is correct.

25 Q Okay. Now, can you tell us maybe who was your

1 closest friend at the EEOC during the year or so that you  
2 were there?

3 A I could but I would rather not mention that  
4 person's name without checking with that person to see how  
5 they felt about their name being mentioned.

6 Q Well, let me ask you this, would you consider one  
7 particular person your closest friend there?

8 A Yes.

9 Q And did you ever discuss the concerns you had, the  
10 annoyances you had with Judge Thomas with that friend?

11 A Yes.

12 Q You did? All right. Well, if you would, I think  
13 it may be helpful if you would check with that friend to see  
14 if he or she is willing to come forward.

15 A Okay, I will be glad to do that.

16 Q Okay.

17 A But you keep using the term, come forward. I can  
18 pretty much assure you that this person is not going to come  
19 forward or want to be very involved in this at all.

20 Q I understand that. Well, I think -- and this is not  
21 to encourage you to do one thing or another, you are certainly  
22 free to do anything you want -- but that is something that, of  
23 course, we are asking, because it would substantiate and  
24 support what you have said, you see?

25 A I understand. I really do, and I understand your

1 responsibility to substantiate what I have said. And all I  
2 can do is tell you what I know and what my experience has  
3 been and you have to make your own judgments as to the  
4 voracity of those statements. You know, I have no problem  
5 talking to other people who could corroborate what I am  
6 saying but, surely you understand that this is not at all a  
7 pleasant situation to be in, and it is not something that  
8 even I take lightly, even though I think I have got the guts  
9 of a bull. But I don't necessarily relish the kind of fall  
10 out that comes from speaking up in this type of a situation.

11           And I am not going to encourage anybody to do what  
12 I have done.

13           Q     It is just a question of if they would mind  
14 committee staff contacting them to discuss what they may or  
15 may not know, but let me ask you just a couple of other  
16 questions.

17           Did you ever have evaluations at the EEOC prior to  
18 that time that you were fired by Judge Thomas?

19           A     You say up to the time?

20           Q     Or prior to the time.

21           A     Yes, yes, I did.

22           Q     And who evaluated you at that time?

23           A     Clarence Thomas did.

24           Q     And can you just tell us the gist of those evalua-  
25 tions, if you feel comfortable with that?

1           A     I only -- I remember only one evaluation and it was  
2 sort of a middle-line kind of evaluation. I wasn't satisfied  
3 with it. Obviously, I thought I was doing a pretty good job  
4 and I deserved a better evaluation, but it was one of those,  
5 you know -- I don't even remember what the evaluation form was  
6 like. I just remember it was sort of, you know -- if it was  
7 a scale of, you know, maybe a scale of A to F, it was a C.

8           Q     All right, and you only have one evaluation that  
9 you can recall at this time? That's not a trick question;  
10 I'm just asking you, recalling the year that you were there.

11          A     That's the only one that I remember, yes.

12          Q     Okay.

13          A     There could have been one that was great, but I  
14 don't remember that one.

15          Q     Okay. All right, if you just give us one or two  
16 minutes, maybe we're closing to wrapping up. I don't know,  
17 but other people are -- I want to be sure that everybody has  
18 a chance.

19                MS. HOGAN: I have just three or four questions to  
20 follow up with. Terry, do you want me to go ahead?

21                MR. WOOTEN: Yes, why don't you go ahead.

22                BY MS. HOGAN:

23          Q     Very quickly, Ms. Wright, because I know we've kept  
24 you a long time, and I appreciate your speaking with us, you  
25 were discussing before the fact that Clarence Thomas had

1 asked you to fire some of the career federal employees on  
2 your staff.

3           It's my understanding that you, even with, you  
4 know, authority over your staff, would have needed cause to  
5 fire a career employee. Is that your understanding?

6           A    Oh, yes, that's definitely my understanding.

7           Q    And that's not the case with a political appointee,  
8 is that correct?

9           A    No, that is not the case at all. I mean, surely,  
10 you guys know that that body is exempt from fair labor  
11 standards.

12          Q    And you were a political appointee at the EEOC, is  
13 that correct?

14          A    That is correct.

15          Q    Okay, just a couple of more questions. You've  
16 stated that the type of comments that Clarence Thomas made to  
17 you that we've been discussing today were made on numerous  
18 occasions. Can you give us any sense of what the rate of  
19 these type of comments were? Did they occur once a month,  
20 did they occur once a week? You know, can you give us any  
21 general sense of that?

22          A    Well, let's see, if I had to put it in a context of  
23 how many times I would see him and he may make a comment, I'd  
24 say probably it would be one out of four or one of out five  
25 encounters with him, you know, he may make some statement.



1 Q Okay, and these were statements specifically about  
2 you?

3 A Well, specifically about me and, like, you know,  
4 when are you going to date me, that kind of a thing.

5 Q Exactly, okay. Did he also make, then, statements  
6 about other women to you with any kind of regularity?

7 A No, not of that nature, if that's what you're  
8 asking. I mean, we may have discussed other women in the  
9 context of the way they were performing their jobs or  
10 something.

11 Q Well, I guess what I'm asking is, earlier you had  
12 told us that he did, on occasion, make statements about other  
13 women's anatomy in front of you, and I guess I'm asking was  
14 that an isolated incident that you described for us or did  
15 that also occur with some frequency.

16 A Oh, that's not something that I would say was  
17 frequent. Those are just what I remember as a couple of  
18 situations when that happened.

19 Q Okay, thanks. Also, just briefly, we discussed the  
20 comment that Judge Thomas made to you when you were at the  
21 EEOC seminar out of town when he asked about your breast size  
22 and complimented your dress, and I'm just wondering if you  
23 recall at all even generally what you were wearing at the  
24 time.

25 A No, I do not.

1 MS. HOGAN: Okay. That's all I have.

2 BY MR. WOOTEN:

3 Q Did Judge Thomas -- this is Terry again -- did Judge  
4 Thomas ever say that he could ask you out of the EEOC because  
5 of the professional relationship he intended to have with his  
6 employees there?

7 A Did ever say that he couldn't ask me out?

8 Q Yes.

9 A No, he never said anything like that.

10 Q Let me ask you, do you know a Kate Simperand?

11 A Kate Simerade?

12 Q Simperade, Simperande?

13 A Yes, I do.

14 Q And have you ever charged her with any kind of  
15 racism before or --

16 A Yes, I did. When I left the AID, I wrote her a  
17 letter of recommendation saying that I felt she -- I'm para-  
18 phrasing it, but I felt that she was quite unfair and racist  
19 and insecure and lots of other things.

20 Q Can you tell us what led to you writing that letter?

21 A I really don't think that's relevant. I mean, can  
22 you tell me why you want me to discuss my relationship with  
23 Kate Simerade?

24 Q Well, we would be interested if you had made  
25 allegations against other people.

1 MS. HOGAN: Is this -- excuse me for a minute. Why  
2 don't we go off the record for a minute, if you can just hold  
3 on, Ms. Wright.

4 MS. WRIGHT: Okay.

5 [Discussion off the record.]

6 BY MR. WOOTEN:

7 Q Let me ask you one more question. Again, I said  
8 earlier I thought we were close to the end; I think we are  
9 this time.

10 A Okay.

11 Q There's been a request to ask you a question, and  
12 obviously this may be something that you don't want to  
13 answer, but it's up to you. It's a question of who you voted  
14 for in the '80, '84 and '88 --

15 MS. HOGAN: No, no, no.

16 BY MR. WOOTEN:

17 Q Well, let me ask you, do you consider yourself a  
18 Republican? You don't have to say who you voted for.

19 MS. HOGAN: You don't have to answer that question  
20 either.

21 MS. WRIGHT: I am a registered Republican.

22 MS. HOGAN: I'm not your counsel, but --

23 MR. WOOTEN: Okay, all right.

24 MS. HOGAN: I'm sorry to do this to you, Ms.  
85 Wright. Can you hang on for one more minute?

1 MS. WRIGHT: Sure.

2 [Discussion off the record.]

3 MS. HOGAN: Ms. Wright, this is Cynthia Hogan  
4 again. Let me put you on the speaker phone. I believe we  
5 have no further questions, but I just want to make sure that  
6 that's the case by putting you on the record.

7 Ms. Wright?

8 MS. WRIGHT: Yes?

9 MS. HOGAN: Terry, I'm aware you have no further  
10 questions?

11 MR. WOOTEN: We have no further questions, and  
12 thanks.

13 MS. WRIGHT: Okay, thank you.

14 MS. HOGAN: Ms. Wright, we appreciate it very much.  
15 We're sorry for taking up so much of your time.

16 MS. WRIGHT: All right.

17 MS. HOGAN: We appreciate your willingness to talk  
18 with us today. Thank you.

19 MS. WRIGHT: Bye-bye.

20 MS. HOGAN: Bye-bye.

21 [Whereupon, at 12:35 p.m., the interview was  
22 concluded.]

**TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS**

**UNITED STATES SENATE**

\* \* \*

**COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY**

\* \* \*

In the Matter of:

THE NOMINATION OF JUDGE CLARENCE THOMAS  
TO BE AN ASSOCIATE JUSTICE TO THE U. S.  
SUPREME COURT

Telephonic Interview of ROSE JOURDAIN

Pages 1 thru 39

Washington, D.C.  
October 13, 1991

MILLER REPORTING COMPANY, INC.

807 C Street, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002  
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UNITED STATES SENATE  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

-----: :  
: :  
In the Matter of the Nomination of :  
Judge Clarence Thomas to be an Associate :  
Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court :  
: :  
-----: :

Sunday, October 13, 1991

Washington, D.C.

The telephonic interview of ROSE JOURDAIN, called for examination by counsel for the Senate Committee on the Judiciary in the above-entitled matter, pursuant to notice, in the offices of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Room SD-234, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., convened at 2:150 p.m., when were present on behalf of the parties:

MARY DeOREO, Investigator, Staff of Senate Biden  
MARK SCHWARTZ, Staff of Senator Biden  
TRIS COPPIN, Staff of Senator Leahy  
MATT PAPPAS, Staff of Senator Heflin  
BARRY CALDWELL, Staff of Senator Specter  
MELISSA RILEY, Staff of Senator Thurmond

## P R O C E E D I N G S

1  
2 MS. JOURDAIN: Hello?

3 MS. DeOREO: Hi, Rose. This is Mary DeOreo, from  
4 the Senate Judiciary Committee.

5 MS. JOURDAIN: Yes.

6 MS. DeOREO: Rose, I want to tell you, before we go  
7 on the record, that there are sitting in the room with me  
8 representatives from the majority side, Senator Biden's  
9 staff, Senator Heflin's staff, and Senator Leahy's staff, and  
10 there are also representatives from the minority side.

11 I will have them each introduce themselves to you,  
12 but first I want to introduce Mark Schwartz, who wants to  
13 make a few things clear with you, so you understand how it is  
14 we are proceeding. Mark is an attorney on Senator's Biden's  
15 Judiciary Committee.

16 MR. SCHWARTZ: Rose, hi.

17 MS. JOURDAIN: Hi.

18 MR. SCHWARTZ: I just wanted to make sure you  
19 understood one point, which was that if this is going to be  
20 sworn testimony, which is the preference, that we have sworn  
21 testimony, you have the absolute right to have an attorney  
22 present, and we could not conduct such sworn testimony  
23 without either your having an attorney present or your saying  
24 it's okay for us to take your sworn testimony without an  
25 attorney present.

1           Now, before you answer that, the alternative for  
2 you is to say you do not want to have this be a sworn  
3 statement, in which case we will just take your statement on  
4 the record and not be sworn. That is your choice. I don't  
5 know if you have an attorney present with you.

6           MS. JOURDAIN: No, I don't. Hold on one minute.

7           [Pause.]

8           MR. SCHWARTZ: Are we on the record currently?

9           MS. DeOREO: Right now we are.

10          MR. SCHWARTZ: Okay. We are now on the record, so  
11 we will start the interview when the court reporter, at the  
12 appropriate time, can swear you in.

13          Whereupon,

14                               ROSE L. JOURDAIN

15 was called for examination and was examined and testified, as  
16 follows:

17           BY MS. DeOREO:

18           Q    Ms. Jordan, this is Mary DeOreo.

19           A    Ms. Jourdain.

20           Q    Thank you. In fact, the first question is, would  
21 you please give us the proper pronunciation and spelling of  
22 your full name?

23           A    Rose L. Jourdain, J-o-r-d-a-i-n.

24

25



1  
2  
3 MS. DeOREO: Thank you. Ms. Jourdain, we are going  
4 to go off the record for a moment. I am going to put you on  
5 hold.

6 [Discussion off the record.]

7 MS. DeOREO: Back on the record.

8 BY MS. DeOREO:

9 Q Ms. Jourdain?

10 A Yes.

11 Q It's Mary again. I just want to clarify one point.  
12 Do you understand that you are sworn in?

13 A Yes.

14 Q And are you comfortable giving us your testimony,  
15 having been sworn in?

16 A I am quite comfortable. The only thing I want to  
17 ask you is that my address and phone number will not be made  
18 public, will they?

19 Q None of this will be made public, Ms. Jourdain.

20 A Okay.

21 Q Thank you. All right. Because I understand that  
22 this interview is taking place while you are at the Washington  
23 Hospital Center--

24 A Yes.

25 Q --so I am wondering--we are going to try to stay to

1 the point and not take too long. I understand that you are  
2 not physically all that comfortable.

3 A That's true.

4 Q Thank you. Could you please give me some general  
5 background information about yourself, just education and  
6 some of the jobs that you have had, bringing us up to EEOC?

7 A All right. I am a graduate of Lake Forest College,  
8 I did graduate work at Northwestern University, I have taught  
9 school, I have had many, many different jobs, largely writing  
10 jobs. I have written a novel, I have written a television  
11 play, you know, produced a novel, produced a television play,  
12 I have written a textbook, and that's about it in a capsule.

13 Q And let me ask you, during all of this experience,  
14 can you give me some of your more recent employers that you  
15 had prior to coming to the EEOC?

16 A I was teaching school and then I came to Washington  
17 and--

18 Q Was that a public.

19 A --I worked for the Agency for International  
20 Development, but I went to the EEOC and then I went to the  
21 NEA--

22 Q Thank you. I would like to now ask you--

23 A --the National Education Association, not the  
24 National Endowment for the Arts..

25 Q Thank you, and I appreciate the clarification.

1 Also, I can hear that you are speaking to someone in the  
2 room. Who is in the room with you?

3 A My daughter.

4 Q And what is her name, please?

5 A Jackie.

6 Q And her last name?

7 A Hayes.

8 Q Thank you. When were you employed at the EEOC?

9 A Now, I think, I believe it was 1980 -- I believe it  
10 was from November '83 to March '85, although -- I think those  
11 are the correct dates.

12 Q That's fine, and I understand, with the interview  
13 coming at short notice, you haven't had a lot of time to go  
14 back and think about it.

15 A I have not.

16 Q What was your position at the EEOC?

17 A I was hired as a speech-writer for the Chairman  
18 Clarence Thomas.

19 Q And at that time, did you know Anita Hill?

20 A No, I never met her.

21 Q Did you know Judge Thomas professionally?

22 A I had never met the man until I walked into his  
23 office for the job interview.

24 Q During the course of your working as a speech-  
25 writer for Judge Thomas, did you meet with him personally?

1 A Yes.

2 Q On a daily basis?

3 A Sometimes on a daily basis, sometimes on--it was an  
4 as-need-to-meet basis, really.

5 Q But you did have contact with him personally?

6 A Yes, and frequently.

7 Q Did you experience any sort of harassment from  
8 Judge Thomas?

9 A I personally, none.

10 Q Did you observe this behavior, alleged behavior  
11 from Judge Thomas towards anyone else?

12 A ..Well, he and I were generally in meetings discussing  
13 speeches or in full staff meetings, so there would have been  
14 little opportunity for that.

15 Q Thank you. Do you know Angela Wright?

16 A Yes, I do.

17 Q In what capacity?

18 A Angela Wright was head of the public relations  
19 department at the EEOC. I met her first at AID, and then she  
20 was also at EEOC. We became friends as a result of our  
21 working together.

22 Q As you were working together at both places?

23 A Yes.

24 Q Were you friends at AID?

25 A I did not know her until I became, you know, we

1 became co-workers.

2 Q At AID?

3 A Yes.

4 Q All right. So, did you leave AID at about the same  
5 time and go over to EEOC?

6 A I went first.

7 Q Okay. Just for our own background information,  
8 were you fired from your job at AID?

9 A No, I left.

10 Q On your own volition?

11 A Yes.

12 Q Did Ms. Wright ever discuss with you any concerns  
13 or problems she was having in her encounters with Judge  
14 Thomas?

