

The CHAIRMAN. Congratulations. I want to thank you. You are the only one in 27 days that has come in in 5 minutes.

As a county commissioner, you are an elected official, a member of the county commission?

Ms. FRAZIER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a job I had before this job. Be careful or you may get sent here. But thank you very—seriously, thank you very much for your testimony.

Reverend Haygood.

Reverend HAYGOOD. Yes.

#### STATEMENT OF REV. LAWRENCE F. HAYGOOD

Reverend HAYGOOD. Mr. Chairman, my Senator from the State of Alabama, Howell Heflin, we wish to thank you for the superbly excellent leadership you are providing to the people of our great State and for what you have done for us through the years.

Senator HEFLIN. I believe you ought to be allowed a little more than 5 minutes. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I can tell you when he does I will hand you the gavel.

Reverend HAYGOOD. And so we thank you, and we certainly we are proud of you. And we thank also your very able assistant, Dr. Long. And I would be remiss if I did not say thank you to my southern brother from North Carolina, Senator Thurmond.

Senator THURMOND. South Carolina.

Reverend HAYGOOD. South Carolina, Senator Thurmond, for your excellent performance.

And to the rest of the members of this Committee—

The CHAIRMAN. I must say to you, Reverend Haygood, if you are looking for extra time you better think of something nice to say about the Chairman. [Laughter.]

I mean, you can look down to either end of this table, you go this Republican from South Carolina and say good things about him, talk about him and you don't say anything about me. You have got 3 minutes, Reverend, and make it quick.

Reverend HAYGOOD. And that is exactly what I was getting ready to do, Senator Biden. [Laughter.]

To really commend you for the superbly excellent manner in which you have conducted these hearings. We thank you so much.

The CHAIRMAN. Fine. Now we will start the clock. [Laughter.]

Reverend HAYGOOD. It was Edward R. Murrow who reminded us that no nation has ever achieved greatness without being called to greatness by its leaders.

During the past decade, Judge Clarence Thomas has called America to greatness. Regarded as the rejected stone by the black leadership establishment Judge Clarence Thomas has now become the chief cornerstone of brotherhood, human equality, and individual liberty, in the land of the free and the home of the grave.

Judge Thomas has carved out a pathway for the new black leadership of the future, and he has left it a legacy that is firm, workable, excellent, compassionate, sagacious, and competitive. Judge Clarence Thomas has proven that he possesses those attributes of

judicial prudence, integrity, and ability essential to serve as an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

His character, energy, compassion, and intellect have positively excited the American public, and the public is demanding his expeditious confirmation. Frederick Douglas has reminded us that "Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never has and it never will."

Kind, genteel, and urbane, Judge Thomas has emptied his life into the lives of the oppressed, the downtrodden, the poor, the forgotten, and the less change people of the times. He has been faithful to the Biblical injunction: "Undo the heavy burdens of the poor and let the oppressed go free."

Impartial, honest, and caring, Judge Thomas, during the past 10 years, has implemented action that is affirmative based on self-help, hard work, discipline, empowerment, excellent of performance, individual rights, personal responsibility, and credible enforcement of civil rights in behalf of all Americans.

Judge Thomas believes that the Constitution is colorblind and that it serves as a basis for diligently working toward a colorblind society. The Constitution, he believes, is a safe harbor that protects individual rights, inherent equality, human dignity, and equal opportunity for all.

Judge Thomas has indicated that welfare dependency has served as a narcotic to those who have been enslaved by it. Our task as leaders is to empower those who are dependent upon public assistance to move from a cycle of dependency to a cycle of self-sufficiency. This can best be done, according to the nominee, through education and training. Education and training is the key which unlocks the door to success and achievement.

The poor, themselves, have the responsibility of ushering in a new culture of character and a rebirth of good manners by rejecting crime, drugs, violence, apathy, and illiteracy. The poor must remember the words of Mr. Myers Anderson: "Mr. Can't is dead. I buried him."

Judge Thomas is a firm advocate of preparation. Recalling President Lincoln, he said, "I will prepare myself and when the time comes I will be ready." Judge Thomas prepared himself, the time has come, and he is ready to serve as an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Judge Thomas cares enough to make a difference and to change the world for many people so that they may enjoy a more refined quality of life and thereby insure that this Nation, under God, shall not perish from the Earth.

