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TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

UNITED STATES SENATE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

CONFIRMATION MEDARENG

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Washington, D. C. Maxel 20, 1986

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3	And of the second secon	Statements Of:	
4	1	Hon. Hank Sanders, Alabama State Senator,	
5		Montgomery, Alabama; Rev. O.C. Dobynes, Perry	
6		County, Alabama; Deval L. Patrick, Assistant	
7	: -	Counsel, Legal Defense Fund, New York, New York;	
8		Thomas Figures, Attorney, Figures, Ludgood & Figures,	
9	ŀ	Mobile, Alabama	3
10	1	Panel 3	
11	(' 	Statements Of:	
12		Hon. Braxton Kittrell, Judge, Thirteenth Judicial	
13	Annual to the state of the stat	Circuit, Mobile, Alabama; Rev. Ben Sawada, Ashland	
14		Place United Methodist Church, Mobile, Alabama;	
15	1	George Horn, Mobile County Republican Executive	
16	1 1	Committee, Mobile, Alabama; Bobby Eddy, Chief	
17	i i	Investigator, District Attorney's Office, Mobile	
18	i.	Alabama	116
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CONFIRMATION HEARING

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THURSDAY, MARCH 20, 1986

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United States Senate, Committee on the Judiciary,

Washington, D. C.

The Committee met, pursuant to recess, at 2:14 p.m. in Room 226 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Jeremiah 10 Denton, presiding.

Others present: Senators McConnell, Kennedy, Heflin, Simon, DeConcini, and East.

Senator Denton. Good afternoon. This hearing will come 15 to order.

We had planned to have two panels today. We also just learned that Congressman Conyers and State Senator Mitchell 18 I from Michigan and Maryland, respectively, who could not appear yesterday, will appear today.

I just learned that they are voting, at the moment, on the "contra" issue and will be permitted to interrupt, as is the custom, to give their testimony when they arrive.

In the meantime, we will call the first panel--and I will ask them to remain standing as they approach the table: the Honorable Hank Sanders, Alabama State Senator,

Montgomery, Alabama; Reverend O. C. Dobynes, Perry County,

Alabama; Deval L. Patrick, Assistant Counsel, Legal Defense

Fund, New York, New York; and Thomas Figures, Attorney,

Figures, Ludgood & Figures, Mobile, Alabama.

Gentlemen, if you will raise your right hands. Do you swear that the testimony you will give today before this Committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

[Witnesses answer in the affirmative]
Please be seated.

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Mr. Sanders, you were the first one in order on this list, so I will ask Alabama State Senator, the Honorable Hank Sanders, if he has an opening statement.

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STATEMENTS OF HON. HANK SANDERS, ALABAMA

STATE SENATOR, MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA; REV.

O. C. DOBYNES, PERRY COUNTY, ALABAMA; DEVAL

L. PATRICK, ASSISTANT COUNSEL, LEGAL DEFENSE

FUND, NEW YORK, NEW YORK; THOMAS FIGURES,

ATTORNEY, FIGURES, LUDGOOD & FIGURES, MOBILE,

Mr. Sanders. Mr. Chairman, if you would permit, I would like to yield to Mr. Figures to go first—with your permis—

Senator Denton. I have no objection to that. We will call on Attorney Thomas Figures of Figures, Ludgood & Figures, Mobile, Alabama.

Mr. Figures. Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, I appreciate this opportunity to testify before this Committee regarding the nomination of Jefferson B. Sessions for the position of United Stattes district Judge for the Southern District of Alabama.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to preface my testimony about this nomination with a brief statement about a related matter. Since the possibility first arose that Mr. Sessions might be nominated for judgeship, I felt that whatever I might have to say on this matter should be said to this Committee and not to the press.

As a former prosecutor, I am well aware of the potentially unfair impact of premature publicity. Over the past hine
months, I have repeatedly declined to discuss my testimony
with the press. I have not issued press releases; I have
declined invitations to be interviewed by reporters from
Washington and Alabama; and I have made it clear to other
individuals who oppose this nomination that I did not want
to talk with the press.