15 A Yes, she did.

16 Q Can you give me some specific details as to what  
17 Ms. Wright told you?

18 A When Ms. Wright first came in, she was very  
19 enthusiastic about her job. She was very happy to be there.  
20 As time went on, she became increasingly -- she confided to  
21 me increasingly that she was a little uneasy and she grew  
22 more uneasy with the Chairman, because of comments she told  
23 me that he was making concerning her figure, her body, her  
24 breasts, her legs, how she looked in certain suits and  
25 dresses.

1 Q Did she recount any specific experience?

2 A Well, for example, she told me he had come to her  
3 home one night unannounced, and she told everyone--for  
4 example, one time she came into my office in tears, said she  
5 had bought a new suit that I thought was quite attractive, it  
6 was just a regular suit for a person to wear to work, a woman  
7 to wear to work, and he had had evidently quite a bit of  
8 comment to make about it and how sexy she looked in it and  
9 that kind of thing, and it unnerved her a great deal.

10 She became increasingly nervous about being in his  
11 presence along. As time went on, he asked her to have a  
12 meeting with him that was going to be a one-on-one meeting,  
13 which would not be unusual, you know, with the head of the  
14 public relations department, and these were scheduled in the  
15 evening, at the end of the workday, and she was increasingly  
16 uneasy about being there, and would say, why don't you wait  
17 for me and, you know, I really don't want to be there that  
18 long or alone with him, you know, not inviting me into the  
19 meeting, but just asking me to remain in the building until  
20 it was time for her--until she would be able to leave.

21 Q Were these conversations, Ms. Jourdain, between you  
22 and Ms. Wright, were there only the two of you, or were there  
23 occasions when someone else would be part of this specific  
24 type of conversation?

25 A I think most of the time that she spoke to me, I

1 know most of the time she spoke to me alone. I really don't  
2 know that there weren't times that there were other people in  
3 the room, but there was probably only one, because she was  
4 not going to--she was not trying to bad-mouth the Chairman.

5 Q Who would that other person--if there was someone  
6 else--

7 A Hold on a minute.

8 [Pause.]

9 My daughter said she was in the room once when we were  
10 discussing it.

11 Q And your daughter, again, for the record, is  
12 Jackelyn Hayes--

13 A Right.

14 Q --and she knows Ms. Wright?

15 A Yes, she does.

16 Q But not because she is an employee of EEOC?

17 A But not because she is an employee, because she is  
18 my daughter.

19 Q Thank you. Who did you talk to about Angela  
20 Wright's concerns concerning the Chairman's behavior?

21 A I don't remember speaking to anyone about it. I  
22 may have spoken--I probably did speak to my daughter. I may  
23 have spoken to--I don't know that I spoke to anybody--I don't  
24 know that I ever spoke to anybody specifically about his  
25 behavior concerning her.

1 Q It would be pretty good gossip, there would be no  
2 one else in the--

3 A It would be gossip, but I have never been a person  
4 who was much into gossip.

5 Q All right. So, there was no occasion when someone  
6 was talking about the Chairman, that you can recall saying,  
7 "Oh, by the way"--

8 A I wasn't very--I mean I was not interested in  
9 denigrating the Chairman.

10 Q All right.

11 A I was not out to say, oh, he's a dog or this kind  
12 of thing. I was not interested in denigrating him at all.

13 MS. DEOREO: I am going to go off the record and  
14 put you on hold for a moment.

15 [Discussion off the record.]

16 MS. DeOREO: Back on the record.

17 Ms. Jourdain?

18 MS. JOURDAIN: Yes?

19 MS. DeOREO: Mark Schwartz, who is on Senator  
20 Biden's staff, has got some questions he would like to ask  
21 you.

22 Ms. JOURDAIN: Yes.

23 BY MR. SCHWARTZ:

24 Q Ms. Jourdain, do you know the dates that Angela  
25 Wright worked or was employed by the EEOC?



1           A     I would not--I would believe it was shortly before  
2 December or end of November of--if I went there in November,  
3 I believe she came there in December. If I went there in  
4 October, she came there in December. I went very shortly  
5 before she did.

6           Q     Could you give us an approximation as far as the  
7 year?

8           A     [No response.]

9           Q     Let me go back to my notes and repeat--

10          A     I have a feeling it was '83 to '85. I am pretty  
11 sure of that. I'm pretty sure it was--

12          Q     Just so that you understand, I don't want to be  
13 confusing, I understand you have already said that you were  
14 there approximately from November of 1983 to March of 1985.  
15 I just wanted to know what part of your tenure at the EEOC  
16 that Angela Wright was there, also.

17          A     I'm not absolutely certain of these dates, but I  
18 think I'm correct, but I must say that I am not positive I'm  
19 correct on this issue. She would have been there from the  
20 November following my coming until the time I left.

21          Q     So, approximately the later part of 1984 through  
22 March of '85?

23          A     No, '83, I said '83.

24          Q     Did you stay at the EEOC after Angela Wright left?

25          A     I did not. We left at the same time.

1 Q Okay. Are you aware of the circumstances under  
2 which Angela Wright left the EEOC?

3 A No, I'm not, actually. She told me she got a  
4 letter from the Chairman saying that her services were no  
5 longer required. I don't know that he gave her any reason.  
6 I believe that she told me--and here again, I have not  
7 committed it to memory, but it was a very curt, you know, a  
8 two-paragraph or a three-paragraph letter. I don't remember  
9 it. I had no reason to want to remember it.

10 Q You stated a little bit earlier that you were also  
11 fired from the EEOC.

12 A I was dismissed the same day as Angela, and Angela  
13 was like

14 Q Ms. Jourdain--

15 Q --when he wrote a letter of recommendation,  
16 withdrawing that letter of recommendation for me for another  
17 job, I had no problems with that, because I knew I had done a  
18 decent job for him, but I did ask him and he wrote a very  
19 strong letter, in fact, that the reasons for letting me go  
20 was that he had chosen to write his own speeches and, to the  
21 best of my knowledge, he never replaced me and did from then  
22 on write his own speeches, probably--I don't know this for  
23 sure--using somebody in part-time work, but I don't believe  
24 he ever fired another full-time--

25 MR. SCHWARTZ: I just want to put you on hold for

1 one second.

2 Off the record.

3 [Discussion off the record.]

4 MR. SCHWARTZ: Back on the record.

5 BY MR. SCHWARTZ:

6 Q Ms. Jourdain?

7 A Yes.

8 Q We are back on the record. I just wanted to  
9 clarify one thing and Mary DeOreo is going to help me clarify  
10 it. I asked you a question, my last question, where I used  
11 the word, fired, and I just wanted to back-track for a second  
12 because you had earlier stated that the circumstances under  
13 which you left the AID were what?

14 A That I quit.

15 Q Okay, that you had quit. And the circumstances  
16 under which you left the EEOC were?

17 A I was dismissed.

18 Q Okay. I just wanted to be clear that my question  
19 went to the circumstances under which you left the EEOC?

20 A Mm-hmm.

21 Q Okay, fine, just so there is no confusion on the  
22 record.

23 A Now, the point that I am trying to make in my  
24 statement is that as time went on Angela Wright became  
25 increasingly upset and increasingly unnerved by what appeared

1 to be more aggressive behavior on the Chairman's part. She  
2 came to me--I am older than she--and she came to me often  
3 times to ask advice what should she do? I mean we are  
4 talking about a time when sexual harassment was not a thing  
5 that women were talking about, and how to handle this. You  
6 know, what do you say? You know, I know that she had made it  
7 quite clear to him that she was not interested in developing  
8 a relationship with him outside of the work place.

9 BY MR. PAPPAS:

10 Q Ms. Jourdain, I am Matt Pappas and I work with  
11 Senator Heflin. I was just wondering about Angela Wright  
12 being dismissed from the EEOC. Did she ever give you any  
13 indication that she was bitter toward the agency or toward  
14 Clarence Thomas?

15 A No. I think that, I know that I was, I am certain  
16 that both of us were dismissed for a very similar reason and  
17 that was that we were increasingly ideologically opposed to  
18 the Chairman's position. I know I was and I believe that  
19 that had a great deal to do with Angela's dismissal.

20 Q But she never indicated to you that she was--

21 A No. She never said anything about being bitter.  
22 In fact, I think she rather welcomed it because she was  
23 thinking about going back to school and doing some other  
24 things with her life anyway.

25 Q Okay.

1           A     She was saving her money very carefully for a  
2 return to school so I don't think it was a major interruption  
3 of a career plan.

4           Q     And she never said anything to you that would  
5 insinuate that she might have been let go because she would  
6 not enter into a relationship with Clarence Thomas?

7           A     No. She never said that that was the reason. I  
8 know that she was upset and more and more upset, as I said by  
9 what she told me on--you know, she kept me pretty much  
10 informed on this because it was making her very nervous, on a  
11 more aggressive--not, you know, I am not speaking of a week-  
12 to-week more aggressive--but a seemingly more aggressive  
13 posture that--I mean her comments on her body and things. I  
14 am not saying that each week it got worse, but they were  
15 coming more frequently because she was telling me this more  
16 frequently.

17                     And her thing was, gee, I want to go back to  
18 school. I want to get out of this, you know, I want to do  
19 something else with my life.

20           Q     So at the time she was dismissed from EEOC, would  
21 you say that that was when it was at its worst? And what I  
22 mean by that, the advances that she alleged that Clarence  
23 Thomas made toward her?

24           A     I can't say that for a--I can say that you are  
25 talking about a cumulative effect, you know. I am not saying

1 that it was worse that week than it had been two months  
2 before, but the cumulative effect, I think was there.

3 MR. PAPPAS: All right, thank you.

4 BY MR. COFFIN:

5 Q Hello, Rose, this Tris Coffin from Senator Leahy's  
6 office.

7 A Yes?

8 Q I was wondering if you could tell me a little bit  
9 more about the circumstances of Angela Wright's dismissal  
10 from EEOC. You said it had something to do with an  
11 increasingly--

12 A No. I am saying I don't know that that was it. I  
13 am saying I know that these were circumstances that were also  
14 happening at the same time. I don't know that these were the  
15 circumstances of the dismissal.

16 Q Did you ever hear a comment that Ms. Wright made  
17 that might have had something to do with her dismissal?

18 A Comment?

19 Q A particular comment?

20 A No. No, I don't know that.

21 Q Did you ever of Ms. Wright said of another EEOC  
22 employee or called another EEOC employee a faggot?

23 A No, I did not hear that. I heard a lot, but I  
24 didn't hear that one.

25 Q Okay.

1           A     But nor do I want to give you the impression, under  
2 any circumstances, that I felt that, as I said before, that  
3 we have two situations here. We have a woman who is being  
4 increasingly, made increasingly, who is being increasingly  
5 unnerved, but I am not saying that her lack of responsiveness  
6 is the reason for her dismissal. I don't want that to be  
7 read into the record. I think there are two separate things  
8 going on there.

9           Q     I understand you.

10           Can you give us a little more detail about these  
11 conversations between you and Ms. Wright where you discussed,  
12 where she would tell you about the increasingly aggressive  
13 behavior?

14           A     Well, you know, for example, I was in my office,  
15 and she would come in and she would close the door. And you  
16 know, once she was, you know, once she was crying, and you  
17 know--

18           Q     Okay, slow down.

19           A     She is a very strong woman. She is not the kind of  
20 female that cries, you know what I mean?

21           Q     Yes. I see, if you could just recall the first  
22 time she came into your office or the first time she told you  
23 these things. Tell us about that conversation.

24           A     I don't remember the first--you know, we are  
25 talking about events that happened a long time ago. I can

1 give you snapshot impressions but I can't tell you which  
2 snapshot came first.

3 Q Okay. So do you have a conversation in your mind,  
4 you are sitting in one chair and she is sitting in the other?

5 A I am sitting in the office, she walks in, slams the  
6 door and says, do you know what he said to me, do you know  
7 what he said to me? And I said, "No, what did he say to you?  
8 you know, because it has gone on before. And I think at this  
9 point it had something to do with her legs, you know.

10 Q And what would he say?

11 A I think it had something to do with, ooh, you have  
12 very sexy legs, or something like you have hair on your legs  
13 and it turns me on, or something like that. I thought, it  
14 was nutty, you know what I mean? It was that, but it was  
15 very unnerving to a young woman who is sitting there hearing  
16 this, you know.

17 Then there was a conversation about her bra size,  
18 and there was a conversation about a dress that she wore, I  
19 don't know why that was a dress that was to be commented on.  
20 It wasn't a skin-tight knit-type dress. There was another--  
21 you know, it was the constant kind of do you know what he did?

22 Sometimes she laughed about it, you know. Sometimes  
23 it got on her last nerve. You know, sometimes it had  
24 happened so much that it was like you won't believe what  
25 this, what he said now, you know?



1 Q Yes, did you travel with Angela to--

2 A No, I never did.

3 Q You never did.

4 A Yes, I did once.

5 Q Where?

6 A We went to, we went to New York, the Chairman,  
7 Angela and I went to New York to set up something. I don't  
8 even remember what it was. It was the only time we all went  
9 anywhere.

10 Q Okay. You mentioned earlier on that Ms. Wright  
11 said something to you about the Chairman coming by her house.  
12 Could you tell me about that, please.

13 A Well, she called me up and she told me that he had  
14 had the nerve to show up in her house and come in and--

15 Q Was this--

16 A --sat down and made himself at home, and you know,  
17 what do you do about this kind of thing, you know?

18 Q Was this the next day?

19 A No, when that she told me?

20 Q Yes.

21 A I don't know whether she told me the next day or  
22 she called me up that evening, that same evening, and said,  
23 you won't believe what just happened.

24 Q Can you tell me step-by-step?

25 A No, I cannot tell you step-by-step on anything that

1 happened six years ago.

2 I mean I cannot swear to any step-by-step, anything

3 MR. COFFIN: Thanks.

4 BY MS. DEOREO:

5 Q I want to ask before go further, Ms. Jourdain, all  
6 of us are sensitive to the fact that these are uncomfortable  
7 days for you, physically uncomfortable days. How are you  
8 doing?

9 A It's, it's hard sitting here talking.

10 Q Can I ask, can you give us a few more moments? I  
11 very much would like representatives on the minority staff to  
12 have an opportunity to ask you some questions.

13 A All right.

14 Q Would you like us to take a little break and call  
15 you back?

16 A I would rather get through it.

17 Q Thank you. They are going to introduce themselves  
18 to you.

19 A All right.

20 MS. RILEY: Ms. Jourdain, I am Melissa Riley and I  
21 am with Senator Strom Thurmond's office and--

22 MR. CALDWELL Ms. Jourdain, my name is Barry  
23 Caldwell and I am counsel to Senator Specter.

24 MS. JOURDAIN: All right.

25 BY MS. RILEY:

1 Q Can you go back to when you worked with Ms. Wright,  
2 at AID?

3 A Ma-hum.

4 Q Can you tell us, do you know the reason why Ms.  
5 Wright left AID?

6 A Yes. She was offered a much better position.

7 I know that she was not happy there and she was  
8 offered a better position and she left. I believe that is  
9 the reason.

10 She was not happy and she had an opportunity to  
11 advance herself. She thought she did.

12 Q Okay. Could you tell us when was the last time you  
13 spoke with Ms. Wright?

14 A You mean, today?

15 Q Yes, Ma'am, the last time you had a conversation  
16 with her?

17 A I think it's been about--I can't really. I mean  
18 it's been gee, I haven't spoken with her in several days, I  
19 can tell you that. She knew that I was ill. And so she  
20 called me, she has called me since I have been in the  
21 hospital to see how I was doing.

22 Q Okay. Could you give me your best guess?

23 A Un-unh. In the hospital days start to run together.

24 Q I am sorry, I did not--

25 A I think it has been a week. Maybe, maybe 10, 11

1 days, something.

2 Q Okay. Going back to the episode that you mentioned  
3 that Clarence Thomas came to Angela Wright's house, can you  
4 give us, at all any kind of time frame during the period  
5 that you specified that you worked at EEOC with her, during  
6 the year, do you remember any season?

7 A I have a feeling that my recollection of her  
8 telling me this is that it was very cold out, and that, you  
9 know, it was not the type or time of year when people are out  
10 for a walk, you know, and just drop by somebody's house.

11 So I think it was cold, it was kind of in winter.  
12 It might have been late fall.

13 Q Okay, and back to the last time that you spoke to  
14 her in a week or maybe 10 or 11 days ago, did you talk about  
15 these episodes with Ms. Wright?