Thank you, and we urge your confirmation of Senator and Judge Clarence Thomas.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Reverend.

Let me out of respect yield to your senior Senator for questions first.

Senator HEFLIN. I don't believe I have any questions. The only thing is that I see we have a Holifield and a Frazier on the panel. Is there any pugilistic influence in regard to this? You know, we got Evander Holifield from Alabama.

Ms. HOLIFIELD. Yes, Senator. My name is spelled H-o-l-i-f-i-e-l-d, but my husband's father's name is spelled H-o-l-y-f-i-e-l-d. He changed it when he went to California.

Senator HEFLIN. All right. I don't believe I have any questions. The CHAIRMAN. Senator Thurmond?

Senator THURMOND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to welcome all of you here. I was just thinking about the contrast in testimony, three professors testified earlier this afternoon and now hearing your testimony. This panel talks like humanitarians. You sound like you love people. And that you look for the good in people. And I am so glad to have you here.

I am not going to take up a lot of time. I would just ask two questions from all of you. If you will just answer them starting with Ms.—is it Holifield? Then Ms. Bryant. Then Ms. Frazier. And then Reverend Haygood.

Is it your opinion that Judge Thomas is highly qualified and possesses the necessary integrity, professional competence and judicial temperament to be an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court? If so, answer yes. If not, no.

Ms. HOLIFIELD. Yes, Senator.

Senator HEFLIN. Your answer is yes. And Ms. Bryant?

Ms. BRYANT. Yes, Senator.

Senator HEFLIN. Your answer is yes. Ms. Frazier?

Ms. FRAZIER. I would like the Senator to read one part of the resolution that my fellow Commissioners signed, and I think that would speak for itself, if I may.

Senator HEFLIN. All right. Go ahead.

Ms. FRAZIER. Whereas, Judge Thomas has proved worthy of the nomination with his service as Director of U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and mostly recently as a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals, the immediate appellate court to the U.S. Supreme Court, Judge Thomas' confirmation would not only recognize his judicial qualities but also continue the inspiration for black Americans that Justice Thurgood Marshall helped to establish, and whereas it appears that Judge Thomas must stand a different test—judgement of his beliefs because of his race—his judicial demeanor and integrity remain about reproach.

Therefore, the Board of Commissioners of Chatham County to hereby resolve its support for Clarence Thomas.

And that is a diverse board, I would like you to know. We have four Republicans, five Democrats, three females.

Senator THURMOND. Now, what organization is that? Repeat that for the record.

Ms. FRAZIER. That is the Chatham County Board of Commissioners, Savannah, GA.

Senator THURMOND. Is that county?

Ms. FRAZIER. County. That is correct.

Senator THURMOND. County council in Chatham County.

Ms. FRAZIER. That is correct.

Senator THURMOND. And that is composed how many people?

Ms. FRAZIER. Nine.

Senator THURMOND. How many Democrats and how many Republicans?

Ms. FRAZIER. We have five Democrats and four Republicans.

Senator THURMOND. I see.

Ms. FRAZIER. Three females.

Senator THURMOND. And this is action by them?

Ms. FRAZIER. Pardon me?

Senator THURMOND. And this is action that they took?

Ms. FRAZIER. Yes, sir. On last Friday.

Senator THURMOND. So I presume your answer then is yes to the question I propounded.

Ms. FRAZIER. Yes, sir. Unanimous.

Senator THURMOND. Reverend Haygood?

Reverend HAYGOOD. Yes, sir, Senator.

Senator THURMOND. Second question. Do you know of any reason why Clarence Thomas should not be made a member of the Supreme Court?

Ms. HOLIFIELD. The answer is no, Senator.

Senator THURMOND. Ms. Holifield, no. Ms. Bryant?

Ms. BRYANT. No, Senator.

Senator THURMOND. No. Ms. Frazier?

Ms. FRAZIER. No, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Reverend Haygood?

Reverend HAYGOOD. No, sir, Senator.

Senator THURMOND. That is all the questions I have. I want to thank you for coming, participating in this hearing and adding, I think, greatly to the outcome of the hearing. Thank you very much for your presence.

