

they were concerned. Any member could have insisted on at least an executive session, where neither of you would have had to have appeared in public, or any member could have insisted on an open session. The committee could have voted.

These FBI reports are extremely important and they have raw data, raw information. They take down what people tell them and that is why they are not to be leaked to the press or anywhere else, and that is why these rules are so important. And had an appropriate, fair procedure been followed, you would not have been dragged through the media and through all of these other things that both of you have been dragged through, that both of you have suffered from, as you have.

I have to say that I hope I never see that happen again to anybody in any confirmation proceeding, let alone a confirmation for a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America.

Having said that, I wish you well and I won't make any further comments at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Senator DeConcini.

Senator DeCONCINI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Professor Hill, I join in realizing the difficulty of today's proceedings. It is very obvious and I appreciate that immensely. Sexual harassment is not as new as maybe some members seem to think it is. I just remember, as a young boy, my mother telling me about sexual harassment on her job and losing her job when she was 22 years old. So I grew up with that in my mind. She mentioned it several times as I grew in age.

I had dinner with her the night before last and she got choked up just telling me again about it 60 years later.

So, it is a subject that is very sensitive. Obviously, men have a more difficult time, I believe, of understanding it, but I do believe there are many men in this Senate, in the House of Representatives and other political offices that indeed are sensitive as much as a man can be.

Now, one of the areas that intrigued me today was Senator Heflin's questions of motives. I am not at all indicating any diminution of your motive, but I am interested in your answers to some of those.

Before I ask you that, do you see anything positive coming out of what you have been through here today and the last week or so of this ordeal, other than increasing the awareness of sexual harassment in the workplace? Is there any single thing you see more significant than that coming out of this?

Ms. HILL. Yes, Senator.

Senator DeCONCINI. What do you see as the most significant public thing coming out of this unfortunate experience that you have had to go through now?

Ms. HILL. Other than creating awareness, I see that the information is going to be fully explored, the information that I provided will be fully explored, it will be given a full hearing. In addition, I think that coming out, my coming forward may encourage other people to come forward, other people who have had the same experiences who have not been able to talk about them.

Senator DECONCINI. That would be raising the awareness of sexual harassment in the public.

Ms. HILL. Raising the awareness, but also giving people courage.

Senator DECONCINI. And giving people the courage to step forward and do what you did not do 10 years ago or 6 years ago or even 2 years ago, but you are doing today?

Ms. HILL. Yes.

Senator DECONCINI. Is your motive also an attempt to clear your name from any degrading publicity that has occurred? Do you feel put upon? Do you feel exposed?

Mr. HILL. Coming here today?

Senator DECONCINI. Do you feel injured and damaged as a result of this, even though you obviously have committed yourself to proceed with it?

Ms. HILL. You mean my motive in coming here today or something that I think will be a positive thing from coming here today?

Senator DECONCINI. No, I mean is your motive also to help clarify to the public your own position on sexual harassment, due to the publicity that has resulted from this being brought up to the forefront? Is that one of your motives? Is that one of the reasons you came forward? In other words, was your reputation one of the reasons you came forward. Do you feel that your reputation was being degraded or impugned by the fact that this was printed all over the press and that people were making countercharges and questioning your motives, and what have you? Is that one of the reasons?

Ms. HILL. I definitely—coming here today, yes, I did want to accomplish that. There were a number of very ugly and nasty things that have been said, and I did want to come forward and tell my side.

Senator DECONCINI. Do you think, now having told your side and responded to these questions, that your reputation from your standpoint could ever be fully restored?

Ms. HILL. Not in the minds of many, never, it will not be.

Senator DECONCINI. And in your opinion, Professor Hill, is there any single group or entity that you think caused more damage to you? I am interested in your perception. It seems to me that those who leaked this information certainly caused damage. The press, in my opinion, should be on trial, because they did not have to print this, but they elected to do so. In this country, as we all know they can print anything they want, true or false. Then the committee made a judgment to not address these allegations, and I think that is certainly on trial.

Obviously, Judge Thomas is on trial, though this is not a trial. You are on trial, in the sense of credibility here. Is the committee more culpable for causing you to have to come forward, is the press more culpable, or is everyone equally culpable?

Ms. HILL. I think it is just the reality, Senator, of this situation, the nature of this complaint and I cannot point my finger at any one entity and say you are responsible for it.

Senator DECONCINI. But you said earlier—and correct me if I am wrong—that you did not want today to be what it is, that you had hoped that you could just get the information to this committee, and ultimately you agreed that your name could be used only among the committee members. You had hoped that that would be

sufficient for the members to make a judgment, and that you would not have to do what you are doing today. Is that correct?