16 A About which episodes?

17 Q The episode of the house--

18 A No, I was talking about my illness.

19 Q Okay. So you never spoke to Ms. Wright about the  
20 episode with Clarence Thomas dropping by her house  
21 unannounced?

22 A I haven't spoken to her about that in a long time.  
23 In fact, that is why it is not really clear to me.

24 Q Okay.

25 A I mean the details of it are not clear.

1 Q But the episode, you didn't speak to her about the  
2 episode?

3 A I spoke many, a long time ago, but not, not not, we  
4 were talking about my, my being in the hospital.

5 Q That's fine.

6 Did you know Ms. Wright before you worked at AID?

7 A No.

8 Q Okay. How close a friend were you with Ms. Wright,  
9 would you socialize with her outside of work?

10 A Yes, we did. As time went on we became close  
11 friends. Not at first we weren't close friends, but we became  
12 closer because we worked together and we had projects that  
13 overlapped and we became friends. In other words, the public  
14 affairs office and the speech-writer's office, you know, has  
15 things that they had to discuss. I mean, you know, those two  
16 offices or those two people needed to confer and we found  
17 that we had a lot of things we enjoyed in common, our  
18 opinions in common and became friends.

19 Q And your friendship continued after Ms. Wright went  
20 to EEOC and you joined her there or did--

21 A No, I was there first.

22 Q Okay, I am sorry.

23 A And she came over.

24 Q And your friendship continued at EEOC?

25 A Yes, it did.

1 Q Okay.

2 A In fact, it grew mainly because since that is when  
3 that relationship was there, because that was when she headed  
4 the public affairs office, and I was the Chairman's speech  
5 writer.

6 Q And since you have, since you left EEOC and Ms.  
7 Wright left the EEOC, how much contact have you had with her  
8 over these years? Could you just take a guess?

9 A We have kept in contact with each other. You know,  
10 we were, you know, it's like anybody else that you know and  
11 you like and you hope to remain friends through life or at  
12 least keep up with them and see how they are doing and coming  
13 along. We have certainly kept up with each other. I think  
14 she is a friend of mine, yes.

15 Q Would you, say, call her on holidays or her  
16 birthday or would you just--

17 A I don't call anybody except my family on holidays  
18 and my birthday.

19 Q Okay. So what would you say, would it be infrequent  
20 contact since you left the EEOC?

21 A I think we talked, there were times that I called  
22 her about things that I was doing that I thought she might be  
23 interested in knowing about or give me some clues about how I  
24 might, you know, make some improvements and she did the same  
25 with me. She might be working on a story and call me up and

1 say, I'm working on this, do you think, you know, where else  
2 do you think I might find some additional research material?  
3 I was working on several projects and I said, hey, take a  
4 look at this and what do you think of it? And she responded  
5 to that.

6 Q Has Ms. Wright--

7 A These are episodic things, do you know what I am  
8 saying?

9 Q Yes, Ma'am. Has Ms. Wright called you recently  
10 working on a story about Clarence Thomas?

11 A No, un-unh. I didn't know she was.

12 Q I was just curious when you mentioned that.

13 A No, un-unh.

14 Q And you mentioned earlier that your daughter  
15 acknowledged that she had some knowledge of the conversations  
16 that you had with Ms. Wright about Clarence Thomas'  
17 inappropriate comments to Ms. Wright, can you give us a time  
18 frame about when your daughter would have known about these  
19 comments?

20 A No, she heard about them about the same time they  
21 were being made.

22 Q And how did she hear about them?

23 A She may have heard, she probably heard about them,  
24 she did hear about them when Angela was at my house and she  
25 may have been discussing it or was discussing it, you know,

1 trying to figure out what should I do about this, you know?  
2 And it made a big impression on my daughter because she was  
3 young.

4 Q After Ms. Wright became upset about Clarence  
5 Thomas' advances towards her or his comments, I should say,  
6 did you try to, what advice did you give her?

7 A As I remember the situation, I said to her, you  
8 know, why don't you sit down and just discuss it with--I know  
9 that she had said to him, she had made it clear to him that  
10 she did not welcome these advances, and I said, just stay  
11 firm with it, you know, just don't let him think you are  
12 giving into it. You know, that you are becoming more, you  
13 are, that there isn't any kind of possibility of any kind of  
14 relationship here.

15 Q Did you, after Ms. Wright, conveyed these comments  
16 to you, attempt to confirm his actions or did you try to  
17 investigate these comments or go to any other women and say,  
18 has he made these type of comments to you?

19 A I did not do that. I did not feel that I should  
20 discuss her business or his business with other staff  
21 members. I would never have said to anybody else on the  
22 staff that the Chairman was saying these things, you know.

23 Q Did you consider them inappropriate?

24 A I--yes, I did consider them inappropriate and I did  
25 not feel that that would help him at all in the delegation of



1 his duties to have women knowing that he was saying these  
2 kinds of things, but I didn't say anything.

3 MR. SCHWARTZ: Melissa, may we go off the record?

4 MS. RILEY: We are going to put you on hold for  
5 just a moment. Thank you.

6 [Discussion off the record.]

7 BY MS. RILEY:

8 Q Ms. Jourdain?

9 A Yes.

10 Q Sorry about that. We have a couple more questions.

11 I was just curious, have you ever contacted

12 Clarence Thomas for job references?

13 A Yes, I have.

14 Q And did he respond favorably?

15 A Extremely so.

16 Q And do you know if Ms. Wright ever contacted him?

17 A Yes, and he -- and I know that she was delighted

18 with the recommendation he gave her.

19 Q So she did attempt to contact him for a

20 recommendation?

21 A Yes, and he gave both of us very good

22 recommendations. In fact, you know, that being our -- we

23 needed them, you know.

24 Q A couple more questions, and then I believe one

25 more person, a couple more people, have more.

1           Did you happen to attend a retirement party for Al  
2 Sweeney?

3           A     Do you know, it seems to me that I did, but didn't  
4 he die?

5           Q     I am not sure and I would hate to say anything  
6 about that. I just was curious if you attended the retirement  
7 party.

8           A     I can't remember whether I attended his retirement  
9 party or his funeral. That sounds weird, but I think I did  
10 attend a retirement party for him, yes.

11          Q     It may have been at perhaps some club in Virginia?

12          A     No, I have never been to a club in Virginia.

13          Q     Or a hotel, maybe, in Virginia?

14          A     I don't recall.

15          Q     That's fine.

16                   Did Ms. Wright ever talk to you about comments that  
17 Clarence Thomas made to you at a retirement party?

18          A     Made to me.

19          Q     No, no, no, no. I'm sorry. Let me clarify that.

20                   Did Ms. Wright ever speak to you about comments  
21 which Clarence Thomas made to her at a retirement party?

22          A     No, I don't remember her ever saying anything like  
23 that.

24          Q     Thank you.

25          A     Any kind of comment about a retirement party.

1 Q No, let me clarify: Comments that Clarence Thomas  
2 made, inappropriate comments that Clarence Thomas made to Ms.  
3 Wright while attending a retirement party.

4 A No, I don't differentiate them as anything special.  
5 You know what I mean?

6 MS. RILEY: Thank you, and I believe Mr. Caldwell  
7 has a couple of questions for you.

8 BY MR. CALDWELL:

9 Q Hi, Ms. Jourdain. Just a couple of more questions  
10 and perhaps a couple of follow-up.

11 You said you went to the EEOC just before Ms.  
12 Wright.

13 A Yes.

14 Q Do you have a sense of how she found out about the  
15 EEOC job?

16 A I think she told me about the job. I think she  
17 knew the Chairman. I mean, I think that -- you know, they  
18 were both Republicans and they had met at some Republican  
19 functions. I think it was that kind of thing. You know,  
20 there are not many black Republicans, and so they all knew  
21 each other.

22 Q Right. You don't know if someone in particular  
23 introduced her to the Chairman?

24 A I have no idea. It was not important, you know  
25 what I mean? It was just something that she told me about.

1 I don't think that -- he was somebody, it was a contact that  
2 she had. It was not anybody, you know.

3 Q I'm sorry. I missed that last part.

4 A He was a contact that she had. You know, in this  
5 city, who are your contacts?

6 Q Right. Okay. I guess, lastly, do you have a sense  
7 of why -- and I hope I don't misstate this -- why Ms. Wright  
8 is coming forward? Motive is the question. Do you have a  
9 sense of why she is coming forward now?

10 A Yes. Based on what I know about her, I would tend  
11 to believe -- no, I don't tend to believe, I absolutely  
12 believe that she heard this young black woman on the  
13 television being raked over the coals, as though this  
14 experience that she was having was completely impossible, and  
15 you know, that a person in Clarence Thomas' position, black  
16 or white, would not have done this, and this woman was  
17 somehow coming from left field with some malicious agenda.

18 And having had a similar experience, I believe that  
19 Angela would have felt it her bounden duty to go on record  
20 saying that, and she is a very religious, very morally strong  
21 person. You know, she is a person who believes very much in  
22 right and wrong.

23 Q You said that you guys talked about these instances  
24 of the Chairman's behavior while at the EEOC, and that you  
25 remained in contact as friends. Did she discuss her --

1           A     Wait a minute. I don't understand your question.

2           Q     Well, here is my question: Did Ms. Wright discuss  
3 with you her coming forward?

4           A     No. When she called me, the last time I talked to  
5 Angela Wright, she called me to see how I was doing. She  
6 knew that I was sick. And if she mentioned it, it was in  
7 passing and it was not something that I was particularly  
8 involved in at that moment. Do you know what I mean? I was  
9 in a lot of pain, and my concentration unfortunately was on  
10 myself.

11          Q     Okay. One last question. I understand that you  
12 are friends, but if you had to step back and look at Ms.  
13 Wright objectively, could you say there are any negative  
14 qualities about her that stick out in your mind? For  
15 instance, is she vindictive? Is she vengeful? Is she  
16 something along those lines?

17          A     No, I cannot say that, nothing like that. No, no.  
18 No, no, no.

19          Q     What about flirtatious?

20          A     No, I don't think she is flirtatious. She is a  
21 very life-affirming human being. She believes in -- she is  
22 serious. She can have a lot of fun, but she believes that  
23 life is a serious venture, that we are charged with certain  
24 responsibilities, those of us who have had advantages, to  
25 help other people.

1           Now if you are talking -- the only thing I can think of  
2 that really, and that is not a negative, she tends to spend  
3 an awful lot of time with her dog and treat it more as a  
4 human being. That is the only thing that I can think of. I  
5 have said to her, you know, like this dog gets as much care  
6 as a lot of human beings, but that is the only thing I could  
7 ever think of that I would say was negative.

8           MR. CALDWELL: Okay. Thank you. I think Ms. Riley  
9 just has one or two other questions for you. Thank you very  
10 much.

11           BY MS. RILEY:

12           Q     Ms. Jourdain, I just wanted to go back and once  
13 again ask you a couple of questions regarding the time that  
14 Ms. Wright told you that Clarence Thomas came to her house  
15 unannounced. Could you tell me, did she happen to say how  
16 long he stayed at her house?

17           A     No, I don't remember, but I think it was -- she was  
18 -- no, she did not. I don't remember if she did tell me  
19 that. I don't know that she told me that. I don't know that  
20 she told me that, but I do know that he arrived, he made  
21 himself at home, and all of this was rather presumptuous.

22           Q     So you don't have a time frame as far as, did she  
23 say he just stayed for 20 minutes, or did he stay for an hour  
24 or two hours or --

25           A     No, I don't believe she ever said that. I don't

1 believe she put it within a time frame. I think she was  
2 appalled at the presumptuousness of it.

3 Q And did she ever tell you what time of the evening  
4 he left, or the day or the morning or --

5 A It was not morning, and it certainly was not late  
6 at night. I mean, it wasn't that he stayed there until  
7 really late. I just don't remember. I don't know. I don't  
8 know, but given my feeling of the affair or the incident, it  
9 was probably something that he arrived around 8:30 or 9:00  
10 and left around 10:30 or 11:00. I don't know.

11 MS. RILEY: Okay. I think that is all that I have.

12 BY MS. DeOREO:

13 Q Ms. Jourdain, this is Mary DeOreo again.

14 A Yes.

15 Q On the same point Melissa was asking about, that  
16 same evening visit, did you have any understanding of how  
17 Chairman Thomas got to Angela Wright's house? Did they live  
18 within walking distance?

19 A I have no -- to the best of my knowledge, I know  
20 she lived on Capitol Hill.

21 Q Fine.

22 A And to the best of my knowledge, he lived in  
23 Southwest.

24 Q I am not asking you to guess. I am asking do  
25 you --

1           A     I don't know.

2           MS. DeOREO: Okay. That's fine.

3           I believe that the interview now is over, and Mr.  
4 Schwartz has some things he wants to talk to you about, on  
5 the record.

6           MR. SCHWARTZ: Ms. Jourdain, we are still on the  
7 record. I wanted to go back to the original point we had  
8 made at the beginning of the interview. Everyone here in the  
9 room when we went off the record before has come to an  
10 understanding, at least on our end, and just want to make  
11 sure it squares with yours: that since you have given a sworn  
12 statement, though none of us in the room would give a legal  
13 opinion as to the effect of that sworn statement, you should  
14 realize that the possibility would occur that if there were  
15 later found to be a contradiction in some sort of legal form,  
16 that could have legal consequences against you similar to  
17 perjury, in some sort of untoward consequences.

18           I am not saying that would happen, but because of that I  
19 wanted you to understand the implications of having sworn  
20 yourself in, and if you now feel uncomfortable with that and  
21 would like to take back your sworn part of it, we will just  
22 treat the testimony as we have all other interviews we have  
23 conducted during this proceeding, which is, it is out there  
24 for the informational purposes of the members of the  
25 committee. Now you should discuss that with your daughter.



1 MS. JOURDAIN: Hold on. Can you explain this to  
2 her, because I have to move.

3 MR. SCHWARTZ: Okay.

4 Hi. I'm sorry, what was your name again?

5 MS. HAYES: Jacqueline Hayes.

6 MR. SCHWARTZ: Jacqueline, I'm sorry. My name is  
7 Mark Schwartz, and we have in the room, I don't know if your  
8 mother has told you, we have attorneys representing both  
9 Senator Leahy, Senator Heflin, Senator Biden's staff, and  
10 Senator Thurmond and Senator Specter's staff, along with  
11 another member of Senator Biden's staff.

12 I just wanted your mother to understand that since  
13 she has agreed to give sworn testimony, that if at some point  
14 later there was found to be -- and I am not saying there  
15 would be -- some contradiction, that the ramifications of  
16 that, I could not swear to her that it might not be a  
17 potential problem with perjury. And I just wanted her to  
18 understand that, since she did not have an attorney present  
19 with her.

20 And if she feels uncomfortable about that, we have  
21 all agreed to treat this as we have all other statements, as  
22 unsworn and just for informational purposes. Do you  
23 understand?

24 MS. HAYES: Yes. Let me just explain that to her.  
25 Hold on.

1 [Pause.]

2 MS. JOURDAIN: Hi. She explained this to me. You  
3 said that many of the people you interviewed did not make it  
4 a sworn statement?

5 MR. SCHWARTZ: To the best of my understanding --  
6 and you can correct me if I am wrong, Melissa or Barry -- no  
7 one else has given a sworn statement to us.

8 MS. JOURDAIN: If no one else has given it, then I  
9 won't give one either. This is a statement but not a sworn  
10 statement.

11 MR. SCHWARTZ: Okay. The reason why we had  
12 requested that it be sworn is because of your current status  
13 in the hospital room and the unlikelihood that you would be  
14 able to testify before the committee. I just wanted you to  
15 understand that.

16 MS. JOURDAIN: Yes.

17 MR. SCHWARTZ: Okay. Is there anybody on the  
18 record who would like to make any more comments about this  
19 subject?

20 [No response.]

21 MR. SCHWARTZ: Okay.

22 MS. JOURDAIN: So now we are clear, this is no  
23 longer a sworn statement?

24 MR. SCHWARTZ: None of the parties involved in this  
25 on the majority or the minority staff or the Senate will

1 treat this as a sworn statement taken under oath, so you can  
2 feel comfortable with that. It will be stricken from the  
3 record. Okay?

4 MS. JOURDAIN: Yes.

5 MR. SCHWARTZ: Okay, and before we go off the  
6 record, anybody else? Any comments? Any questions?

7 MS. DeOREO: I want to thank you very much. We are  
8 off the record now.

9 [Discussion off the record.]