Reverend HAYGOOD. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator.

The Senator from Wyoming?

Senator SIMPSON. Mr. Chairman, I thank you, and I am very pleased that I was here to hear these remarks from these fine people because you have a way of cutting through the fog that sometimes envelopes us here as we get into very highly technical stuff.

And it is fascinating sometimes. I learn from it too, but I am sure that the American public, and the vast majority of them, don't have the slightest idea what we are talking about. And nor do they care.

They want to know who this man is that is going to sit and judge, and that is what we are going to do with them—he will be appointed to judge—and who is he. And when you find people like you who, who some earlier ones have known him, and as I said before, I have never seen a more extraordinary outpouring of support by people who know him intimately, and then people who do not. And I believe that you, Ms. Holifield, do not—you had never known him before your, personally that is, before your action in California.

Ms. HOLIFIELD. That is correct, Senator.

Senator SIMPSON. And you have praised his philosophy of self-help and self-reliance, and certain witnesses at this hearing and during these proceedings have described Judge Thomas as being "outside the mainstream," which is a sinister, supposed to be a sinister thing, and I haven't found that at all.

Now you are an educator, a college trustee. I served as a trustee of a small college in Wyoming for 8 years, found it absolutely fascinating. I am sure you do too. And an activist.

And so you have—there you are, and all of you are active in your community, and so you have an opportunity to learn what real people are thinking about this nomination process.

Ms. HOLIFIELD. Yes.

Senator SIMPSON. What do they think about Judge Thomas, whether he is in the mainstream or not, and how he feels about the things that are so critical to them, like self-help and coming from nothing and self-reliance and doing the job?

Ms. HOLIFIELD. Senator, all the people that I talk to on an everyday basis, they are very proud of Judge Clarence Thomas and they feel that this philosophy that he has developed on self-help and self-reliance really needs to be implemented. We need to go back to our roots where we came from. Self-help and self-reliance is no new programs for minorities. Somewhere down the line, we got away from it, so we need to back to that.

Senator SIMPSON. You have placed your entire statement in the record, but you did not get to give it all and it is powerful stuff. I loved what you said about those in the Congress who are black who have judged him.

Ms. HOLIFIELD. Yes.

Senator SIMPSON. You left that out and that is a powerful statement, because I know many members of the Black Caucus and I honestly know some of them who are embarrassed, because they came out too fast, too sure, speaking for their people.

Ms. HOLIFIELD. Yes.

Senator SIMPSON. I loved what you said—I will not go into it all, it is right there in the record—

Ms. HOLIFIELD. Senator, I put my whole heart into writing this. I just skip back and forth, trying to give you as much as I could, but it took me about 3 weeks to write that speech.

Senator SIMPSON. Let me tell you, it is one that everyone ought to read, because it is powerful.

I loved your statement, where you said, "Honorable Senators, 26 blacks in Congress do not represent 30 million people, any more than 26 whites in Congress who represent 200 million white people, not ignoring every other ethnic group."

Ms. HOLIFIELD. Yes.

Senator SIMPSON. That is a powerful and realistic statement. There is no monolithic white vote that any white Senator can speak for, but you see there has been one for blacks, and that is falling apart.

Ms. HOLIFIELD. Yes, Senator.

Senator SIMPSON. Is that the way you see it?

Ms. HOLIFIELD. Yes, I do.

Senator SIMPSON. Well, that is sure the way I see it, too, and it is a frightening prospect for people who are not used to that. That is the way countries grow and groups grow.

Apparently, Clarence Thomas came to your college and spoke in 1986.

Ms. HOLIFIELD. Yes, he did.

Senator SIMPSON. And you heard him then?

Ms. HOLIFIELD. Yes.

Senator SIMPSON. And he said, "Do not become obsessed with all that is wrong with our race, we are not beggars or objects of charity, rather, become obsessed with looking for solutions to our problems. Be tolerant," Judge Thomas stated, "of all the positive ideas, their numbers are smaller, that there are countless numbers of problems to be solved and we need all the hope and help we can get."

So, that must have been quite a stirring talk he gave then.

Ms. HOLIFIELD. Yes.

