

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-