10 MS. DeOREO: Back on the record.

11 Ms. Riley has one more question.

12 BY MS. RILEY:

13 Q Ms. Jourdain, I apologize. I have one more  
14 question.

15 A Okay.

16 Q Could you tell us if the incident when Clarence  
17 Thomas went to Angela Wright's house occurred while she  
18 worked at AID with you, or --

19 A No, at EEOC. I believe it was -- oh, God. I'm  
20 sure it was EEOC.

21 MS. RILEY: Okay. Thank you.

22 MR. SCHWARTZ: Okay. That's fine.

23 Since we are still on the record, I will just state  
24 what your daughter said to us off the record, which was that  
25 if it could be arranged at a future time, ~~that you would be~~

1 prepared to give a sworn statement.

2 MS. JOURDAIN: Yes. In other words, since nobody  
3 else is giving a sworn statement, I would just as soon let it  
4 go as what I have done. If it becomes extremely,  
5 excruciatingly necessary and I can get it together, then I  
6 will do it.

7 MR. SCHWARTZ: Okay. Thank you very much, and we  
8 wish you a speedy recovery.

9 MS. JOURDAIN: Okay. Thank you.

10 MS. RILEY: We will be back in touch. Bye-bye.

11 MS. DeOREO: Bye-bye.

12 [Whereupon, at 3:08 p.m., the interview concluded.]

The CHAIRMAN. And that will, at least as far as this Committee's investigation at this moment of those two witnesses, end the matter. Now—and not in the matter in terms of judgment, in the matter in terms of witnesses.

So we are taking extensive testimony placed in the record by both majority and minority at the request of Republicans and Democrats as well as the potential witness. That is why I vitiated the subpoena, in spite of the fact I would have preferred her to be here. But, in light of the time constraints, I did not insist that that be done.

Now that means for the remainder of the night, I hope this doesn't encourage people to go longer than they otherwise would. For the remainder of the night, the only witnesses remaining are the four distinguished gentlemen before us and a panel of nine witnesses that are being produced by Judge Thomas, all women who worked in some capacity with him at, I believe EEOC. Don't hold me to that. It could be at Education as well.

Each will be by previous unanimous consent agreement limited precisely to three minutes. No more time will be allowed. And there will be 16 minutes a side to cross-examine if anybody wishes to do that.

I say that to the press and others who have been here so long trying to determine what the remainder of the witness list is.

Senator METZENBAUM. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. I yield to my friend from Ohio.

Senator METZENBAUM. Mr. Chairman, I certainly think we should conclude the hearing with respect to these witnesses. But I wonder whether, in view of the fact that it is now 11:30 at night, and the next nine witnesses, of those nine I think seven of them are employed by the Administration either at the EEOC or at the Labor Department or the Department of Education, and two of them, one is a former secretary to Senator Danforth and one is a former chief of staff to Clarence Thomas—I wonder, Mr. Chairman, if we couldn't stipulate that all of that testimony will be very supportive of Clarence Thomas? I don't think there is any argument about that. I don't know why there is any reason to have to hear it. And, frankly, I think in fairness to this Committee and in fairness to the candidate that it would serve just the same purpose. We know what the testimony will be.

The CHAIRMAN. I appreciate the Senator's request. And, as I hear from one of my friends from the far West and my right, not far right, a deal is a deal. They will be heard unless they choose to decide as two panels have on behalf of the witness, Ms. Hill, unless they so choose they will be heard because we have a unanimous consent agreement to do just that.

Now, with that, I apologize to my friend from Pennsylvania. I hope someone has kept some notion as to how much time—how much time does the Senator have left? He has nine minutes left. Six minutes had expired when I interrupted. And you will have time to come back, if you wish.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I apologize to the gentleman for the interruption.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Stewart, after Professor Hill said to you "how great Clarence's nomination was and how much he deserved it," did you continue to have a discussion with Professor Hill?

Mr. STEWART. Correct.

Senator SPECTER. Was there any mention at all of any sexual harassment by Judge Thomas of Professor Hill?

Mr. STEWART. No mention at all, Senator.

Senator SPECTER. Or any other unfavorable conduct of Judge Thomas?

Mr. STEWART. No, none at all, Senator.

Senator SPECTER. And, Mr. Grayson, after, as you have testified, Professor Hill said about Judge Thomas that he deserved it, referring to the Supreme Court nomination, was there any discussion by Ms. Hill of anything derogatory about Judge Thomas?

Mr. GRAYSON. No, Senator.

Senator SPECTER. Is it Professor Kothe?

Mr. KOTHE. Well, you use the Pennsylvania Dutch pronunciation. Actually it is "Kothe."

Senator SPECTER. Professor Kothe?

Mr. KOTHE. Kothe.

Senator SPECTER. Professor Kothe—

Mr. KOTHE. Right.

Senator SPECTER. I would like you just to start, because time is limited and I can assure you there will be many questions on the body of your statement later, but because I want to move to Mr. Doggett in just a moment I would like you to just read the final paragraph of your statement of October 7, if you would, please?

Mr. KOTHE. I read it.

Senator SPECTER. Would you read it, please?

Mr. KOTHE. "I find the references to the alleged sexual harassment not only unbelievable but preposterous. I'm convinced that such is a product of fantasy."

Senator SPECTER. Professor Kothe, did anybody suggest to you that you use the word "fantasy" in describing Professor Hill's conduct?

Mr. KOTHE. No. In the second statement that I made on October 10 I left that off. That wasn't intended as words of art or scientific expression. It was just the instant reaction I had to this awful event. When I heard what the allegations were, my instant reaction was that it is just unbelievable, preposterous, and then I said that it must be a product of fantasy. Because if you just knew these people and knew Clarence Thomas, you would know that that couldn't possibly have been true.

Senator SPECTER. Well, Professor Kothe, was there anything that you could point to in Professor Hill's conduct which would lead you in either an evidentiary or a feeling way to that conclusion of fantasy?

Mr. KOTHE. No. I think perhaps my selection of words there was probably unfortunate. I have never seen Anita Hill in a situation where she wasn't a decent person, a dignified person, a jovial person. I have never seen her in a situation where actually you would say she is fantasizing in that sense. I almost regret that I used that in my first testimony.

Senator SPECTER. Well, then how would you explain Professor Hill's charges against Judge Thomas in the context of your very forceful testimony in support of Judge Thomas?

Mr. KOTHE. There is just no way of explaining it. How she ever was inclined to make such an observation is something that is totally beyond my comprehension. If you knew these two people as we all have known them, and evaluate that or equate that in the context of what has been alleged here, it just, it just couldn't be the same person, you wouldn't think.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Doggett, turning to your affidavit, and I am going to ask you for the conclusions first before you comment on the substance of your statement. And permit me to comment, I found your testimony of your professional background extremely, enormously impressive.

And let me now move to the last line in the third full paragraph where you—well, why don't you read the last sentence in the third full paragraph on page 2, if you would, please?

Mr. DOGGETT. "I came away from her "going away" party feeling that she was somewhat unstable and that in my case she had fantasized about my being interested in her romantically.

Senator SPECTER. And, if you would now, Mr. Doggett, read the paragraph on page 3?

Mr. DOGGETT.—

It was my opinion at that time, and is my opinion now, that Ms. Hill's fantasies about my sexual interest in her were an indication of the fact that she was having a problem with being rejected by men she was attracted to. Her statements and actions in my presence during the time when she alleges that Clarence Thomas harassed her were totally inconsistent with her current descriptions and are, in my opinion, yet another example of her ability to fabricate the idea that someone was interested in her when in fact no such interest existed.

Senator SPECTER. Now, Mr. Doggett, while your testimony has already, in effect, answered this question, I want to ask you explicitly did anyone suggest to you that you use the word "fantasy" in describing your conclusion about Professor Hill?

Mr. DOGGETT. I talked to no one about my affidavit and the contents of my affidavit. I was quite frankly amazed when I heard the Professor had used the same term. In fact, just to make it very clear, I have not talked to the Judge, have not talked to any of these witnesses, I have not talked to the women that preceded us.

Senator SPECTER. Now, Mr. Doggett, what happened between you and Professor Hill which led you to conclude that she was fantasizing?

Mr. DOGGETT. At a going away party for Anita Hill before she went to Oral Roberts University Law School, soon after I arrived and relatively early in that going away party she asked me if we could talk in private, and I agreed, having no reason to see that that was inappropriate.

And she talked to me like you would talk to a friend who you are going to give some advice to help them "clean up their act." She said, "Something I want to tell you"—and this is what I have quoted in my affidavit, and it is the only part of my affidavit that talks about her statements that is in quotes because it was emblazoned in my brain because it was such a bizarre statement for me.

She said, "I'm very disappointed in you. You really shouldn't lead women on, or lead on women, and then let them down."

I came to a woman's "going away" party who I really didn't know very well. She says, "Hey, let's talk in the corner," and she said, "You led me on. You've disappointed me." And it is like, What? Where is this coming from?

I don't know about you, gentlemen. Washington, DC, is a very rough town if you are single and you are professional, for men and for women. Most people come here to be a part of the political process. They have legitimate, real ambitions. And it is a lonely town, a difficult town to get to know people because people are constantly coming in and coming out.

I came to Washington, DC, to be part of the business process. I was not interested in politics. I wanted to be an international management consultant. And the first time I met Anita Hill I sensed that she was interested in getting to know me better and I was not interested in getting to know Anita Hill. And, based on my experience as a black male in this town, I did everything I could to try not to give her any indication that I was interested in her, and my affidavit talks about that in some detail.

Even when I was jogging by her house and she said, "Hi, John," and we had a conversation, and she raised the issue of, well, since we are neighbors why don't we have dinner, I tried to make it very clear that although I respected her as a person and as a fellow alumnus of Yale Law School, and as somebody I thought was very decent, the only relationship I was interested in was a professional relationship.

And, as I stated in my affidavit, she said, "Well, what would be a good time?" and I was in my jogging clothes and so obviously I don't have a calendar with me. I said, "Well, I will check my calendar and I will get back to you." And I checked my calendar and I said, "Looks like Tuesday will work. You get back to me if that will work and let's talk about a place."

Later on with that dinner agreement, arrangements fell through, she gave me a call and said, "What happened?" I said, "What do you mean what happened? I never heard from you." She said, "Well, I never heard from you." And apparently, we both had expected the other person to call to confirm.

At the end of that I never heard from you, I never heard from you, if I was interested in her the logical response would have been, "Well, since we didn't get together this time, let's do it again." There was no response, and there was a very awkward, pregnant pause and the conversation ended.

And I never saw Anita Hill again until that "going away" party where she dropped at bombshell on me.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, your time is up.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I will come back the next round.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doggett, I don't doubt what you said, but I kind of find it equally bizarre that you would be so shocked. Maybe it has never happened to you.

I know a lot of men who call a woman and ask her out or ask to meet. Let me finish my comments here. Ask to have—decide to have dinner. Say let's get together for dinner, but afraid to say



fully let's go out together for dinner. Let's get together. We live in the neighborhood, let's go to dinner. And then that person call back or you call again and speak to her again and the date is set. And then for whatever reason she doesn't show up.

You are still interested. You call back. You say, "How come you weren't there?" You say, "Well, I thought that you were going to call." And you thought I was going to call, et cetera. And that goes back and forth. Then there is a pregnant pause and you hang up.

Maybe I am just accustomed to being, turned down more than you were, when I was younger. But some men sit and say, "Geez. I wonder whether she's just bashful, that was the reason for the pregnant pause, or I wonder if she really wants me to call her back. She didn't say don't call me again. She didn't say I don't want to hear from you again. Maybe."

And then you see her a little while later a party and she is leaving town. And you walk up to her and you say, you know, "Can I talk to you?" And she says, "Yes." And you walk over to the corner of the party and say, "You know, you really shouldn't let guys down like that. You led me to believe that you wanted to go out with me. You shouldn't do that to women—or to men."

And, if she turned around and said, "You're fantasizing. How could you ever think that? You must be demented? You must be crazy."

I don't think that is how normal people function. I mean, I don't doubt a word you said. But you go on and say you said, "I'll check my calendar and get back to you." You checked calendars, you got back to each other, the date fell—the date? We don't use dates these days, I know. The dinner fell through. You talk again and say, "What happened?" and she is silent. And she says, "What happened?" and you are silent.

You did not say to her, did you, don't call me again? Don't pay attention to me? I may be a virile person but don't pay any attention, just stay away from me? You didn't say anything like that did you?

Mr. DOGGETT. I sure wish I had, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I wish you had to because maybe there wouldn't be this confusion. She may not be telling the truth, but how one can draw the conclusion from that kind of exchange that this is a woman who is fantasizing, this is a woman who must have a problem because she has turned—are you a psychiatrist?

Mr. DOGGETT. Senator, I am trying to follow your question, but I may have to ask you to restate it.

The CHAIRMAN. My question is are you a psychiatrist?

Mr. DOGGETT. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a psychologist?

Mr. DOGGETT. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how from that kind of an exchange can you draw the conclusion that she obviously has a serious problem? Where is the section? I want to find it here in your statement. You were stunned by her statement. You told her her comments were totally uncalled for and completely unfounded. Balderdash!

I reiterated I had never expressed a romantic interest in her, had done nothing to give her any indication he might romantically be interested in the future. And I

also stated the fact that I lived three blocks away from her, but never came over should have led her to believe something.

Mr. DOGGETT. Pardon?

I didn't hear what you just said, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The implication is that should have led her to understand that you weren't interested in her. Did she come up to you say in mildly hysterical terms, why have you not called me or did she just make the statement straight, monotone, you shouldn't lead somebody on like that, or whatever the precise statement was? Can you characterize the way she said it? Did she sound very disappointed in you, you really shouldn't lead women on like that and then let them down? Or did she say, why did you do this? I am very disappointed in you?

I mean can you characterize what it was like?

Mr. DOGGETT. She was very, very intense, Senator. This was not—

The CHAIRMAN. Describe for me how intense she was? Was her voice at a higher octave than normal?

Mr. DOGGETT. She seemed very upset to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Was her voice at a higher octave than normal, do you recall?

Mr. DOGGETT. She seemed very upset, Senator.

Senator my statement, my conclusion is based on a year and a half of experience, not just one afternoon jog on a Saturday in 1983.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, tell me what else she ever said to you?

Mr. DOGGETT. OK. Examples, that is a very fair question, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. DOGGETT. The first time I went over to Clarence Thomas' office, okay, the question is what else did she say to me?

The CHAIRMAN. What did she ever say to you, yes.

Mr. DOGGETT. A, she called me after the dinner fell through. I didn't call her. B, there were a number of months that—

The CHAIRMAN. Let's stop there a minute. Wouldn't that lead you to believe that maybe she thought you might be interested or she wouldn't put her ego on the line to call a man?

Mr. DOGGETT. Absolutely, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. DOGGETT. What I have tried to say and what I am trying to say right now is that I did everything in my power with Professor Hill over the time I knew her to make it absolutely, positively clear that I was not interested in that woman.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you say that to her? Did you say, Professor Hill, look, I mean, Anita, I just want to be clear before we get things out of hand here. I want to make it clear to you, I think you are a wonderful person, but I have absolutely no interest in you in anything other than professional terms. Did you ever say that to her?

Mr. DOGGETT. There was never a need to do that because we never got to the level where I had given her enough encouragement where she felt that it was appropriate to—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, give me more instances where she said things to you that this just wasn't the one instance where she said, you know, you led me on or you led women on.

Tell me another instance.

Mr. DOGGETT. Well, I think a perfect example of the conclusion that I came to when I was sitting at my computer in Austin, TX was the statement that she gave under oath, before you 2 days ago, that she had dated John Carr. And the statement that John Carr gave under oath today that he would not characterize their relationship as a dating relationship.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, wait a minute. John Carr said he went out with her.

Mr. DOGGETT. That's right, and I believe, as I understand it—

The CHAIRMAN. He said dating.

Senator THURMOND. Let him get through.

Mr. DOGGETT. Pardon?

The CHAIRMAN. I am worried about your instances. What did she ever say to you, you that led you to believe that she, in fact, had a clear understanding that you had no interest? You said that there were other instances, other than this occasion, where she said to you, I am very disappointed in you, you really shouldn't lead on women and then let them down.

Mr. DOGGETT. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. What else did she ever do or say?

Mr. DOGGETT. Nothing else, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. That's it?

Mr. DOGGETT. Absolutely, Senator, and if she hadn't said it and hadn't been upset to some degree with—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how was she upset again?

Senator THURMOND. Well, let him get through, let him get through, let him answer.

The CHAIRMAN. OK.

