

Senator HATCH. Judge Thomas, do you have—

The CHAIRMAN. These are the same excerpts that he has had.

Senator HATCH [continuing]. These are the same ones that you have had. Now, Judge Thomas, are you familiar with these?

Judge THOMAS. I have seen those logs, Senator.

Senator HATCH. Do you recall any of the telephone conversations with Professor Hill reflected by these particular messages?

Judge THOMAS. I do, Senator.

Senator HATCH. For instance, on January 31, according to these logs—and I think I have got them correct, I am quite sure—on July 31, 1984, at 11:30 a.m., a message from Anita Hill, “Just called to say hello, sorry she didn’t get to see you last week.” Is that accurate?

Judge THOMAS. Yes, that was I think one instance when she had come to town, either on personal business or because of her job, and my schedule conflicted with any opportunity to meet with her and simply called to—that was a call from her, I think, to reflect that.

Senator HATCH. No. 2, on May 9, 1984, at 11:40 a.m., Anita Hill was the caller, the message was “Please call,” and she left her phone number, (718) et cetera. Do you remember that?

Judge THOMAS. Yes, Senator.

Senator HATCH. No. 3, on August 29, 1984, at 3:59 p.m., Anita called, and the message was “Need your advice in getting research grants.” Do you recall that?

Judge THOMAS. I remember that, Senator.

Senator HATCH. What was that call about?

Judge THOMAS. I can’t remember exactly what the project was, but she wanted some ideas as to how she could get I think some grants, either from EEOC or some other agency, to do some research I believe at Oral Roberts, and I believe we discussed that and I may have put her in contact with someone. Again, my recollection of that is vague, but we did have a discussion.

Senator HATCH. Did you help her?

Judge THOMAS. I tried.

Senator HATCH. You tried.

No. 4, on August 30, 1984, at 11:55 a.m., Anita was the caller, the message “Returned your call (call between 1 and 4).” Do you remember that?

Judge THOMAS. I don’t remember the specifics of the call, but I remember that on the log, Senator.

Senator HATCH. Was she calling you or were you calling her?

Judge THOMAS. She was calling me. My secretary, when I placed the call and someone returned it, my secretary noted “returned your call.”

Senator HATCH. On January 3, 1985, at 3:40 p.m., Anita Hill was the caller, “Please call tonight,” and then left a phone number and a room number. Do you remember that?

Judge THOMAS. I remember that. I think she must have been in town on a trip and that was her hotel room number. I don’t know which hotel. I again may have been out of town, either on a business trip or somehow for some other reason inaccessible or unavailable.

Senator HATCH. No. 6, February 6, 1985, 5:50 p.m., Anita Hill was the caller, again it said, "Please call." Another call from her to you?

Judge THOMAS. That's right.

Senator HATCH. No. 7, on March 4, 1985, at 11:15 a.m., Anita Hill called again, "Please call re research project." Do you remember that?

Judge THOMAS. I remember that, Senator.

Senator HATCH. Did you help her?

Judge THOMAS. I did. I think the—I can't remember the details, but I think she and Dean Charles Kothe were involved in some research in a fairly large project and wanted some data from EEOC, and I think we provided them with that data.

Senator HATCH. No. 8, March 4, 1985, at 11:25 a.m., call from Susan Cahall, "With Tulsa EEO office referred by Anita to see if you would come to Tulsa on 3/27 to speak at the EEO Conference." Do you remember that?

Judge THOMAS. Yes, I remember the message. I think that was—she would not have otherwise gotten through to me and used Anita's name in order to gain access to me and perhaps receive a positive response.

Senator HATCH. Mr. Chairman, I notice that my time is about up—

The CHAIRMAN. You go right ahead.

Senator HATCH [continuing]. But I just want to finish this one line, if I can.

The CHAIRMAN. No, you take all the time you want.

Senator HATCH. Thank you. I really appreciate that.

No. 9, is July 5, 1985, at 1:30 p.m., Anita Hill is the caller, "Please call," with a number clearly out of town. Do you remember that?

Judge THOMAS. Again, I remember it being in my log, Senator.

Senator HATCH. OK. No. 10, October 9, 1986, at 12:25 p.m., Anita Hill called, message, "Please call, leaving at 4:05," and an area code number. Do you remember that?

Judge THOMAS. Yes, I do.

Senator HATCH. No. 11, August 4, 1987, 4:00 p.m., Anita Hill, caller, "In town until 8:15, wanted to congratulate you on your marriage." Do you remember that?

Judge THOMAS. I remember that, Senator, because one of the—my wife and I were on a delayed honeymoon in California when she came to town.

Senator HATCH. No. 12, November 1, 1990, 11:40 a.m., Anita Hill, caller, "Re speaking engagement at University of Oklahoma School of Law." Do you remember that?

Judge THOMAS. That was since I have been on the Court of Appeals, Senator.

Senator HATCH. There are 12 phone calls between 1983 and 1990. Did you try to call her back each time?