21.

During the past ten days, I have supplied the Committee with two prepared statements. One was provided prior to last week's hearing. A supplemental statement, which was typed yesterday morning, was given to the Committee staff midday yesterday. And an hour or two later, at the suggestion of the staff, copies were placed on the press table.

Because the Committee recessed yesterday before I was able to testify, portions of my supplemental statement appeared in today's newspapers, even though the Committee had not had a chance to question me about that statement.

That was a development which I, nor the Committee, intended, but one which yesterday's necessary adjournment apparently made inevitable.

Now, with respect to my statement that was furnished yesterday, in the interests of time I will not read the entire statement. But there are some matters addressed in the statement which I would like to read into the record.

I served as an Assistant United States Attorney in the district--that is the Southern District of Alabama--from September of 1978 to July of 1985.

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During the last four years that I held that position, Mr. Sessions was the United States Attorney. During those years Mr. Sessions and I had frequent discussions regarding matters in the office, and we tried or worked together on a number of cases.

I would like to address the first portion of my testimony to a number of statements that Mr. Sessions made regarding civil rights or racial issues.

At the hearing last week, Mr. Sessions offered a number of accounts and explanations of several of these statements. In order to provide a background against which to evaluate that testimony, I would like to describe the events which I saw and heard in the United States Attorney's Office itself.

First, I was not present when Mr. Sessions made to Mr. Hebert the remarks described last week regarding the NAACP, the ACLU, and the National Council of Churches. However, Mr. Sessions made a very similar remark to me on a separate occasion.

On the day in question, Mr. Sessions came into my office just as I was reading a newspaper account of some then-recent action of the NAACP. I casually mentioned that development to Mr. Sessions. Mr. Sessions, in response, stated that he

Conference, Operation Push, and the National Council of Churches were all un-American organizations teaching anti-American values.

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This statement clearly was not intended as a joke.

Mr. Sessions was extremely grave as he spoke, and he raised his voice. Mr. Sessions did not refer to foreign policy or any other specific action. But he spoke as a man gravely concerned by the threat which he believed these organizations posed to American values.

He chose his words carefully, distinguishing, quote, un-American, unquote, activities from, quote, subversive, close quote, activities; and making clear that he regarded the groups as un-American but not subversive.

At no time in this exchange did Mr. Sessions refer to the opinions of third parties regarding the NAACP, SCLC, Push, or the Council of Churches.

He was without question describing his personal and manifestly deeply felt position.

Second: I was present when Mr. Sessions made the remark described last week regarding the Ku Klux Klan, stating that he thought its members were okay until he learned that they smoked marijuana.

Whatever Mr. Sessions view of the Klan may be today, the remark that he made during the Donald case, indicating

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that he only objected to the Klan because of drug use by its members, was not made in a joking manner. I certainly took it as a serious matter. Mr. Kowalski on the other hand apparently did not take this remark as seriously as I did.

The cartoon which the Committee circulated yesterday reflected my view that Mr. Sessions' remark was serious as well as my feeling that his remark was entirely inappropriate. The original cartoon was a criticism of President Reagan's attitude toward the Civil Rights Commission. I added a new caption to change the cartoon into a criticism of Mr. Sessions' remark about the Klan.

The fact that I, like the original author of the cartoon, expressed that criticism in the form of a cartoon, does not mean that either of us did not regard the problem at issue as a serious or important one.

As a result of a disagreement between Mr. Sessions and myself regarding the handling of a particular case, Mr. Sessions said, referring to me, quote, he must think this is New York; this is Alabama; close quote.

In his testimony last week, Mr. Sessions acknowledged having made this remark. Mr. Sessions testified that he thought he had made the remark in connection with the Sammy Murray case. That was a falso claim indictment which the government ultimately dismissed because of the appearance that Mr. Murray's supervisors had sought the indictment

as part of a vendetta against Mr. Murray.

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Prior to the dismissal of that indictment Mr. Sessions and I had a number of discussions during which I urged that it would be a serious injustice to continue the case, while Mr. Sessions initially resisted dismissing the matter.