Mr. DOGGETT. It was her, she was intense. I do not believe she raised her voice, but this was not just, hey, guy, you know, be careful as you characterized it, this clearly bothered her. And I hear what you are saying, Senator, and I respect your opinion and I am not trying to argue with you but for me, in that time, in that room, that shocked me and maybe it would have not shocked you, it shocked me.

The CHAIRMAN. I appreciate that. I do appreciate that. I sincerely do. Let me tell you what I thought when I first was told about this.

Mr. DOGGETT. OK.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought it was the case of a woman walking up to someone she never had spoken to other than in passing business, watched him jog, said hello to them and then all of a sudden at a going away party walked up and called him aside and said, I don't know why you led me on like this.

That to me, if a woman did that to me, I may either think she is nuts or be flattered but I would wonder, at a minimum. I would walk away going "where did that come from?" Whether she called me or I called her, if I had agreed on one occasion to go to dinner with her, and if I had known that she had, if I felt that she had an

interest in me, if the dinner date was broken, if she called me to ask me why.

If I said nothing and remained silent, and did not say, look, I just don't want to go out to dinner with you, I was just polite and said nothing. And then she came up to me and said that one sentence, I don't know how, quite frankly, a reasonable man could conclude from that to be stunned and shocked that this woman is fantasizing because she has a male complex—what was your phrase about complex? Come on, earn your salary. There is some place in there where you say, this must mean that she is used to be, this is a complex from being rejected by men.

Mr. DOGGETT. It is on page 3.

The CHAIRMAN. The fact, you believe Ms. Hill's fantasies about my sexual interest in here were an indication of the fact she was having a problem with being rejected by men she was attracted to. It seems to me that is a true leap in faith or ego, one of the two. [Laughter.]

Senator SIMPSON. Are we playing to the audience now?

The CHAIRMAN. No, I am not.

Senator SIMPSON. Well, then let's stop the crowd from responding. You have done that before and they have responded about six times now.

The CHAIRMAN. If anyone else responds they are out and the reason I probably didn't is I am so intensely involved in this, I did not do that. Please, if anyone else responds I ask the police officers to move them out, I mean that sincerely.

Mr. DOGGETT. Would you like for me to respond to your question?

The CHAIRMAN. I would like you to say anything you want. I mean I truly would because I am having trouble understanding this one and I won't say anything more.

Senator THURMOND. Now, take your time and say what you please.

The CHAIRMAN. As long as you want.

Mr. DOGGETT. I appreciate your concern.

The CHAIRMAN. My confusion, not concern.

Mr. DOGGETT. I assumed you were concerned also.

The CHAIRMAN. No, I am not concerned.

Mr. DOGGETT. I appreciate your confusion and I will do what I can to try to clarify it. A, I clearly reacted to this event differently than you would and I respect our differences of opinion.

B, there were a number of occasions when Gil Hardy and others who were black Yale Law School graduates made an attempt to bring together those of us who were in town, including people like me who were not practicing law and who were not involved in the political process, so that we could have social fellowship. We had parties, and other get-togethers.

I observed from a distance—and I am not a psychiatrist, I am not an expert, just a man—Anita Hill attempting to be friendly with men, engage them in conversation, initiate conversation, elongate conversations, and people talking with her and eventually going away.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you name any of those men for us, for the record?

Mr. DOGGETT. Sir, 8 almost 9 years have gone by. If she had filed a sexual harassment charge—

The CHAIRMAN. That's not the issue—

Mr. DOGGETT [continuing]. I would be able to do that because we would be in 1983 or 1984 given the statute of limitations. Which is why you have created a statute of limitations. It is too long, I cannot, sir.

I also remember, sir, the first time I went to Clarence Thomas' office, I was going to talk to somebody who was a classmate of mine about why he had become a black Republican Reaganite, because I had some real concerns. And as I went into his outer office, Anita Hill happened to walk by and she tried to stop me and engage me in conversation and acted as though she thought that since we were all black Yale Law School graduates, I should say, well, let's go in and talk with Clarence, which I did not.

Clearly, people can disagree as to whether or not my observations and conclusions are ones that they would make. But I assure you that based on my experiences and my observations of Anita Hill, both in terms of how she related to me—and let's talk about the jogging incident, Senator. When I was running by I was timing myself with my watch and my interest was to run in place for maybe 30 seconds, be polite and keep going. The reason we continued to talk was because she wanted me to continue to talk. That is action on her part, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Can I ask you a question, why didn't you keep running?

Mr. DOGGETT. Because the group of black Yale Law School graduates is a very small, a very close, and a very special group and it is like a family. Gil Hardy, the man who introduced Anita to Clarence Thomas was one of the leaders of that group. We did what we could to be as supportive as possible.

Senator I graduated in 1972. She graduated in 1980. She was significantly younger than me, she seemed to be lonely in this town. I was not going to try to make this woman feel that I was not going to be straightforward with her as a professional. There have been other women who have made it very clear that to me that they have been interested in me and I have said, I am not interested. Anita Hill did nothing to deserve me to slam the door in her face. She was one of the Yale Law School black fraternity and there are very few of them, Senator.

Now, I agree that others may interpret my conclusions differently but that's how I saw it and that's why I said what I said.

The CHAIRMAN. I appreciate that and I thank you very much.

Dean, did you work for Clarence—this is the first time I knew this, I should have read the record more closely—did you work for Clarence Thomas when you spent most time with Anita Hill, Professor Hill?

Mr. KOTHE. I would have to say it this way. I worked for Clarence Thomas after I worked with Anita Hill. She was a professor on our faculty. When I retired as Dean, I became special assistant to Clarence Thomas. I think in large part through what she did in initiating our arrangement.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Now, from your testimony I got the impression though that the time that you spent the most time with Anita Hill was in setting up that conference you referred to on harassment.

Well, let me not say most time. You said there was a conference that you were setting up on harassment and Anita Hill was participating in that. And you were surprised that if she had been harassed she would have said something to you at that time. Were you working for the man that she alleges harassed her when you were surprised that she did not say something about harassment?

Mr. KOTHE. Yes, sir, it was in 1987 and I had already been working with Thomas then—

Senator THURMOND. Talk into the machine so that everybody can hear you.

Mr. KOTHE. Yes, I had been working with Chairman Thomas at that time for probably two years.

The CHAIRMAN. So I want to just make sure I understand. You made a statement which I thought was fairly powerful and obviously accurate. You said that one of the things you pointed to as evidence of the fact that Anita Hill's assertions are probably not true is with regard to a conference on harassment she worked with you in setting up. And you said, and I am paraphrasing, that if she had been harassed why would she not say to me that she had been harassed when the purpose we were getting together for was to discuss harassment?

And I ask you, in light of the fact that you worked for the man who allegedly harassed her, would it surprise you that she would not confide in you? Sir, I mean that sincerely?

Mr. KOTHE. Well, precisely and that is what I said in my opening statement.

The CHAIRMAN. That's what I did not understand. Thank you.

Mr. KOTHE. How could it possibly be that a person was talking to me about being a featured speaker on the subject of sexual harassment and never, ever have said, I have been harassed, I have been exposed to this, I know if from personal experience, never ever?

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what I am saying Dean, as a trained lawyer, does it surprise you that a person who says they were harassed now, would not say to you she was harassed when she would then have to tell you that the man who harassed her was your boss?

Mr. KOTHE. It not only surprises me, it completely confounds me. How could it possibly be that a person as intelligent, as decent, as dignified as this young woman was could talk to me about having a program of sexual harassment and never say, I personally have experienced it?

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, very much. My time is up and I yield to Senator Thurmond.

Senator THURMOND. Senator Specter.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Doggett, we have been searching in the past week, and you are right when you talk as an experienced litigator, the speed with which this matter has been put together. I have never seen anything like it. I doubt that there has ever been as complex a matter as this put together in this kind of a hearing sequence, calling of

witnesses and examination as we have proceeded with overnight transcripts in trying to move through in an orderly process.

And we are doing it at the mandate of the Senate and those of us who are doing it, at least, this Senator has some concern about doing it at this speed. We are doing it the best we can. And we have been trying to figure this matter out.

And we have been going on the proposition most of the time, and it hasn't been very long, that either he is lying or she is lying. I have been trying to figure it out myself on the credibility issue or the perjury issue. And as the matter has evolved I have started to explore a third alternative. And that alternative was suggested to me when I read on the same day, which was last Thursday, the affidavits of Professor Kothe and the affidavit of Mr. Doggett.

And I had not seen, I still have not seen Professor Kothe's affidavit of the 10th. I have your affidavit of the 7th, where you had the word fantasy in, but as you say, you have changed it.

But I am fascinated, Mr. Doggett, by your pinpointing the John Carr issue. And I think that could bear some additional clarification because, as you testify about it, as I understand your testimony—

Senator THURMOND. Senator, you had better wait a few minutes, somebody is talking to your witness. And let him get through.

Senator SPECTER. Will somebody stop the clock.

The CHAIRMAN. I apologize. I asked that they speak up. I just wanted to give the Dean an opportunity, if he wanted to, to take a break at this moment if you want to and come back. I want the witnesses to know if they have to get up and leave and come back they can.

Mr. KOTHE. Mr. Chairman, I have a requirement at this time. I would have to have something, protein or something.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, that's why I asked the staff to talk to you and, Dean, you are free to come and go. Or go. You don't have to come back. I sincerely mean it. The hour is late and you have a medical requirement and I understand that.

Mr. KOTHE. I don't want to miss this.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Specter, understandably, says he needs the dean here to ask him questions.

Senator SPECTER. I need the dean here, because I am going to talk about the dean's statement—

The CHAIRMAN. Fair enough. Why don't we yield to some on the other side who can question, who does not have questions for the dean, but wishes to ask someone else questions, and then come back to you.

Senator SPECTER. What do I have left, 14 minutes?

The CHAIRMAN. No, you can have as much time as you want.

Senator SPECTER. OK. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Senator METZENBAUM. Mr. Doggett, I haven't had a chance to read the full transcript of your testimony that was given in the telephone interview with several staff members representing Senator Biden, Senator Heflin, Senator Thurmond, Senator Leahy and Senator Specter.

But let me read you some portions of it, because I think we are talking about Anita Hill, and I think we need to also talk a little bit about Mr. Doggett, and this is a question to you:

Now, since we have received your affidavit and since your statement has gone public, the majority staff has received word from an individual who said she worked with you at McKenzie. Answer: Yes.

And she has made some allegations concerning yourself. Answer: All right. And did she give you a name? Answer: She did. And we will move to that. I wanted to let you know where this line of questioning was going, to turn at this time. Answer: All right. I am not surprised. Question: This morning, we spoke with a woman named Amy Graham, who said she worked with you—

Senator SPECTER. Excuse me, Senator Metzenbaum. Would you tell us where you are reading from?

Senator METZENBAUM. Yes, page 64.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you.

Senator METZENBAUM [reading:].

Who said she worked with you at McKenzie & Company, and I believe you started down there in August of 1981. Answer: That is correct. Let me tell you generally what her allegations were, and then I will ask you some questions, and then I will turn back to Ms. DeOreo, to follow up with some questions. Answer: All right.

Question: Ms. Graham indicated that, on her first day of work, when she met you, along with other people in that office; first of all, very succinctly, do you remember Ms. Amy Graham? Answer: I do not. Question: You do not? Answer: I do not. Question: She claims that, on her first day at work, at some point in the day, I believe she said—I don't have the transcript available yet, but at some point during the day you confronted her in the hall, in front of an elevator, and kissed her on the mouth and told her that she would enjoy working with you very well. She also—Answer: You know, I also got—I deny that. I didn't remember the woman, and that is outrageous. I also got a message on my answering machine after you guys went public with my affidavit, saying "This is your Texas whore from five years ago." Somebody, I don't know, never met, who decided that she was going to claim to be my whore. Question: Mr. Doggett, let me just tell you generally her allegation, and then I will give you adequate opportunity to respond. I think that, in all fairness, that you need to know what she said, and then you can respond overall. She also claimed that, during the time that she worked there—she was 19 years old when she began work, she is 29 years old now—she also claimed that at times, in front of the copying machine—and again, I am just going from my recollection, I don't have the transcript—that you would rub her shoulders at the copying machine. At the time, you suggested to her, "Oh, you are making copies, that is sort of like reproduction, isn't it?" She also said that some of your conversation dealt with sexual innuendo, there was sexual overtone in your talk. But what struck me, though, is she also said that you weren't in the office very much. So, first, if you could respond to Ms. Graham's allegations, and then I have some questions I want to discuss with you.

I am still reading:

Answer: I do not remember Amy Graham. If she was there, she was not there as an associate or as a researcher or as a consultant, but was there as a part of the secretarial staff. I never made any comments or statements to anybody like that. I never did anything like that, so I categorically deny it. I am, quite frankly, not surprised that somebody has come out of the woodwork to make a claim like this. That's the nature of this business.

That is on page 76.

We now turn over to page 77, again the question—I was not present at this and I am only reading from the transcript: "Question: Okay. Fine. So, I understand that you didn't have much conversation with Mr. Chisholm. Let me ask you, do you recall the name Joane Checci? Answer: Joane Checci, yes, I do remember that name. She designed business cards for me and stationery for me, when I was getting ready to leave the firm and become an independent consultant. Question: Do you recall ever touching Joane



Checchi? Answer: I never recall doing anything other than standing next to her. I may have brushed her when I was standing next to her, as she was designing business stationery, but I never remember. Question: Do you remember giving any neck massages? Answer: I don't remember, but if she had asked for one, I would have."

Then we go over to page 84:

*Question:* Mr. Doggett, so I don't leave one more thing hanging out there that has been alleged against you, I want you to have an opportunity to clear your name. I recall one other thing Ms. Graham said. She said that, subsequent to your leaving McKenzie, she bumped into you on the street one afternoon or one day, and that she was still at McKenzie. She told you she had since that time received a promotion and that you responded, "Well, whom did you sleep with to get the promotion?" Answer: All right. *Question:* Did that occur? Answer: I absolutely categorically completely deny that.

Mr. Doggett, you have an interesting series of questions and answers in this transcript. I wonder if you would care to tell us what are the facts with respect to these several ladies who have raised questions concerning your own conduct?

Mr. DOGGETT. Senator, your comments about this document are one of the reasons that our process of government is falling apart.

First of all, Senator, I have a copy of the statement that this person met—it is called a transcript of proceedings. But, Senator, if you read this, it is as telephone conversation that she has with some staff members pro and against Mr. Thomas, and she is not under oath. I did not do any of the things that she alleged. In fact, the first time any of these issues were raised was the day before I was supposed to come here, 8½ years later.

I knew when I put my information into the ring, that I was saying I am open season. For anybody to believe that, on the first day of work, for a woman working in the xerox room, who is 19 years old, a 33-year-old black man would walk up to a 19-year-old white girl and kiss her on the mouth as the first thing that they did, whoever believes that really needs psychiatric care.

But let me talk about the facts, since you brought up this statement, which was not made under oath, which was not made consistent with any of the rules that you Senators are supposed to be responsible for, since this is the Judiciary Committee, let me talk about that, since you asked the question and went on and on and on.

During that time that she—I have read this statement. If she had made it under oath, Senator, I would go to court, but—

Senator METZENBAUM. This isn't her statement. I am reading from your statement, Mr. Doggett.

Mr. DOGGETT. The statement that you read from was a discussion with me, and consistently your staff people said, "I don't have the transcript, I don't remember the exact facts." Well, I have the transcript and the exact facts show this woman to be a profound liar who does not even remember the facts accurately.

She said—Senator, I would suggest we all turn to "Transcript of Proceedings of Ms. Amy Graham," the woman who has accused me, the liar, page 6: "I met John Doggett the first day I started there, which I remember correctly was probably Monday, March 20, 1982."

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Doggett, what page are you on, please?

Senator METZENBAUM. I don't have that.

Mr. DOGGETT. Page 6 of the unsworn telephone conversation that Ms. Graham had with some staffers.

The CHAIRMAN. Excuse me, let me interrupt for a minute.

Mr. DOGGETT. I'm pissed off, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is totally out of line with what the committee had agreed to—

Mr. DOGGETT. I'm sorry.

The CHAIRMAN [continuing]. For there to be entered into this record any unsworn statement by any witness who cannot be called before this committee, and I rule any such statement out of order.

Now, I apologize for being out of the room. Was there any—

Senator METZENBAUM. I was only reading from Mr. Doggett's own statement.

Mr. DOGGETT. My statement was not under oath, sir. That was a telephone conversation and they said we staffers would like to talk with you, we have a court reporter there. I'm a lawyer, sir, it was no deposition, it was not under oath, as Ms. Graham's comments were not under oath. And since you have brought this up, I demand the right to clear my name, sir.