Judge THOMAS. Senator, I tried, whenever I received calls from her or from others, I attempted to return those calls. Although, as I indicated before you started through those series of calls, I remember the messages in the log themselves, but I don't remember

the nature of each call. It would be my practice to return those calls, especially from someone such as Anita.

Senator HATCH. So, each and every time she called you, you tried to call her back and tried to help her?

Judge THOMAS. Senator, the log reflects only those calls where she was unsuccessful in reaching me.

Senator HATCH. Did you ever call her, other than to return these calls?

Judge THOMAS. Senator, I may have. Again, Anita Hill was someone that I respected and was cordial toward and felt positive toward and hopeful for her career, and I may have on occasion, and I can't remember any specific occasion, picked up the phone just to see how she was doing. Again, the calls that you have there are the calls that are reflected or that reflect her inability to get in touch with me when she had called, as opposed to the instances in which she was able to contact me successfully.

Senator HATCH. Judge Thomas, before this day, have you seen Professor Hill on various occasions since she left the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission?

Judge THOMAS. Yes, Senator. As I indicated, I recall seeing her I am certain one time and perhaps twice in Tulsa, OK, and on one of those occasions it is my recollection that we had dinner with Charles Kothe, we also had—

Senator HATCH. She was there?

Judge THOMAS [continuing]. Charles Kothe, the Dean of—

Senator HATCH. Was she there at that dinner?

Judge THOMAS [continuing]. She was at the dinner. We also had—we being Anita and myself—breakfast with Charles Kothe at his house. I usually slept at Charles Kothe's house, and I believe she drove me to the airport, and for some reason I seem to remember that she had a Peugeot.

I may be wrong on that, but I remember her being very proud of it, because, to my recollection, she did not have a car in Washington.

Senator HATCH. I see. In addition to all the phone calls, you had these contacts and these meetings. How would you describe these meetings?

Judge THOMAS. Very cordial, positive, always one—as I treat my other special assistants, I tend to be the proud father type who sees his special assistants go on and become successful and feels pretty good about it. It would be that kind of a contact, as well as her telling me how her teaching assignments were going. Indeed, that was similar to the conversation, again, that I would have with my other special assistants or former special assistants.

Senator HATCH. Overall, how would you characterize the nature of your contacts with Professor Hill since she left the EEOC in 1983?

Judge THOMAS. They have always been very cordial and very positive, Senator.

Senator HATCH. Any unpleasantness?

Judge THOMAS. Never.

Senator HATCH. Any problems ever raised?

Judge THOMAS. No, Senator.

Senator HATCH. Any questions about your conduct?

Judge THOMAS. No, Senator.

Senator HATCH. Can you think of any reason for her efforts to continue to try to be associated with you?

Judge THOMAS. Senator—could you repeat the question, Senator?

Senator HATCH. Can you think of any reason why she would want to continue this cordial professional relationship with you?

Judge THOMAS. Senator, I would hope it would have been for the same reasons that all of my other special assistants did, that I was very supportive of them. The people, some of whom you will hear from today, who have flown in, certainly at their own expense, they feel warmly toward me and have a sense of loyalty and feel that I will help them and that I will assist them as best I could, and I believe that was as part of the reason and we certainly enjoyed a cordial and professional relationship.

Senator HATCH. Before you first heard of Professor Hill's allegations during this confirmation process, did you have any reason to believe that she was unhappy with you?

Judge THOMAS. Senator, on Tuesday, September 24, the day before I heard from the FBI, I would have told you, if you asked me, that my relationship with Anita Hill was cordial, professional and that I was very proud of her for all she had done with her life and the things that she had accomplished.

Senator HATCH. Judge Thomas, this is your fourth confirmation in 9 years, isn't that correct?

Judge THOMAS. Yes, Senator. It is either my—yes, Senator, it is.

Senator HATCH. In fact, three of those confirmations occurred, the time of the allegations by Professor Hill.

Judge THOMAS. Actually this, Senator, would be the fourth.

Senator HATCH. That's right, this would be the fourth.

So she actually has known you through four Senate confirmations, four of them. No, this is the fourth. So four Senate confirmations, right?

Judge THOMAS. That's right.

Senator HATCH. And none of those have been very easy, have they?

Judge THOMAS. That's right, now that I think about it, none of my confirmations, aside from the first one, was easy.

Senator HATCH. And you had your critics in each and every one of them, didn't you?

Judge THOMAS. That is right.

Senator HATCH. Do you remember the details of each of those calls that were made that we went over?

Or do you just remember them generally?

Judge THOMAS. I remember the calls generally, Senator. I don't remember the specifics of each call. That has been quite some time.

Senator HATCH. Well, let me just say this. I have kept everybody too long and I know we can continue tomorrow, but I would like to ask this question just to end the day with and I think it is an important question. I have to say, cumulatively, these charges, even though they were made on all kinds of occasions, I mean they are unbelievable that anybody could be that perverted. I am sure there are people like that but they are generally in insane asylums. What was your reaction when you first heard of these allegations against you, just the first allegations, not all the other ones, and

then you can tell me your reaction when you heard of these ones that were brought forth for the first time today?