Ms. HILL. Yes.

Senator DECONCINI. Yes. Now, that did not happen or we would not be here today. Would you repeat why you think we are here? Why did you have to come forward and make this public presentation, when you had hoped just to bring this information to the committee, without having to do what you are doing today?

Ms. HILL. Well, I think that there are a number of factors. I think that however the material was leaked, that was one factor. I believe that the press is a factor, but I think, in addition, that the information is just going before the public that wants to know and wants to know about this, and so I think, again, there is a variety of situations and factors that caused this to occur today.

Senator DECONCINI. Let me ask you this, if I can, Professor Hill: If this information had not been leaked, would you have come forward in this public forum?

Ms. HILL. No.

Senator DECONCINI. If the press had not published or read your statement to you, and left you with the distinct impression that they were going to publish it, would you still have felt obligated to come forward in this public way?

Ms. HILL. I do not believe that I would have come forward.

Senator DECONCINI. You would not have come forward.

Ms. HILL. I do not believe I would have.

Senator DECONCINI. So, it is safe to say that because the information was first leaked and then made public, that you felt that you no longer could proceed with what you originally felt was proper, which was making the information available only to the committee and not in a public forum. Is that a fair statement?

Ms. HILL. Yes.

Senator DECONCINI. Thank you. I won't be very much longer.

Another concern I have is, when you were at the Department of Education and these, in my terms, God-awful things occurred—grotesque, ugly, I don't know how else I can depict them. Obviously they were extremely offensive, and you did not want them to continue, so you attempted to inform the person that you didn't want them to continue. I have a difficult time understanding, and it is obviously because I am not a woman and have not had that kind of personal experience, I have a difficult time understanding, but how could you tolerate that treatment, even though you didn't have another job? I realize that this is part of the whole problem of sexual harassment in the work place, the fact that women tolerate it.

Maybe you explained this sufficiently, but if you wouldn't mind repeating to me what went through your mind: Why, No. 1, you would stay there after this happened several times; and, No. 2, even though it ceased for a few months, why you would proceed on to another job with someone that hadn't just asked you out and pressed you, but had gotten into the explanations and explorations of the anatomy with you?

Ms. HILL. Well, I think it is very difficult to understand, Senator, and in hindsight it is even difficult for me to understand, but I have to take the situation as it existed at that time. At that time, staying seemed the only reasonable choice. At that time, staying

was the way that—in a way, a choice that I made because I wanted to do the work. I in fact believed that I could make that choice to do the work, and that is what I wanted to do, and I did not want to let that kind of behavior control my choices.

So I attempted to end the behavior, and for some time the behavior did stop. I attempted to make that effort. And so the choice to continue with the same person to another agency involved a belief that I had stopped the behavior that was offensive.

Senator DECONCINI. Is it safe to say, then, Ms. Hill—based on the readings that I have done in this area by professionals who counsel on it—that you were willing to stuff this inside you and go on with your life and keep it from exploding?

Is that a safe assumption? We all have done that under different circumstances. We stuff certain things in and don't explode or react. Is that one way of describing what you did?

Ms. HILL. I did repress a number of my feelings about it, to allow myself to go on and to continue.

Senator DECONCINI. Is it safe to say that you did this for a long period of time?

Ms. HILL. Yes, I did.

Senator DECONCINI. And you obviously saw Chairman Thomas move on to bigger and better positions, including being appointed to an appellate court judge, and still you did not take any action. Did you, at that time, again repress your feelings and have to keep it down? Do you recall going through that any other time?

Ms. HILL. Well, at some point over the last few years, or at various points, I think that I have dealt with many of my repressed feelings about this. I have just dealt with them on my own.

Senator DECONCINI. You didn't hire or solicit any counseling or any assistance. You just dealt with it on your own?

Ms. HILL. Dealt with them on my own.

Senator DECONCINI. And finally we are here today where it is all over, so to speak. It is all out, not that by any means there won't be repercussions, but you finally have let it all out.

Ms. HILL. Well, that is my feeling, but one has to consider that even before this point I had dealt with the feelings of humiliation, realizing that none of this was my fault, and had dealt with a sense that I was helpless to confront this kind of a situation again, so many of the feelings have been dealt with.

Senator DECONCINI. And the fact that you admit that in retrospect maybe you should have done something, do you conclude that it is all someone else's fault, and not your own?

Ms. HILL. Yes.

Senator DECONCINI. Is that your frame of mind?

Ms. HILL. That is my frame of mind.

Senator DECONCINI. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for the additional time.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Senator SIMPSON.

Senator SIMPSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, there are two additional documents here, and I am asking and take your advice, from the two FBI agents who are—if this has been furnished for over two hours under the