Senator METZENBAUM. I was only reading from his statement, not from—

Mr. DOGGETT. I demand the right to clear my name, sir. I have been trashed for no reason by somebody who does not even have the basic facts right. This is what is going on with Clarence Thomas, and now I, another person coming up, has had a "witness" fabricated at the last moment to try to keep me from testifying.

Senator METZENBAUM. Well, Mr. Doggett—

Mr. DOGGETT. I am here, I don't care, she is wrong, and I would like to be able to clear my name, sir.

Senator METZENBAUM. Please do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sir, you will be permitted to say whatever you would like to with regard to, as you say, clearing your name. If there was no introduction of the transcript of Amy Louise Graham in the record, then that is a different story. I was under the impression that had been read from. That has not been read from.

Senator METZENBAUM. I did not read from that at all.

The CHAIRMAN. It has not been read from, and I don't know what else took place, but—

Senator METZENBAUM. I read from Mr. Doggett's questions asked of him—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doggett, please, as much time as you want to make—

Senator METZENBAUM [continuing]. By the staff of Senator Biden, Senators Heflin, Thurmond, Leahy and Specter. My staff was not even present. I am just asking you if you would please go ahead and respond in any manner that you want to clear your name.

Mr. DOGGETT. Yes, sir.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Chairman, you were not here, but what happened is that Senator Metzenbaum was reading to Mr. Doggett from Mr. Doggett's unsworn statement of the telephone interview—

Senator METZENBAUM. That's correct.

Senator SPECTER [continuing]. And that statement involved questions from Ms. Graham, who was questioned similarly in an unsworn statement over the telephone, and for Mr. Doggett to reply to what Senator Metzenbaum had asked him, since Senator Metzenbaum was basing his questions on what Ms. Graham had said, it is indispensable that Mr. Doggett be able to refer to what Ms. Graham said—

The CHAIRMAN. It is appropriate for Mr. Doggett to refer to whatever he wishes to refer to at this point, in light of where we are at the moment.

Mr. DOGGETT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. So, Mr. Doggett, proceed.

Mr. DOGGETT. I will tell you, Senators, before I talk about the specifics, I debated, myself and with my wife, whether or not to start the process that resulted in me being here, because this is vicious, and I knew, since anything I said was going to raise the question about the credibility of Professor Anita Hill, as a lawyer, that meant my character was open season.

I have never been involved as a candidate, although I have always said you can't complain about the process, if you're not willing to put your ass on the line—pardon me, I am sorry. I am sorry about that.

Senator METZENBAUM. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. DOGGETT. But I have said if you don't like the way the political process is, then you have to get into it and you have to get into the fray.

So, I said, okay, if I submit this information to this committee, then I am open season and people are going to shoot at me, and I do not care. I have information I think the committee needs to hear. If they feel it is relevant enough for me to be here, I will be here and I will take whatever occurs.

But I will tell you, sir, I have had lawyers and professional people in Texas and around the country say that I was insane to subject myself to the opportunity to have something like this crawl out from under a rock. They have said I should have just stood on the sidelines and let it go by.

I am an attorney, sir—

Senator METZENBAUM. Mr. Doggett—

Mr. DOGGETT [continuing]. I am a businessman and I cannot allow this process of innuendo, unsworn statements and attacks on characters to continue, without saying it is unacceptable.

Now, specifically, page 6 of her unsworn telephone conversation with Senate staff, dated the 12th of October, 2 days ago, says, "I met John Doggett the first day I started there, which, if I remember correctly, was probably Monday, March 20, 1972. At that"—

The CHAIRMAN. I will let you continue, but you ought to seek your own counsel for a minute here. No one has read anything into the record, as I understand—

Mr. DOGGETT. Now—

The CHAIRMAN. No, wait, let me finish.

Mr. DOGGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN [continuing]. That you may be about to read into the record. Let me say that anyone who asks you—that I think it is unfair—that you were in a telephonic interview, whether it is

sworn or unsworn, are asked about an uncorroborated accusation that is not sworn to, and then in open session you are asked from your statement about that same statement, that's no different than as if it was introduced without—if the original statement were introduced, which is inappropriate.

Now, all I am saying to you is this: I believe you are entitled to say whatever you wish to say here, and I believe we are beyond the bounds here.

Mr. DOGGETT. I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. The question I want you to think about is whether you want to further give credence to an unsubstantiated, unsworn to statement of someone that may be completely lying. It is up to you to make that judgment. That is your call, but I would think about it.

Mr. DOGGETT. I appreciate your comments and I apologize for getting angry.

The CHAIRMAN. No, you have no reason to apologize.

Mr. DOGGETT. No, I am going to apologize, sir. This is a difficult process. I have only been up here for a short period of time and you have been here, as I understand it, for a very long period of time.

Let me say, without reading the statement or putting in that "evidence," since I am under oath, comments made by this person, that they are wrong, that at the time the allegations, the unsworn allegations were made, I was in the midst of a major project with McKenzie & Company regarding the Comptroller of the Currency, where we had just found, from a computer analysis, that bank deregulation would result in bank failures and savings and loan failures that exceeded the historical limits of bank failures over the past ten years.

We were in the midst of that analysis, we were frightened by the information that we had found, and we were doing everything we could do to prove ourselves wrong, and it is in the context of that time that this person, whom I do not remember, claims that I would walk up to her and do that.

At the same time, Senator, I had just started a relationship with an attorney, a very intense relationship. The facts are wrong.

Second, that person, as read by Senator Metzenbaum, alleges that I was getting ready to leave the firm at that time. Senator, after I finished that Comptroller of the Currency study, in approximately April of 1982, in May of 1982, McKenzie & Co. sent me to Copenhagen, Denmark, to spend the summer working for our Danish office. That is not exactly an exit strategy, sir. That was one of the most prized assignments that the firm had.

The facts in this uncorroborated, unsworn to statement are not even consistent with the facts of my life. So, without trying to put this thing into the record, all I can say is that I expected somebody to do something like this, because that is what this process has become, and one of the reasons I am here is to work with you gentlemen to try to take the public process back into the pale of propriety.

Now, second, when I was the director of the State Bar of California's Office of Legal Services, I had the opportunity to hire two deputies. Both of those people were women. In fact, when I knew

that I was going to leave the state bar to go to Harvard Business School, the person I hired to replace me was a woman.

I have a very clear long record of commitment, sensitivity and support for women having the greatest role possible, but I am afraid that the outlandish allegations of Anita Hill are going to result in us feeling that it is inappropriate for us to be human beings with people if they happen to be women. Nobody would ever question me if I put my hand around this man, who I have never met.

The CHAIRMAN. He might.

Mr. DOGGETT. Well, maybe he would. [Laughter.]

But I hope we don't get to the point where if anybody by any way, accidentally or purposely, innocently touches somebody of the opposite sex, that becomes sexual harassment.

The CHAIRMAN. I would really like this to end. Let the record show, and I am stating it, there is absolutely no evidence, none, no evidence in this record, no evidence before this committee, that you did anything wrong with regard to anything, none. I say that as the chairman of this committee. I think your judgment about women is not so hot, whether or not people fantasize or don't. You and I disagree in that.

Mr. DOGGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did nothing. There is no evidence, the record should show, the press should show, there is absolutely no evidence that you did anything improper, period.

Mr. DOGGETT. Thank you, Senator.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Chairman, would it be proper to expunge from the record, then, that information that came out?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, fine, but Senator, I would hope you would read from his statement of questions asked of him. It is a little bit like if someone asked me over the telephone, "Are you still beating your wife?" and I answer yes or no, it doesn't matter. I am still in trouble. And then someone says, "I am reading only from your statement, Mr. Biden. You are the one that mentioned your wife." I never did.

And I know that is not what the Senator intended, but that is the effect. It is no different than just putting this unsubstantiated material in, and I want the record to show I don't think anything that is unsworn and I don't think anything in an FBI record is anything—up until the time it is sworn or the person is here to be cross-examined—is anything but garbage.

Mr. DOGGETT. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, I apologize for the interruption—

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes?

Senator THURMOND. Would it be proper for you to explain for the record those parts that you feel were improper?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, and I will.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Senator, please continue, not along the lines of what someone said he said, and he had to respond to what they said.

Senator METZENBAUM. I am not saying what somebody said he said. I am asking him what he said. He said that he did not remember Ms. Amy Graham, that he did not know Amy Graham.

You also indicated that she was white and 19. How did you know that?

Mr. DOGGETT. Senator, when your staff or the staff of the committee—

Senator METZENBAUM. My staff has not been in touch—

Mr. DOGGETT. Excuse me. When the staff of the committee—I corrected myself—made these allegations to me, one of the things I said, and if you read my complete statement, you will realize it is there, is that although I do not remember this person, that does not mean this person was not there; that it is possible that she did work at McKenzie and Company. I just do not remember her. I said that. OK?

The second thing I did after the staffers of committee hung up was to call an associate of mine who started at McKenzie in the company with me, at the same time, a man named Carroll Warfield, and I asked him if he remembered this woman because I did not remember her name at all. I did not remember her face. Nothing about her came into my mind, but I knew it was possible she could have been there. Senator, it has been eight or nine years and I, even I can forget people.

He said, "Oh, yes, I remember her," and he was the one who indicated to me that she was white. That, as far as the age 19, I believe you read that when you read statements that I responded to from the Senate Judiciary Committee staff, and that is how we got the age 19, sir.

Senator METZENBAUM. No, I think it was your statement, but we will just drop it, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Thank you. Now let me make one other thing clear. The exception to unsworn statements being placed in the record is when the witnesses stipulate that they are admissible, when the parties mentioned in the statements stipulate they are admissible, and when the committee stipulates they are admissible, which is the case of the Angela Wright stipulation. That is different, so no one is confused later, that there is a fundamental distinction.

Now, Senator, who had the—

Senator THURMOND. The distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania.

Senator SPECTER. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. I was in the midst of questioning Mr. Doggett and Professor Kothe when we had to take a brief recess for Professor Kothe, so I shall resume at this point.

I think it is worth noting, Mr. Chairman, to amplify what Mr. Doggett has said—if I could have the attention of the chairman for just a moment—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I'm sorry.

Senator SPECTER. Late yesterday evening when we caucused and the chairman stated his intention to try to finish the hearings today—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator SPECTER [continuing]. I then reviewed what had to be done, and at about 6:45 this morning called Duke Short and said we ought to have Mr. Doggett here, and that is why he was called this morning at about 7 o'clock, he said—

Mr. DOGGETT. 6:30, sir.

Senator SPECTER [continuing]. 6:30 central time, so he has been on that track to accommodate our schedule so we could finish today.

Mr. DOGGETT. I don't mind staying here as long as you need, sir.

Senator SPECTER. Well, that is probably going to happen. [Laughter.]

Mr. DOGGETT. I sense that.

Senator SPECTER. I want to explore with you what conceivably—I don't want to overstate it—could be the key to the extremely difficult matter we are looking into. And I had said, shortly before my line of questioning was interrupted, that we have been working on the proposition that either Anita Hill is lying or Judge Thomas is lying.

And we have explored earlier today, with a panel of four women who favor Judge Thomas but who knew Professor Hill very well, the possibility that there could be in her mind that these things happened when they really didn't. And I developed that question after talking to a number of my colleagues, because we have been discussing this matter all day, and it originated with the two affidavits or statements, your affidavit, Mr. Doggett, and Professor Kothe's statement that was not sworn to, where the word "fantasy" was used.

And it may be that we are not limited to the two alternatives, one, that he is lying; two, that she is lying. Perhaps they both think they are telling the truth, but in Professor Hill's case she thinks it is true but in fact it is not. And you testified to a very interesting approach when you referred to the testimony of Mr. John Carr, whom you said you went to graduate school at Harvard with, where you made a key distinction between the way Professor Hill viewed the relationship and the way John Carr viewed the relationship. And I think it would be worthwhile if you would amplify that, as you had started to articulate it earlier.

Mr. DOGGETT. Senators, at every step—in fact I remember when I was at Yale Law School seeing Senator Kennedy give a speech to people at Yale, back in the early seventies—at every step of my education, at Claremont Men's College, at Yale Law School, at Harvard Business School, one of the things I tried to do was to provide assistance to make sure that black law students and Hispanic law students would have the best possible opportunity to do as well as possible, because I had something to prove, Senators. I had had people tell me that I could not be good because I was black, and I was out to prove them wrong.

Because of that, I was asked by my colleagues at Harvard Business School, in part because I was an older student and in part because of my commitment to excellence, to be the Education Committee chairperson for the African-American Student Union, and to organize tutorial study groups and other support activities to make sure that every one of our people had the best possible

chance to do as well as possible, to excel. That is how I met John Carr.

I know John Carr, and I think I know him well. I definitely know him better than I know the judge and I know the professor. I saw John Carr this May at Harvard Business School for our 10th Harvard Business School Alumni reception, reunion, and we talked.

In those 10, 12 years, John Carr has never mentioned Anita Hill to me. We have talked about women John Carr has had relationships with. I have called him up at times and said, "Hey, man, haven't you gotten married yet?" because we were that close, and he would say, "Well, you know, there really hasn't been anybody special." We have talked about the issue of John Carr's personal life, and her name never came up in the way that she described herself.

I, as the Senator asked me, am not a psychiatrist, I am not a psychologist, and so maybe I am not qualified to use the term "fantasy" from a professional standpoint, but as a lay person and an individual, that is what I felt. And given what John Carr has said and has not said, given what the Professor has said, given that she has described a series of activities where Clarence Thomas was obsessed with her—every time she said no, he would try to get her to relent and go out with him, over a period of years, obsessed with her—I have to deal with the realities that if he was so obsessed with her, why did he never talk to me about her or anybody else about her?

One of the things, Senator, that stunned—I won't use that word again—that amazed me about the testimony of the women who worked with Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas, is that they came up with conclusions very similar to what I put in my affidavit, and these are women I have never met. These are women who knew both of the people involved in this hearing at this stage far better than I did.

I was going to a gut sense, on male intuition. They were saying the same thing, without any communication between the four of them and myself, based on years of observation. I find that amazing.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Doggett, you heard the testimony of the panel with Ms. Berry on it? You were in the hearing room at that time today?

Mr. DOGGETT. Hearing room at the end, and I was at the hotel looking at it on TV, sir.

Senator SPECTER. So you saw the panel with Ms. Alvarez, Ms. Fitch, Ms. Holt—

Mr. DOGGETT. I saw most of what they said, although I missed part of it as I was coming here to appear before you gentlemen.

Senator SPECTER. Did you hear the part where Ms. Berry testified to amplify an interview which she had given to the New York Times, that Professor Hill was rebuffed by Judge Thomas?

Mr. DOGGETT. I do not remember the exact facts, but I heard most of her response to the New York Times—

Senator SPECTER. Well, I think it would be worthwhile for you to refer to whatever you heard of their testimony, in terms of their statements as to the relationship between Judge Thomas and Pro-



fessor Hill, because their testimony was extensive as it relates to the approach you are articulating.

Mr. DOGGETT. Right. My experience with Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill was inconsistent, as I said, with what she was alleging, and based on my experiences over a period of a year and a half with Anita Hill and over a period of 7 or 8 years with Clarence Thomas, I came to some conclusions as a lay person, as an individual, as an untrained non-professional, where I used the words "fantasies" and I talked about her possibly reacting to being rejected. I did that sitting in Austin, Texas, Thursday afternoon, on my computer with my word processing software.

Today, gentlemen, as you know, four women I have never met and have never talked with came to the same conclusion based on extensive experience and observations with Anita, with Professor Hill and Judge Thomas. Mine was just intuition, gentlemen. Theirs was based on experience, and we both came, all five of us came to essentially the same conclusion. That surprised me, but now I am not surprised.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Doggett, what similarities, if any, do you see between the description you have made of your own relationship with Professor Hill, where you categorized in your affidavit her response to being rejected, and the relationship which Professor Hill had with John Carr, where she had exaggerated the relationship as you have testified from your personal knowledge of the two of them, and the relationship with Judge Thomas, where she has represented the kind of a relationship which Judge Thomas has flatly denied and others who know the two of them think totally implausible?

Mr. DOGGETT. In my case, Senator, which I obviously can talk about the clearest, she came up to me before we left—before she left for Oral Roberts University, and basically chastised me for leading her on, and gave me in effect advice that I should not in the future lead women on. I felt at the time, and the good chairman of this committee notwithstanding, I still feel at this point and I will always feel that that was totally inappropriate, given everything I tried to do to be a supportive, older upper-classman, part of the Yale Law School group.

