London or Moscow or any other part of the world to automatically defer to Judge Thomas and assume that a judge on the Supreme Court, you know, speaks with more authority and has more credibility than a Congressman, and that's the way it is going to be. He is going to be in a position where he can do great harm to the things that we believe in and to the people that we represent.

Mr. Washington. Senator, let me just say, in chess, as you know, there's a saying that if black moves first, black will most often win, not because of the color, it doesn't matter what the colors are, but the piece that moves first in chess, two similarly situated chess players playing, the person who moves first is more likely to win than the other, which comes to the question, it seems to me, that

you raise about Judge Thomas.

I think the question is not whether if the Senate, in its wisdom, rejects this nomination, whether we are likely to get a white person or a Hispanic person or a woman or someone else, the question is whether they are qualified. If you turn that question over, the other side is, if he were a white person, if he were a woman, if he were a Hispanic, if he were anything other than black, with the paucity of qualifications that he brings with him and the grievances that have been unearthed at these hearings and before, is it any question that there would be a good deal of resentment and a good deal of opposition to him.

We have come too far—I don't mean black people, I mean all people, I mean America has come too far since the Civil War, since the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments, we didn't come all the way to here to say, when it comes down to it, that the color of the skin matters more than anything else. If he is not qualified, he is not qualified. If he is not qualified, making him black does not make

him qualified.

Mr. Lewis. Senator Simon, let me just respond by saying this man is very young, and if he is conformed by the Senate, he will be on the Court for many, many years to come. He will emerge as a symbol, as a symbol for hundreds, for thousands and millions of African-Americans. Is this the symbol that we want, as African-Americans?

The Supreme Court, during the 1960's, starting in 1954 and during the 1960's, created a climate, an environment to make this country something different, something better. We don't want to go back.

Senator Simon. I thank all of you, and I thank Senator Thurmond for yielding.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Thurmond.

Senator Thurmond. Thank you.

I want to welcome you all today to this hearing, not only as Democratic Congressmen, I believe you all are Democrats, but also

as prominent Democratic leaders.

I want to mention one thing about Congressman Stokes regarding the White House report. Judge Thomas testified that he contributed the housing section to this report, but that he did not endorse the whole report. I thought I would mention that for your information. I don't think you distinguished that difference in your statement.