

Mr. ALLEN. Senator, he is an advocate of all those personalities. The speech that you made reference to historically was one where Booker T. said that, in all matters, we can be separate as fingers, but be as mutual as the hand, and he talked about us working together. I think he understood that everyone was not meant to study Plato and Socrates, and while there are some people who have the arts in mind and literature, as DuBois mentioned, as a talented tenth theory, he also mentioned that Garvey and Washington believed everyone was not equipped to be the scientist, the connoisseur of literature, and there was a place for that person, too, so I see Clarence as a conglomerate of all those philosophies to what can make things work for the downtrodden, because there was no exclusive way.

Senator SIMON. If I may, on the first question, direct it to all three of you—

Mr. BELL. If I might speak to the first question, I am testifying for Judge Thomas, because I think he is his own man. I did not come here to testify because I thought he was like Justice Thurgood Marshall. They are different. Each one as an American citizen has a right to stand on their own feet.

I do not know anything about Judge Thomas that would cause him to be tested by the standard of Thurgood Marshall. That has been a problem ever since he was nominated. People said, oh, we don't want him, because he is not the same as Thurgood Marshall. Well, that is not the test in this country. He has a right to be considered on his own merit, and on that merit I support him.

Senator SIMON. Judge Tanner.

Judge TANNER. I agree with Judge Bell that it is very difficult to compare Thurgood Marshall and Clarence Thomas. It is like comparing Joe Louis or Jack Dempsey with Mohammed Ali or Jackie Robinson with all the other black ballplayers that came along after him. It is a very difficult thing.

But I, Senator, happen to be at the time, I was on the board of directors of the NAACP, I happened to be there when Thurgood Marshall was the general counsel of the NAACP, I happened to be there when he was director of the ink fund. I do not think at any time did I ever agree with Thurgood Marshall, except on *Brown v. Board of Education*, so there are differences of opinion among black lawyers, among black judges, among black people in the United States, so I think it is unfair to say it, but you must remember, the Yale graduate, and I assume Yale Law School is one of those recognized law schools, even though people from other law schools might disagree, has a much better education than Thurgood Marshall and myself, because he comes along at a time in our history that everything has changed. It was not like it was before *Brown v. Board of Education*.

Senator SIMON. Ms. Wilson.

Ms. WILSON. I thought we had resolved the dichotomy between DuBois and Booker T. Washington. We need them both.

But I think what I really want to emphasize here is that the careers of these two men are quite different. Thurgood Marshall's entire life was devoted to the civil rights movement on the advocacy side and the framework of the NAACP. Clarence Thomas has chosen the harder route, to move into the system and work within