Regarding Mr. Carr, John Carr, Attorney Carr, my friend, I have had a series of conversations with this man over the past decade. He has never, ever said that he was dating Anita Hill. When he was here under oath he said, to paraphrase him, "I would not define our relationship as a dating relationship."

Regarding Judge Clarence Thomas I have the least information, because he never, ever at any time mentioned this woman to me. And at the time, the one time that I have concrete observation about her perception of how she thought she should be treated by me vis-a-vis Judge Thomas, she wanted to go into Judge Thomas' inner office at EEOC because she felt that was appropriate, and for me it didn't make any sense at all.

So in those three instances—my own personal experience, a statement by a business school colleague and friend of mine, and my one observation about Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas back, I believe, in 1982, there is a consistency in a perception of something that did not exist.

Senator SPECTER. Mr. Doggett, do you think it a possibility that Professor Hill imagined or fantasized Judge Thomas saying the things she has charged him with?

Mr. DOGGETT. You know, part of what makes this so unpleasant for all of us is that her charges are so clear, explicit, and extreme. I know how difficult it has been for me to even remember what happened back in 1982, so one of the things I did was take some time off from work to look at Anita Hill when she was testifying before this committee, and I will tell you gentlemen, she looked believable to me, even though the words she was saying made absolutely no sense.

I believe that Anita Hill believes what she has said. I believe, and I am saying this under oath, that there is absolutely no truth to what she has said. But I believe that she believes it.

I was impressed with her confidence, her calm, even though the things she was saying in my mind were absolutely, totally beyond the pale of reality.

Clarence Thomas told me in his office that "These people are going to shoot at me. I have a target on my back. It is one of my jobs to make sure that I am not going to be the black in the Reagan Administration that gets tarred and feathers."

Doing what she alleges that he did with her was a prescription for instant death. Clarence is not a fool. And quite frankly, Anita Hill is not worth that type of risk.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Doggett. Very powerful.

Professor Kothe, just a question or two, and this is following up on what Senator Biden had asked you, and it relates to the testimony which you had given that Professor Hill was very complimentary about Judge Thomas. There has been considerable testimony given by people who have tried to explain Professor Hill's activities in the sense that she was controlled by Judge Thomas when she worked for him, and that even after she left him she needed him for a variety of assistance.

But my question to you is did there come a point where she had sufficient independence from Judge Thomas so that a continuation of laudatory, complimentary comments which you have testified about would tend to undercut her credibility that he had said these dastardly things to her early on?

Mr. KOTHE. I am not so sure that I grasped the essence of your question. I don't know that she was ever dependent upon him for adulation. She had a continuing relationship, I think of a professional nature, with the EEOC. She was doing some studies and getting materials from them, and the things that we were working on together, we both derived information from the EEO office.

Just how extensive was her continued interaction with Chairman Thomas, I really don't know.

Senator SPECTER. Well, let me break it down for you, Professor Kothe, to this extent. You have testified that you thought her charges were inconceivable, as I think you have earlier said. Is that correct?

Mr. KOTHE. Yes. Absolutely.

Senator SPECTER. And you have based that on your testimony that when you would talk to her about Judge Thomas she would consistently compliment Judge Thomas. Correct?

Mr. KOTHE. Correct.

Senator SPECTER. So, is it your conclusion that if she consistently said complimentary things about him that it could not be true that he had done these dastardly deeds?

Mr. KOTHE. Yes, that would be my conclusion. It is just so utterly incongruent and inconsistent that a person that would speak of him almost reverently as a hero, as a person—a remarkable person, she would say, as a person of untiring energy, she spoke of him, as I said earlier, as a devoted father.

I have never heard her speak of him but in pretty much relatively glowing terms. Never have I heard her say anything critical about him, even when we were discussing the subject of sexual harassment.

So, in that situation with a person that I respected and a person that I admired, I just cannot in my mentations equate how utterly impossible, grotesque statements could be made about this person that she spoke of to me with such high admiration.

Senator SPECTER. The follow-up question to that is some have sought to explain her continuing association with Judge Thomas on the basis that she needed him, that he was her benefactor. And my question to you is would it be necessary for her to go as far as she did in the kind of complimentary statements she made to you on a personal basis to maintain that kind of an association where she could go back to him, for example, for letters of recommendation?

Mr. KOTHE. Well, certainly she needed no further letters of recommendation after she established herself as a teacher. She was a good teacher.

This is not a young woman that is obsequious and fawning and retiring. She was a very positive person. In our faculty meetings she was forthright. She was always a strong person. She didn't need Clarence Thomas to continue in her career of teaching, which she has done and become tenured at the University of Oklahoma.

Senator SPECTER. So your conclusion was when she complimented Judge Thomas she meant it?

Mr. KOTHE. I had no reason to believe she didn't.

Senator SPECTER. And, if she complimented Judge Thomas, it would be totally inconsistent with his having said these terrible things to her?

Mr. KOTHE. Utterly inconsistent.

Senator SPECTER. And the final point is the one where Senator Biden asked you would she have been reluctant to talk to you in truthful derogatory terms considering the fact that you were in a sense an employee of Chairman Thomas?

Mr. KOTHE. I wouldn't think there was any basis for her having a reluctance to disclose to me anything that was of that nature if, indeed, it were a fact. I think that our relationship was such that she could have confidence in me.

I didn't need the position with Clarence Thomas. She didn't need Clarence Thomas to keep the position she had. We were both ad hoc in that sense, working on something that was avocational with us, from the point of view of our then situation.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator. The Senator from Massachusetts indicates he would like to question.

Senator KENNEDY. Just for a moment, Mr. Doggett. When you were at Harvard, did you say you headed the Afro students' organization for student assistance?

Mr. DOGGETT. Senator, what I said was that in the second year I was asked by my co-students to be the chairman of the Education Committee, of what at that time was called the Afro-American Student Union.

Senator KENNEDY. And that was a tutorial program for kids in Cambridge, or what was that?

Mr. DOGGETT. No. Harvard Business School has a program to weed out people that it does not feel deserve an Harvard MBA. It is called hitting the screen. It is one of the most intense academic experiences that they have.

The Afro-American Student Union is a membership organization of black American students at Harvard Business School, and those of us who are second-years organized programs to do what we can, not only to prevent first-years from hitting the screen, but to do everything possible to make it possible for them to excel.

My fellow students asked me to be the chairperson of this committee and to organize programs for Harvard Business School MBA students in their first year.

Senator KENNEDY. Well, that is fine. I was just interested in whether you were working through the Phyllis Brooks House or community programs. Because the Business School, I believe, has a program. I just wanted to see whether you were associated with it.

Mr. DOGGETT. No, sir.

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Brown?

Senator THURMOND. Senator Brown?

Senator BROWN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sorry. I am sorry.

Senator LEAHY. Mr. Chairman, we go 20 some odd minutes on that side, 38—I am sorry, 48 seconds on this side. Just a couple of questions.

Senator THURMOND. Are we next over here?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, apparently Senator Kennedy yielded the remainder of his five minutes.

Senator THURMOND. Hold off for just a minute then.

Senator BROWN. OK.

Senator LEAHY. Mr. Doggett, you said that in the years that you have known John Carr, he never mentioned knowing Anita Hill. You are not suggesting that John Carr didn't know Anita Hill, are you?

Mr. DOGGETT. Absolutely not, Senator.

Senator LEAHY. OK.

Mr. DOGGETT. It is clear that he did.

Senator LEAHY. The fact that he didn't mention her to you is one thing.

Mr. DOGGETT. Senator, I asked John Carr specifically about who he was going out with and whether or not he was getting married.

Senator LEAHY. I understand. I think, though, that we should perhaps go by Mr. Carr's sworn statement here this afternoon. It might be the best testimony, rather than whether he thought it necessary to discuss it with you whether he knew her or not.

Now, in your statement you talked about how much you have known Professor Hill. You met her at a social function in 1982. You had two or three phone conversations in which you were primarily interested in having her get you in touch with Harry Singleton. You met outside, I think, Clarence Thomas's office. You bumped into each other jogging, and you explained how you jog in place, so you couldn't talk to her there. Somehow, other plans to go out fell through. Then you saw each other at a party and, according to you, Professor Hill said, "I'm very disappointed in you. You really shouldn't lead on women and let them down."

Now, you have described these contacts with her as minimal. Professor Hill, incidentally, testified she has little or no recollection of you. When I pressed her—and I asked her specifically—she said she thinks she recalls that you were tall.

Now, based on such minimal contacts with Professor Hill, how could you conclude that she had fantasies about your sexual interest in her, or do you just feel that you have some kind of a natural irresistibility?

Mr. DOGGETT. My wife says I do.

Senator LEAHY. Well, Anita Hill apparently doesn't say you do, Mr. Doggett.

Mr. DOGGETT. Sir—

Senator LEAHY. She doesn't even remember you.

Mr. DOGGETT. No, she didn't say that, sir.

Senator LEAHY. She said she barely remembers you. When I asked her to describe you she had some difficulty and thought that you were tall.

Mr. DOGGETT. I looked at Anita Hill's face when you folks mentioned my name. She remembers me, Senator, I assure you of that.

Now, to answer your question, the reason I thought her statements were so bizarre was because our contact was so limited. If we had had much more contact with each other, and as the good Senator Chairman had said, she had come up to me at the end and said, "John, you know we've been seeing, running into each other time and time again," then her comment would have been much more understandable. Since we had had so little contact, I found it to be a bizarre comment.

Senator LEAHY. You have remarkable insight into her: You are able to watch her face and know when we mentioned your name, "By golly! John Doggett's name gets mentioned, this woman is, Wow!"

It really triggered a bell; is that what you are saying? I don't understand. Mr. Doggett, I know this has been an interesting experience for you. You have talked about how Tom Brokaw's office is looking forward—

Mr. DOGGETT. Sir, it has not been interesting. It has been very painful, been very difficult. It has interfered with my life. It has resulted in me getting threats and obscene phone calls on my telephone, people approaching me and accosting me in public. This is not fun, sir.

Senator LEAHY. But, Mr. Doggett, what I am saying is you had these very minimal contacts. Yet you have been able to analyze Anita Hill from just jogging in place and talking to her, and from talking to her on the phone a couple of times when you asked her to set up a meeting with somebody else, you are able to figure out that she has a problem with being rejected by men, and that she has fantasies about sexual interest in her.

Are you able to make such thorough judgments about everybody you meet for such a short period of time? And I mean that seriously.

Mr. DOGGETT. I understand, Senator. I appreciate your question and I think it is a very fair question. Let me do what I can to try to assist you in understanding how I could say what I said.

The jogging incidence, I wanted to jog in place for a few seconds and then move on. She made it very clear that she would like the conversation to be more involved by her body language, by her questions: Well, where do you live? Why are you jogging in this neighborhood? I stopped jogging and we had a conversation that lasted between 5 or 10 minutes. I don't remember exactly how long it was. It is a long time ago.

As I remember it, she was the one who initiated the suggestion that we have dinner. I also observed her from time to time at the Black Yale Law parties that we had. As she had conversations with me, my sense, unprofessional, limited as it was, was that she was trying to engage people in conversations and to prolong conversations. Based on my experience, it suggested an interest. I never saw any of those conversations result in people continuing to talk with her.

Now that is totally unscientific and it is just a point of view.

Senator LEAHY. You don't have an aversion to long conversations, do you, Mr. Doggett?

Mr. DOGGETT. When somebody is trying to, to use the terminology "hit on somebody," and the result is people walk away, and you see that happen more than one time, it leads you to believe, Senator, that maybe something is not working.

Senator LEAHY. You said in your sworn affidavit that Anita Hill was frustrated not being a part of Clarence Thomas's inner circle.

Mr. DOGGETT. That is correct, Senator.

Senator LEAHY. From these minimal contacts, you were able to deduce that?

Mr. DOGGETT. The look on Anita's face when we were in the outer office of Clarence Thomas's office at EEOC when I did not say, "I'm getting ready to talk with Clarence, why don't you come on in with me," the look on her face is the basis for that decision.

Now, you and anybody else may feel that I did not have sufficient information to justify making that opinion, but that is what I said and that is what I felt.

Senator LEAHY. Let me make sure I understand this. By her body language, you knew that she was concerned about not being part of Thomas's inner circle? From the look on her face outside of Thomas's office when you spoke to her, you are able to discern what was in her mind? And then watching her on television, by the look on her face when I mentioned your name, you are able to draw other conclusions about her remembrance of you?

Mr. DOGGETT. That is my sense, sir.

Senator LEAHY. That is all right. I just want to make sure I understand your ability of perception.

And, Dean, you have testified that the Clarence Thomas you knew could not possibly have made the statements Anita Hill claims he made, and I understand that. You stated that very forcefully, sir.

Do you believe that the Clarence Thomas you knew could enjoy talking about pornographic movies? I mean, that is one of the things that was alleged. Anita Hill alleged that he talked to her about pornographic movies. Are you saying that the Clarence Thomas you knew wouldn't even enjoy talking about pornographic movies?

Mr. KOTHE. I can't believe it. I can't just believe that this man would even think in terms of pornographic movies. All of my relationship with him was at such a high level, talking about books of religion and philosophy and the things that he was reading. I can't imagine this man would have any diversion in the area that you describe. I just can't.

Senator LEAHY. I understand. I understand, Dean.

You are aware, however, that a supporter, a Ms. Coleman, has been quoted in the New York Times as saying that at law school he didn't talk about religion or philosophy, that he talked about pornographic movies?

Mr. KOTHE. I didn't get that. Will you please say it again?

Senator LEAHY. I said you said that the man you know would talk probably about books and religion, but you could not conceive of him talking about pornographic movies. You knew that one of his supporters, strong supporters—she has written a letter to me, in fact, in support of him—a Ms. Coleman, has been quoted in the New York Times as saying that Judge Thomas used to talk about pornographic films at law school?

Does that surprise you at all?

Mr. KOTHE. It does.

Senator LEAHY. Thank you. And you have—just very quickly, you have no way of knowing from your own personal knowledge whether Anita Hill is telling the truth about what Clarence Thomas said to her?

Mr. KOTHE. No.

Senator LEAHY. And, Mr. Doggett, would your answer be the same? You know of nothing from your personal knowledge whether she is telling the truth or not? I know your opinion which you have expressed here. But of your personal knowledge, do you know?

Mr. DOGGETT. I have absolutely no information.

Senator LEAHY. And, Mr. Stewart, of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. STEWART. My personal knowledge of Clarence Thomas would lead me to conclude that she was, in fact, lying.

Senator LEAHY. But, of your own personal knowledge, you don't know whether Clarence Thomas sexually harassed Anita Hill?

Mr. STEWART. No. I don't know that we, the term sexual harass or said the things she said. I think we are confused about all of that.

I will restate my statement and say that my personal knowledge of Clarence Thomas would make it incredible for me to believe the things she has alleged.

Senator LEAHY. Do you know that Judge Thomas said that if somebody did the things that Anita Hill claims that he did, if somebody did that, Judge Thomas freely admits that that would be sexual harassment. But you don't know of your own personal knowledge whether that happened or not, is that correct?

Mr. STEWART. I don't know that it happened. I conclude that Clarence Thomas did not do it.

Senator LEAHY. Thank you.

Now, Mr. Grayson, of your personal knowledge, you don't know whether Clarence Thomas sexually harassed Anita Hill?

Mr. GRAYSON. I have no personal knowledge.

Senator LEAHY. Thank you.

Senator HEFLIN. I will just ask 1 minute and that will do it. Dean, Clarence Thomas wrote a letter of recommendation for Anita Hill to you and she became a member of the law school at the Oral Roberts University.

And is it correct that you wrote a letter of recommendation to the Dean of the University of Oklahoma Law School when she went there to teach at the University of Oklahoma?

Mr. KOTHE. I think I talked to Dean Swank, I don't remember writing the letter.

Senator HEFLIN. Well, he wrote, Clarence Thomas wrote you?

Mr. KOTHE. Yes.

Senator HEFLIN. Did you, in talking to the Dean of the University of Oklahoma Law School, did you give her a good recommendation?

Mr. KOTHE. Oh, yes.

Senator HEFLIN. A great recommendation?

Mr. KOTHE. Yes.

Senator HEFLIN. All right, thank you.

Senator SIMON. Mr. Chairman, just one 30-second comment to Mr. Doggett. When your counselor suggested the Illinois Institute of Technology rather than MIT or Cal Tech let me tell you, that counselor was recommending an excellent, superb school in Illinois. It was not a put down.

Mr. DOGGETT. All right.