My own best recollection is that Mr. Sessions made the remark about New York and Alabama not regarding the Murray case, but during the course of a discussion about whether to pursue a criminal civil rights investigation.

The exact context in which this remark was made, however, is not critical. I thought this remark inappropriate when I heard it, as I do today, because it appears to rest on the assumption that the standards of conduct and justice appropriate for a United States Attorney in New York and elsewhere in this country somehow do not apply in Alabama.

Reasonable attorneys can and will disagree about the handling of particular cases within the Justice Department, but the laws and constitutional guarantees government attorneys enforce should be enforced in an evenhanded manner throughout the nation.

Federal laws and constitutional provisions that would protect a Sammy Murray or anyone else in New York are just as applicable and should be implemented with equal vigor in Alabama and any other State in the Union.

have focussed my testimony on civil rights cases, and

my statement, and activities, because this is the area about which the Committee is particularly concerned.

In all fairness to Mr. Sessions, however, I should make clear that the problems which existed in the area of civil rights were not present in other aspects of my case assignments.

Except in criminal civil rights cases, Mr. Sessions deferred to my recommendations regarding whether to pursue cases, and never withdrew a case assignment because he disagreed with my recommendation.

During the period that Mr. Sessions has served as United States Attorney, his office has made substantial progress in rooting out political corruption in the City of Mobile. The Hogan and Sullivan case, in which Mr. Sessions was personally involved, was a major step towards reducing bribes and casefixing in the State court system.

Let me say in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, that I take no satisfaction in testifying on this matter. This nomination has prompted often bitter disagreement among lawyers and others in Southern Alabama, and any sensible person might prefer to stay out of that controversy.

As you heard yesterday, several of the State judges before whom I practice, and a number of the lawyers with whom I have to work, feel very strongly about Mr. Sessions and differ with my opinion.

But I, like the witnesses who have supported Mr.

Sessions, have an obligation to bring before the Committee material evidence that bears on whether or not the nominee should be confirmed.

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I believe my obligation to do so is particularly clear.

Over the last four years I have dealt with Mr. Sessions

day in and day out regarding not just one or two prosecutions,

but scores of cases. I have had discussions with Mr. Sessions

at which others simply were not present.

If I failed to testify about such discussions, the Committee would have no other way of obtaining that information.

In passing on Mr. Sessions' nomination, the Committee should of course consider his entire record, the good as well as the bad.

Based on my own experience with and knowledge regarding Mr. Sessions, however, I am convinced that the Committee should disapprove his nomination.

The statements that he has made fall far short of the high standards that should be required of a Federal judge and are inconsistent with the sense of fairness shared by most Alabamians, white as well as black, laymen as well as lawyers.

Thank you. I would like to submit the rest of my statement for the record.

[The following was received for the record:]

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Senator Simon. Mr. Chairman, if I could have your consent, I am going to have to leave for another meeting.

If I could ask just one question of the witness, if
there would be no objection?

5 Senator Denton. Without objection.

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Senator Simon. Would it be fair to characterize Mr.

Sessions as an able, decent person but simply not sensitive

in this area?

Mr. Figures. Senator Simon, I believe that the statements and actions of Mr. Sessions regarding race, and regarding civil rights, impact tremendously on whether he is decent.

And for that reason I could not conclude, based on those statements and those actions, that he has the sufficient perspective and integrity to serve as a Federal judge.

Senator Simon. I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Denton. Now, Mr. Figures, you mentioned when you began that it was inevitable that your testimony would be used.

It is interesting that it was used before you testified.

I say that as no reflection upon you or the Committee. I

don't think anybody intended that that be done.

I bring it up because in the CBS News, which was selected to reflect what happened at yesterday's hearing, it was my information that they went back to two incidents which occurred last Thursday at the hearing in which most

Is it true that shortly after Mr. Sessions became U.S. Attorney he told you that he wanted you to continue to handle civil rights cases?

Mr. Figures. Yes, sir.