Senator SIMPSON. Well, he is a role model and he proved that in his testimony here. But this entire thing, I do not know how long it took you, but that is really beautifully done, and I appreciated reading it.

Ms. HOLIFIELD. Thank you, Senator.

Senator SIMPSON. I appreciated hearing from another elected official, Deanie Frazier, from the County Commissioners, and you talked about—did you use the phrase "highfalutin legal experts"?

Ms. FRAZIER. That is not quite—

Senator SIMPSON. You did, didn't you? I loved that. It struck a chord in me. [Laughter.]

Testifying about things that ordinary people do not know about nor care about. You not only stayed within the time limits, and the Chairman is very tough on us when we go against, but he was pretty good and he is very fair.

But you have said some important things about the nomination and the process that we use to carry out this process. What we do, we have our very best legal and constitutional scholars and experts and authorities pass on these nominations that we receive. I believe that is important, but as you point out, we hear a lot of highfalutin testimony, much of which is not understood by some of the people who might catch these proceedings on a busy day of doing their work and going to their jobs and raising their babies.

You have testified as to Judge Thomas' character, and some of these experts have said that character is the most important of the qualities we seek in this job.

Some have said today that what Judge Clarence Thomas has said is not believable. I find that quite offensive, frankly. And some have said that words are wonderful, but no action in his whole life is a pattern of action. I think that your comment, Ms. Holifield, that some of those folks should reactivate their creative thinking skills—you used capital letters on each one of those words, and I love it.

Ms. HOLIFIELD. Yes, because that is important.

Senator SIMPSON. Yes, it is.

Obviously, you find that one who is obviously pleased with what you are saying, but, more importantly than that, I would ask Evelyn Bryant, yours was as very moving statement and you mentioned his accomplishments.

Some have suggested, including those in leadership positions in the black community here in Washington principally, that "Clarence Thomas has forgotten his roots"—that is a phrase now in quotation marks—"forgotten his roots, forgotten how he got to where he is today." How would you respond to those charges?

Ms. BRYANT. Well, I do not know where they got the idea from. If you recall in my statement, his relatives, a lot of his relatives still live in Eastern Liberty County, and one person in particular, his first cousin, Mr. Fuller, who is 91 years old, he is in constant contact with Clarence.

In fact, he came up with us on the bus last month when we came here. He is 91 years old and he is in close contact and he loves Clarence to the point where he took a 10-hour bus trip just to support him. So, if there is that type of family closeness with a 91-year-old to come this far just to support a first cousin, who calls him on a weekly or every 2 week basis, that is not forgetting your roots, because he is 91 and he is not forgotten. They are very close.

Senator SIMPSON. Reverend Haygood, finally, what would it mean to people in your congregation and your church—how many are in your congregation?

Reverend HAYGOOD. We simply have about 300 right now.

Senator SIMPSON. What would it mean to them to have a role model like Clarence Thomas on the U.S. Supreme Court?

Reverend HAYGOOD. It would really make the difference. Just before I came here, I shared it with one of the young people in our group, and he said that "Clarence Thomas is a person that I trust, he's someone I can look up to, for me he is a role model."

I think in terms of today's communities, particularly in the black community, where there is crime, where drugs are moving on a daily basis, where there is violence, we need role models who have achieved, who can reach back from whence they have come and lift up those who are farthest down. Indeed, the real purpose of leadership is to lift up persons who are farthest down.

The whole debate between Booker T. Washington and W.B. DuBois was a debate concerning methodology. The goal essentially was the same, but they adhered to the philosophy that we must lift up persons who are farthest down, because as we lift up persons who are farthest down, everybody above them will be lifted up, as well.

Senator SIMPSON. Well, I thank you.

Mr. Chairman, if I may enter into the record just as brief portion of the results of a poll recently released just yesterday by ABC News—I am not much on polling, but I think it surely shows that these groups within the beltway, the views of the special interest groups who oppose this nomination are met nowhere out in the United States, in any part of the United States, in any region of the United States, and so there is going to be a great retooling going on within those groups, as I see it, within these next months.

I ask unanimous consent that be included in the record, and I thank you very much for the stirring testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection.

[The information referred to follows:]