Senator LEAHY. The only trouble with that, Senator Simon, is that there is probably no one up at this hour of the night to see you say that plug, but we will make sure that you have a certified copy of the record in the morning.

Senator THURMOND. Professor Kothe, I have two very brief questions. Knowing Clarence Thomas as you do, and knowing Anita Hill as you do, do you give any credibility to her charges against Clarence Thomas?

Mr. KOTHE. The last part?

Would I what?

Senator THURMOND. Do you give any credibility to her charges against Clarence Thomas?

Mr. KOTHE. No, the answer is I do not.



I can't believe that she would even say that. I can't believe that she would put that kind of words in her mouth and I can't believe that she would ever say that about Clarence Thomas.

Senator THURMOND. Well, do you give credibility to the charges or not?

Mr. KOTHE. I do not.

Senator THURMOND. What?

Mr. KOTHE. I do not.

Senator THURMOND. You do not.

The next question. You have had a close relationship with Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill. Do you believe the serious charges made against Judge Thomas by Professor Hill are true?

Mr. KOTHE. I do not believe they are true.

Senator THURMOND. You do not, that's all. I will yield to the Senator Simpson.

Senator SIMPSON. It's been a long night and thank you so much Professor, and Mr. Doggett, and Mr. Stewart and Mr. Grayson. I bet you two gentlemen wish you hadn't gone to the ABA convention in Atlanta if it was going to cost you this kind of a night, did you?

Mr. STEWART. It's well worth it, Your Honor, to clear the name of Clarence Thomas.

Senator SIMPSON. Let me tell you, it is true, you have to break it with levity because it does get so, it is so stunning. But I do ask you both, you two are really quite critical. And you have been asked very little but the questions you have been asked have been very important.

But you two are probably the two who have seen her most recently, and got an idea of her state of mind about Clarence Thomas in the midst of his travail. In other words, he has been in the tank now for 106 days. And you saw her in August and you spent 30 minutes with her, right?

Mr. STEWART. If not longer.

Senator SIMPSON. If not longer, and you talked about Clarence and lots of other things as we do, we lawyers at bar conventions.

Mr. STEWART. Mostly Clarence, because that is what we had in common.

Senator SIMPSON. And that was in an informal way, you are having a drink or just sitting, talking or just that was it?

Mr. STEWART. The former.

Senator SIMPSON. And she was very pleased about Clarence Thomas?

Mr. STEWART. Yes.

Senator SIMPSON. Or indicated that?

Mr. STEWART. Yes, Senator.

Senator SIMPSON. Proud of him, was she proud of him?

Mr. STEWART. There seems to be—there was such euphoria, I would assume she was proud of him.

Senator SIMPSON. You recall that and her voice and her demeanor?

Mr. STEWART. Laughing, smiling, warm.

Senator SIMPSON. And saying, isn't it great about Clarence?

Mr. STEWART. And how much he deserved it and that, essentially in other tones that his hard work was paying off.

Mr. GRAYSON. Senator, if I could comment. That particular afternoon was the first, and only time I have met Anita Hill and Mr. Stewart and Ms. Hill really spent a few moments sort of reminiscing, they both worked together. So, sort of as an observer, I clearly walked away from that meeting with the clear sense that Ms. Hill shared the excitement about Judge Thomas' nomination, and was, indeed, very supportive of it.

Senator SIMPSON. Well, and I am sure you found her testimony here incredible.

Mr. STEWART. Well, I think the reason we are here is incredible. It doesn't surprise me that she would say that after making all of these other allegations.

Mr. GRAYSON. I would have to say on my end, I was a bit surprised by it. I am not a student of people but I think to the extent of watching the interaction and the discussion, I was indeed surprised that the reaction was that she Carlton's enthusiasm for the Judge and didn't want to—I don't remember her exact words—but basically didn't want to ruin the mood of the little meeting that took place. If that is, in fact, the case, my response would be that she is very good because that was not clear in my perception of the conversation that took place.

Senator SIMPSON. Well, I thank you, very much for coming. And I realize the serious reason that you are both here. And Mr. Doggett, you have been dealing with the issue of what you saw of her and what she said to you. I accept your summary of your affidavit and your testimony as something you feel very strongly about. And apparently if someone else does not that is truly a difference of opinion.

But to you, from your background and the way you describe it, I understand your reaction and I believe it sounds like a natural reaction to you. And you, Professor, thank you. You have been very kind and very patient, and I would like to, if I were in law school, I would have loved to be under your tutelage. I had some rugged rascals that nearly drive me insane. I needed kindness, I needed kindness and sweetness that you could have given to me.

Senator LEAHY. They succeeded, Alan.

Senator SIMPSON. And as for Leahy—

Senator LEAHY. Alan, I think you succeeded in that insanity drive.

Senator SIMPSON. You see what happened to Leahy and I, we were in a hearing here one day and a courier came in and he said, I am looking for a bald-headed guy with gray hair and glasses and homely as hell and they said there are two of them, meaning myself and Leahy.

So I want to tell you if we all started to trot out what we did in law school that ought to be a riot for the American public. I don't know what Clarence Thomas did in law school, but I got a hunch about it. And I believe Playboy came out while I was in law school and I remember reading it for its articles and its editorial content. So maybe we can just drop all reflections of what we did in law school, what we watched. It is like doctors going to medical school and calling their cadaver certain names, you know, and lawyers doing all the black humor and the white humor and the ghastly

humor and the grotesque and the drinking. Well, some of you may have missed law school.

Anyway I thank you for coming and—

Mr. STEWART. Senator, may I make one comment?

Senator SIMPSON. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. I believe we have six minutes left on this round.

Senator SIMPSON. Mr. Stewart had a comment.

Senator LEAHY. One thing I do want to say in fairness to the professor when I quoted from the New York Times Ms. Coleman's discussion of the x-rated films, the professor obviously had not seen that article. I am not going to go back to it—but out of fairness to him, could somebody from the staff just give that to the professor, please?

Senator SIMPSON. Mr. Stewart had a question.

Mr. STEWART. I would just like to make one comment. I understand the need for levity at this late hour but we are here for a very, very serious matter. I think we need not lose sight of the fact that separate and apart from Supreme Court confirmation, Clarence Thomas is a sitting Federal Judge. This process has treated him, in the last several days, like he is a foreman in a manufacturing plant. We are dealing with claims that are that's a nullity at law.

Allegations come in 10 years, eight years, whatever, way beyond the statute of limitation and I think we need to keep these things in focus and in vogue when we are trying to make a decision about who is telling what. We have two witnesses today for Ms. Hill who were told two different things. Two were told that she was being sexually harassed by her supervisor and two were told by her boss.

We still don't know who they are. There were giant leaps in logic to conclude that it was Clarence Thomas, but that is clearly not the case. Many were asked the question of why we are here? We are here because of a leak, not because of allegations, but because of a leak. This is publicized because of a leak by the committee, somebody on the committee.

Clarence should not be the person who receives the brunt of this. The very same rights that they accuse him of being against, they took from him by leaking this information.

That's all I have.

Senator THURMOND. I have propounded the question to Professor Kothe and I want to ask a second one and I just put one question to you three gentlemen.

Even though Anita Hill may believe what she said was true, in your opinion, is there any merit in the charges made by her against Clarence Thomas?

Mr. GRAYSON. In my judgment, Senator, absolutely not.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Stewart?

Mr. STEWART. In my judgment, Senator, absolutely not. Whether they are lies or a product of fantasy, they should be dismissed.

Senator THURMOND. Mr. Doggett?

Mr. DOGGETT. Absolutely not. Clarence has been trying to do some things that are extremely important for this country and for any of the things that Anita said to have been true would have totally made it impossible for him to be successful.

Senator THURMOND. I believe, Dean Kothe, you have already answered that question.

Mr. KOTHE. Yes, I share with those views.

The CHAIRMAN. Are we prepared to dismiss this panel.

I am sorry, Senator Brown?

Senator BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I have a few brief questions and I will try to make them brief.

Dean Kothe, your statement indicates that you saw Professor Hill and Judge Thomas together on a number of occasions. Do you remember how many occasions?

Mr. KOTHE. I don't think I said a number of occasions. I said I saw them in Washington, in my home, at the seminar, that was about it.

Senator BROWN. Could you characterize for us the nature of the conversations between them, the way they acted toward each other?

Mr. KOTHE. Oh, it was most friendly. And, in fact, it was a matter of joviality and a lot of laughter. You know, when you are around Clarence Thomas in a relaxed mode, it is a time of joy. And they would reminisce about certain situations that I was not privy to in their experience in Washington and people that they would talk about and they would talk and laugh. But it was always one of pleasure.

Senator BROWN. Did you detect any latent hostility in the relationship?

Mr. KOTHE. Oh, no, you couldn't possibly have.

Senator BROWN. Did you have any occasion in the time you knew Clarence Thomas to see him off-guard, see him in relaxed situations?

Mr. KOTHE. I tried to convey that. I have ridden with him in a car for 3 hours down in Georgia, right in the swamps where he said he was reared. I have been in offices with him. I have been on several college campuses with him. I have been with faculty. I have been with students. I have been in my home when we just stripped down and getting ready for bed and in my library and just talking for a couple of 3 hours.

Senator BROWN. In those relaxed situations, did his vocabulary include any of the words we have talked about in these hearings?

Mr. KOTHE. I said this over and over again, I never ever heard this man use a profane word. And like I am experienced with other lawyers and other men and in a long discourse inevitably there is a story somebody wants to tell. I never heard him tell a dirty story, so to speak, or make an off-color remark.

It just has to be that this man in the situations I have seen him in would have to be the greatest actor in history to have disguised this part of his nature that has been described here, this totally unreal.

Senator BROWN. Thank you.

Mr. Doggett, I liked your reaction to something. In reading through the transcript or reading through your testimony, your statement, it has been some time since I have been in a situation as an unmarried person, so I am not sure I am an expert on this at this point, but the conversation that took place seemed to me could be nothing more than someone flirting with you.

Specific, the language, the conversation that you had with Professor Hill at the time, Anita Hill at the time, that the words could have been simply a way of flirting, not terribly serious in their content other than engaging. Would you comment on that?

Mr. DOGGETT. I never perceived Anita to be flirting with me. I perceived her to, as a man, be indicating that if I was interested in getting to know her better that she would be interested.

Senator BROWN. You thought the words were quite serious, not—

Mr. DOGGETT. Sir, the comments that she made at the going away party, to me, seemed to be very, very serious and that is how I took them.

Senator BROWN. Mr. Stewart, one thing, Professor Hill here indicated that it was you who made the comment about Judge Thomas being, at least my recollection is that Judge Thomas being so well suited for the Court and wasn't it wonderful, and so on. And that rather than her instigating those remarks, that she merely maintained a politeness during that period without formally objecting but without her uttering those words.

Are you quite certain that those words came from Professor Hill?

Mr. STEWART. I am absolutely certain that not only did they come from Ms. Hill but that they were surrounded by euphoria and a continuation of kudos for Judge Thomas that lasted more than a few minutes, that lasted almost over 30 minutes.

The one thing Anita Hill and I had in common was Judge Thomas. That was the subject of conversation. There were no negatives, there were all positives and Mr. Grayson was there and he had not met Ms. Hill before that very instant.

Senator BROWN. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, I want to yield back but if I could just make a note about the legal research that Senator Simpson did in law school.

We had a student in Colorado's law school, who did legal research, because he took certain pictures out of the magazine and appended them to his answer in torts and in two or three places he received the highest grade in the class.

I will yield back.

The CHAIRMAN. It is time to end this panel. Thank you, very much.

Senator SIMPSON. Mr. Chairman, I just have something to enter into the record because my friend from Vermont talked about Lavita Coleman in a rather negative way and I wish that he had finished the sentence.

She also said that neither she nor the other students were offended by his amusing comments about pornographic material and then she said, Ms. Coleman, now a lawyer in Washington continued:

Indeed we would have been hypocrites to have been offended since very few of us failed to attend one or more similar films that were shown on the Yale University campus while we were in school.

We did not even do that in Laramie. So that shows you how far behind the curve we were, but then she went on to say and I end

with this sentence, she called, this is the same woman about this pornographic stuff, she called him, calling Clarence Thomas—

Particularly sensitive and caring regarding the professional and personal concerns of the women he knows and with whom he has worked and she seriously doubted that he harassed Professor Hill.

That is what is wrong with this process, right there.

Senator LEAHY. Well, Mr. Chairman, as the Senator from Wyoming knows, I prefaced that by saying that Ms. Coleman is a very strong supporter of Clarence Thomas.

And the only reason I brought it up and sent the whole newspaper is that it would be in context for Professor Kothe because he had said that he just could not imagine under any circumstances Judge Thomas going to an X-rated movie. That was the sole point of it. But as I have also stated, Ms. Coleman is a strong supporter and has written to me strongly in support of Judge Thomas.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, gentlemen. I truly appreciate your willingness to be here as long as you have. There is only one consolation you all have; there is a panel of nine people to follow you. Just be thankful you're not among them.

Thank you very much.

Senator THURMOND. We thank you very much for your appearance.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next and last panel—it is almost inappropriate to say welcome at this hour of the night, but I thank you all very much for your willingness to be here, and particularly for your willingness to be here at this late hour.

As I indicated to you a moment ago, we are going to insist on the 3-minute rule that was announced beforehand, notwithstanding the fact, I am told, there are two witnesses who were going to be here, and for understandable and appropriate reasons, in light of the hour, are not here.

But let me ask the timekeeper, when the clock goes on, will the yellow light go on, with 1 minute to go? So, when the amber light goes on, you will have a minute. One of you asked me how will you know when we are getting near 3 minutes, and Ms. Johnson indicated to me that she was pregnant and due at any moment, and so I strongly urge my colleagues not to have it that they be responsible for her being here any longer than is necessary. If I can't convince you, on my behalf, to stop questioning, I hope that you will have some consideration for Ms. Johnson, who has not asked for any. I am using you as a ploy, Ms. Johnson, to try and see if we can move this thing along.

Now, our panel is made up of Patricia Johnson, Director of Labor Relations at the EEOC; Pamela Talkin, former chief of staff for Clarence Thomas at the EEOC; Janet Brown, former press secretary for Senator John Danforth; Linda Jackson, research associate, Department of Education; Nancy Altman, formerly of the Department of Education; Anna Jenkins, a former secretary at the EEOC; Lori Saxon, former assistant for congressional relations of the Department of Education; and Connie Newman, Director, Office of Personnel Management.

Thank you all very much.

Now, I was asked by the panel, they apparently have decided how they would like to proceed, and I would just yield to the panel to proceed in 3-minute intervals seriatim, and we will finish.

I beg your pardon, I am required to swear you all in, I am sorry.

Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Ms. JOHNSON. I do.

Ms. TALKIN. I do.

Ms. BROWN. I do.

Ms. NEWMAN. I do.

Ms. JACKSON. I do.

Ms. ALTMAN. I do.

Ms. JENKINS. I do.

Ms. SAXON. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

**TESTIMONY OF A PANEL CONSISTING OF PATRICIA C. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR OF LABOR RELATIONS, EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION; LINDA M. JACKSON, SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH ANALYST, EEOC; JANET H. BROWN, FORMER PRESS SECRETARY, SEN. JOHN DANFORTH; LORI SAXON, FORMER ASSISTANT FOR CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION; NANCY ALTMAN, FORMERLY WITH DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION; PAMELA TALKIN, FORMER CHIEF OF STAFF, EEOC; ANNA JENKINS, FORMER SECRETARY, EEOC; AND CONSTANCE NEWMAN, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT**

Ms. JOHNSON. Good morning, Chairman Biden, Senator Thurmond and other members of this committee.

I am Patricia Cornwell Johnson, and I currently work as the Director of Labor Relations of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. I received my bachelor's degree from the American University here in Washington, and my law degree from the Georgetown University Law Center. I am a member of the bar of the District of Columbia, the U.S. Supreme Court, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, as well as the majority of other U.S. Courts of Appeals.

I received my labor relations training at the National Labor Relations Boards. I moved from there to corporate America, then to a major transit authority, before going to the EEOC. I work in an area that is dominated by men and I have never met a man who treated me with more dignity and respect, who was more cordial and professional than was Judge Clarence Thomas.

Shortly after joining the Commission—and I must apologize to my mother for making this statement on worldwide TV, and I am grateful that she is asleep—then Chairman Thomas became aware that I used profanity in some exuberant exchanges with union officials. Chairman Thomas made it clear to me that that was unacceptable conduct which would not be tolerated. I was shocked because up until that time, such language had indeed been acceptable, almost expected—it made me “one of the boys.” Chairman Thomas insisted that his managers conducts themselves in a