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Senator Denton. Further, that he specifically told you that he encouraged you to come to him to discuss any problems that you saw in the civil rights area because he wanted to ensure that those cases were properly handled?

Mr. Figures. Yes, sir, he said that. And that course of action took place up to a certain point in time.

Senator Denton. Is it true that Mr. Sessions had an open-door policy for anyone in the office who wished to discuss a case or matter with him?

Mr. Figures. He had an open-door policy with respect to discussion of cases.

Insofar as matters are concerned, I recall early in Mr. Sessions' tenure going in to discuss with him a couple of matters that arose from situations where I felt that I had been offended or not treated in accord with my professionalism, which I tried to maintain. And on those occasions Mr. Sessions, for some reason, tried to convince me that I was the one who caused the situation in the first

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place, and that there was nothing that he was going to do
about it.

After talking with him with respect to those situations

I thereafter declined to discuss anything with him other

than matters pertaining to cases. Because my judgment was

that I was not going to obtain a fair shake with respect to

criticism of acts directed toward me which I thought

unprofessional and riddled with prejudice.

Senator Denton. Mr. Figures, have you ever asked Mr. Sessions--ever asked Mr. Sessions--to prosecute any civil rights case or any other case, for that matter, and been refused?

Mr. Figures. Have I ever asked him to prosecute one?

Senator, insofar as the Michael Donald case, which is addressed in my statement, Mr. Sessions never gave me a direct order to stop working on that case.

But early in the investigation, he made suggestions which had the effect of impressing me that he did not want that particular case around. He would say things like, why are you wasting time on the case? Why do you not find something better to do?

And on one occasion I overheard him tell another assistant that even if the culprits were identified in that case, that I would never try it.

I accepted those remarks --



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Mr. Figures. No, sir, I had no social relationship with him.

relationship with Mr. Sessions?

Senator Denton. Did you have a social relationship with anyone in the office?

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Mr. Figures. I believe that early I had lunch and occasionally drinks with people in the office. But I would not describe it as a very close personal relationship.

Senator Denton. During the Carter Administration, how would you describe your relationship with Mr. Kimbrough, the predecessor of Mr. Sessions?

Mr. Figures. I felt closer than my relationship with Mr. Sessions.

Senator Denton. And Mr. Kimbrough, did he meet your standards for racial sensitivity?

Mr. Figures. Senator, I felt that there were a couple of occasions when Mr. Kimbrough indicated some problems in that area. But overall, I thought his position on matters in that area was better than that of Mr. Sessions.

Senator Denton. Yesterday Mr. Hancock and Mr. Hebert, two of several Department of Justice witnesses who testified in this confirmation hearing, corrected an earlier testimony and deposition in which they accused Mr. Sessions of blocking a civil rights investigation. They said that they had faulty recall, and that it was Mr. Kimbrough, not Mr. Sessions, who terminated the FBI investigation in a particular county.

Knowing that--and Mr. Sessions was falsely accused in this case--do you believe that your recollection on the events which you have described in your statement,



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particularly the one in which you said that was your

best recollection. Do you believe that your recollection

on the events you have described is absolutely accurate?

Mr. Figures. Well, Senator Denton, my statement does

not address the connector or Dallas County matters at all

because I have no question--

Senator Denton. I mean the other events to which you did testify?

Mr. Figures. Oh, I stand by the contents of my statement with respect to everything that is in it, Senator.

Senator Denton. You do not believe there is any possibility you might be confused or even wrong in some of your recollections and descriptions?

Mr. Figures. The statement represents my best recollection. I have reviewed it several times. And I do not think there is anything in it, Senator, that I am not willing to stand by.

Senator Denton. I ask, Mr. Figures, because this

Committee has received several gratuitous and not wholly

objective reports on the Sessions nomination from groups

with a clear interest in the outcome of the Sessions

nomination. And in analyzing these reports, it is clear

that you have been a major source of information for these

groups.