Judge THOMAS. Senator, when the FBI informed me of the allegation, the person first, there was shock, dismay, hurt, pain, and when he informed me of the nature of the allegations I was surprised, there was disbelief and again, hurt. And I have reached a point over the last 2 weeks, plus, I have reached a point where I can't go over each and every one of these allegations again.

As I said in my statement this morning, that when you have allegations of this nature by someone that you have thought the world of and felt that you have done the best for it is an enormously painful experience and it is one when you ask yourself, you rip at yourself, what could you have done? And why could this happen or why would it happen?

Senator HATCH. How do you feel right now, Judge, after what you have been through?

Judge THOMAS. Senator, as I indicated this morning, it just isn't worth it. And the nomination is not worth it, being on the Supreme Court is not worth it, and there is no amount of money that is worth it, there is no amount of money that can restore my name, being an associate Justice of the Supreme Court will never replace what I have been robbed of, and I would not recommend that anyone go through it.

This has been an enormously difficult experience, but I don't think that that is the worst of it. I am 43 years old and if I am not confirmed I am still the youngest member of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit. And I will go on. I will go back to my life of talking to my neighbors and cutting my grass and getting a Big Mac at McDonald's and driving my car, and seeing my kid play football. And I will live. I will have my life back. And all of this hurt has brought my family closer together, my wife and I, my mother, but that is not—so there is no pity for me. I think the country has been hurt by this process. I think we are destroying our country. We are destroying our institutions. And I think it is a sad day when the U.S. Senate can be used by interest groups, and hate mongers, and people who are interested in digging up dirt to destroy other people and who will stop at no tactics, when they can use our great political institutions for their political ends, we have gone far beyond McCarthyism. This is far more dangerous than McCarthyism. At least McCarthy was elected.

Senator HATCH. Judge, I have a lot of other questions to ask you and I think they are important questions. I think you deserve the opportunity to tell your side of this and you have done it here so far. And I have to tell you this has come down to this, one woman's allegations that are 10 years old against your lifetime of service over that same 10-year period. I have known you almost 11 years. And the person that the good professor described is not the person I have known.

We are going to talk a little bit more about this tomorrow and about what went on there and about how this could have happened. How one person's uncorroborated allegations, could destroy a career and one of the most wonderful opportunities for a young man from Pin Point, GA.

Judge THOMAS. Senator, I repeat what I said, I have been hurt by this deeply, and nothing is worth going through this. This has devastated me and it has devastated my family. It is untrue. They are lies. I have hundreds of women who work with me, and you can call them, dozens who worked closely with me on my personal staff. You can call them. You can bring them up and give them as much air time as you have given this one, one person, with uncorroborated scurrilous lies and allegations. Give them as much time and see what they say.

Senator HATCH. I hope we will do that.

Judge THOMAS. It is not just that, Senator, it is more than that. You are ruining the country. If it can happen to me it can happen to anybody, any time over any issue. Our institutions are being controlled by people who will stop at nothing. They went around this country looking for dirt, not information on Clarence Thomas, dirt. Anybody with any dirt, anything, late night calls, calls at work, calls at home, badgering, anything, give us some dirt. I think that if our country has reached this point we are in trouble. And you should feel worse for the country than you do for me.

Senator HATCH. I feel bad for both.

Mr. Chairman, I am sorry I have kept us over a little bit. I wish I could proceed further tonight but I think we will wait until tomorrow morning. I know everybody is dead tired, and I am sure you are dead tired, I know that.

So, thank you for giving me this extra time. You have always been courteous and decent, and frankly, you have run this committee through this whole process in a courteous and decent way, including the way in which you ran it with regard to the FBI report, as well. We, on this side, know that but thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me, before we go, Judge Heflin, reserved some of his time.

Senator HEFLIN. Judge Thomas, you describe Anita Hill and your relationship with her up until you heard, on September, I believe you said the 24th, as cordial, positive, had no trouble with her, in any way. Now, you make rather strong statements. Do you think that Anita Hill is lying?

Judge THOMAS. Senator, I know that what she is saying is untrue.

Senator HEFLIN. Now, what do you think that her motivations are to come here and testify?

Judge THOMAS. Senator, I have agonized over that. I have thought about it. I have thought about why she would say these things, why she would come here, why it would keep changing. I don't know.

Senator HEFLIN. Well, if you don't know, see we, in the committee, have a responsibility to figure out if she is not telling the truth, why? When you worked with her did you feel that she was a zealous civil rights supporter who was willing to consider and be only a one-interest individual?

Judge THOMAS. Senator, I cannot characterize her that way. I have not thought about her that way. But I would like to address what you said before that. I think you have more than an obligation to figure out why she would say that. I think you have an obli-