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Will you tell Committee how you came to be involved
   in this confirmation process, beginning with your first
    contact on the Sessions nomination?
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           Senator DeConcini. Mr. Chairman, if I may? Can the
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    Chairman identify the groups he is making reference to?
      Maybe they have already been identified before I came. If
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      so, I can look at the record. But just so I can follow here.
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           Senator Denton. One was the anonymous report which I
      was privileged to see only the night before the first
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      hearing was scheduled, which contained a great deal of
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      information, the source of which was alleged to be Mr.
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    Figures. The second was the National Bar Association
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    report.
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           Senator DeConcini. We are talking about one anonymous
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    one and the National Bar Association that attribute the
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    information to Mr. Figures?
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           Senator Denton. Yes.
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           Senator DeConcini. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. That is
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      all.
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           Senator Denton. And by name, it was not attributed to
      him. It is only by inference, by virtue of the type of
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      information--
           Senator DeConcini. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
           Senator Denton. Thank you, Senator DeConcini.
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Mr. Figures. If I recall the question correctly,

my best recollection is, subsequent to my resignation from

the U.S. Attorney's office, I--

Senator Denton. When was that again, Mr. Figures? I

have forgotten.

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Mr. Figures. My resignation was effective July 3rd,

7 Senator Denton. July 3rd, 1985?

Mr. Figures. Yes, sir.

I received a telephone call while recuperating from some surgery that I had performed from Fred Grey, who is the President of the National Bar Association. If I am not mistaken, Mr. Grey indicated to me the National Bar Association was seriously concerned about Mr. Sessions nomination. He inquired as to whether, by virtue of my working in that office, I could provide any input to an investigation that they were contemplating conducting.

I told him that I would be happy to provide whatever information I had. And he gave me the names and telephone numbers of other individuals connected with the National Bar Association whom he suggested that I contact, or would contact me. I have forgotten.

Senator Denton. Is there any other incident in which you had contacts giving information relative to Mr. Sessions' nomination?

Mr. Figures. I attempted to give information to

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Roland Nachman.

Senator Denton. To who?

Mr. Figures. Mr. Roland Nachman, who conducted the American Bar Association investigation. For some reason, I found my attempts to provide that information to Mr. Nachman on several occasions met with resistance insofar as those things that apparently Mr. Nachman did not believe or desire to hear.

So I believe that the next major contact source that I had, subsequent to the one with Mr. Grey, was the one with-no, I am mistaken. Mr. Nachman contacted me before I left the U.S. Attorney's office.

So I think those are the two major contact sources.

Senator Denton. Did you ever write Mr. Nachman a letter?

Mr. Figures. I do not recall having written Mr.

Nachman a letter, Senator.

Senator Denton. Mr. Figures, in your second prepared statement, you describe at the bottom of the page--or bottom of page one, a very specific recollection of a comment that you attribute to Mr. Sessions regarding the NAACP, SCLC, Operation Push, the National Council of Churches.

You begin by saying, quote, on the day in question,

Mr. Sessions came into my office just as I was reading a

newspaper account of some then-recent action of the NAACP,

unquote.

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To the best of your recollection, when did that happen,
    Mr. Figures?
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           Mr. Figures. It happened in October of 1982.
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           Senator Denton. Any idea of the time of day?
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           Mr. Figures. Early in the day, shortly after I came in.
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           Senator Denton. And what was the news story to which
      you are referring regarding the NAACP?
          Mr. Figures. I am not completely certain about that,
      Senator.
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           My best recollection is that it was a story pertaining
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    to the NAACP challenging some position pertaining to the
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    President's stand on affirmative action, I believe.
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           That is my best recollection, but I am not completely
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    sure about it.
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           Senator Denton. Did you call Mr. Sessions into your
      office to tell him about this event, or did he just walk in
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    there?
           Mr. Figures. He walked in.
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           Senator Denton. Did you know at the time--did you
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      expect his reaction --
           Mr. Figures. No, sir.
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           Senator Denton. -- to be emphatic?
           Mr. Figures. I did not at that time.
           Senator Denton. Do you recall what you said to elicit
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such an emphatic response from him?

Mr. Figures. Yes, sir. He came in and he may have asked me what I was reading about or I may have told him what I was reading about. And I think I said, really in jest, well, there goes that subversive NAACP again. Because that was early in my relationship with Mr. Sessions, and had I known that he held these positions, I would not have even jested about it. So I said, well, there goes that subversive NAACP again. And when I said that, his demeanor changed. He assumed a very serious look on his face. His face blushed. He became very stoic. And he said, very harshly and very clearly: Well, I don't think they are subversive, but I think organizations like the National Council of Churches, NAACP, SCLC, and Push, and my best recollection is he said the rest of them, are un-American

Senator Denton. Mr. Figures, a major factor in this case has been the interpretation of what Mr. Sessions said in jest and what he said seriously and accompany whether it was racially divided or not.

organizations with anti-traditional American values.

You have just announced that you said, there goes that subversive NAACP again. And you maintain that you made that in jest. I can believe that. I can believe that some other black people whom I have heard testify might use an unflattering word with respect to the activities of the NAACP in Alabama political. We heard one yesterday. We

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heard one yesterday who I think characterized Perry County 2 as a very hot political spot which agreed with Mr. Kimbrough's and Mobile is not dissimilar to that.

And for you to raise that in jest would subject you later to questioning were you to have kept your job and been nominated for something which required a hearing.

So you said, there goes that subversive NAACP again, and he responded immediately by getting somewhat hot. And you stated what he said.

Would you state again, as closely as you can recall, what his words were, with your having introduced the word subversive?

Mr. Figures. He said that organizations like the National Council of Churches, NAACP, SCLC, and Push, and I believe he said, the rest of them, but I am not sure about that so I am not going to attribute that to him, are un-American organizations with anti-traditional American values.

Senator Denton. Anti-American what? Excuse me, I just didn't get the last part.

Mr. Figures. With anti-traditional American values. Senator Denton. Anti-traditional American values.

Well, that is different from anti-American, is it not? Mr. Figures. It is a matter of interpretation,

Senator.

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1 Senator Denton. Well, I would admit that these statements that he made are a matter of interpretation; a 3 critically important matter of interpretation. Senator DeConcini. Mr. Chairman? 5 Senator Denton. I will not interrupt your questions -go ahead. 7 Senator DeConcini. No, I misunderstood. I only want for the record to understand: Did he say that they are anti-American, or did he say they are anti-American and 10 anti-traditional American values? I got confused there. 11 Mr. Figures. He said that they were un-American 12 organizations with anti-traditional American values. 13 Senator DeConcini. I did not mean to interrupt you. 14 I just did not understand. 15 Thank you. 16 Senator Denton. Now, I will recall that Mr. Sessions 17 did not agree with that version of what he said. 18 Did Mr. Sessions--had Mr. Sessions ever grouped such 19 diverse organizations as these together before in any 20 comment that he had made to you? Had he ever made a flat 21 out unsolicited statement to you condemning such organizations 23 and grouping them together as being un-American? 2 Mr. Figures. No.

Senator Denton. Do you think it is possible that by virtue of having made a challenging and perhaps irritating

provocative remark to him, that you may have elicited a remark that was in a similar vein?

Mr. Figures. Senator, I did not consider it a challenging remark. It was early in our relationship.

Senator Denton. But the whole pattern has been how the others regard your words.

Mr. Figures. Well, had I known that Mr. Sessions held these views regarding such organizations, I would not have said it.

Frankly--

Senator Denton. So working with him for all those years, you did not know that he held those views?

Mr. Figures. No, this was relatively early in our professional relationship.

Senator Denton. But after that remark--

Mr. Figures. I made sure that I said nothing else that would provoke anything like that.

Senator Denton. For three years after you heard that remark, you remained on the job with him without any apparent serious reservation. Mr. Kimbrough said that he retired or resigned and urged you to because he was a yellow dog Democrat and he did not see how he could objectively work for a Republican, so he just quit and he advised you to do the same.

But you hung in there, even after that remark?