APPENDIX

Additional Questions Addressed to William H. Rehnquist and Answers

U.S. Senate,
Committee on the Judiciary,
Washington, D.C., November 19, 1971.

Hon. James O. Eastland,
Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee, U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Chairman: Pursuant to the Committee's discussions yesterday, we are enclosing the questions we requested Mr. Rehnquist to answer.

We intend not to release these questions to the public until the answers are received, so that both the questions and the answers can be placed in the Record together. In the interest of time, we are transmitting a copy of these questions directly to the Department of Justice.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Very sincerely yours,

Birch Bayh.
Philip A. Hart.
Edward M. Kennedy.

Questions Addressed to William Rehnquist by Senator Birch Bayh, Senator Philip Hart, and Senator Edward Kennedy

In your testimony at the Judiciary Committee hearings you stated that you had advised the Justice Department to abandon the argument that the executive branch has the inherent power to wiretap without prior judicial authorization in cases involving the national security. You said (p. 321): "I felt it was a mistake for the Government to take the position there was inherent power, and that the case could best be put forward both from the point of view of the Government in its more limited interests as an adversary and in the interests of the Government in the larger point of view framed in terms of whether it was an unreasonable search and seizure under the Fourth Amendment, rather than some . . . overriding inherent power."

(*a*) Would you explain for the Committee what you meant by "the interests of the Government in the larger point of view?"

(*b*) What in theoretical and in practical terms is the significance of abandoning the inherent power theory in favor of an argument of reasonableness under the Fourth Amendment?

(*c*) You refused to answer certain questions during the course of the hearings because of a claim of attorney-client privilege (see, for example, pp. 100, 101, 102, 132, 133, 135, 136, 212, 247). Please explain how revealing that you advised the Justice Department to abandon a public position on wiretapping differs from other situations in which you invoked the attorney-client privilege. In light of the answer you have quoted above, are you now willing to answer the questions you declined to answer by invoking the attorney-client privilege? If so, please do so.

2. In 1964 you wrote a letter to the *Arizona Republic* opposing a city public accommodations ordinance. You stated at the hearings that your views on this matter had changed and you added (p. 145): "I think the ordinance really worked very well in Phoenix. It was readily accepted, and I think I have come to realize since it, more than I did at the time, the strong concern that minorities have for the recognition of these rights. I would not feel the same way today about it as I did then."

(*a*) Can you provide the Committee with any indication that your public views on this matter changed before your nomination to be a Supreme Court Justice?

(*b*) When and why did you come to realize "more than (you) did" in 1964 "the strong concern that minorities have for the recognition of these rights?"

(*c*) Would your present views be different as to the desirability of such legislation if the ordinance had not been as readily accepted as it was?

3. Four years ago in a letter to the *Arizona Republic* you stated your opposition to proposals to alter the "de facto segregation" of the Phoenix schools. Professor Gary Orfield of Princeton University has told this Committee that the "integration program" you found "distressing" "proposed no frontal attack on segregation, but called for freedom of choice desegregation with students paying their own bus fares to attend other high schools. The local superintendent also called for more exchanges between the various schools." (p. 13 of prepared testimony)

(*a*) Does your recollection of the program you opposed comport with that which Professor Orfield described? If not, how does your recollection differ?

(*b*) Would you explain for the Committee in more detail why you opposed the plan?

(*c*) Did you regard the scope of that effort in Phoenix in 1967 as an excessive commitment to an integrated society?

4. Mr. Clarence Mitchell has submitted to the Committee an affidavit from State Senator Cloves Campbell which alleges that following your testimony in opposition to the Phoenix public accommodations ordinance in 1964 you said to Mr. Campbell "I am opposed to all civil rights laws" (see p. 465). Did you make that or a similar statement to Mr. Campbell as alleged? If so, would you please elaborate on the circumstances and on what you meant by that statement.

5. In response to a question which asked for "a thumbnail sketch" of "what in your . . . background . . . demonstrates a commitment to equal rights for all . . ." you answered at the hearings (p. 127): "It is difficult to answer that question, Senator. I have participated in the political process in Arizona. I have represented indigent defendants in the Federal and State courts in Arizona. I have been a member of the County Legal Aid Society Board at a time when it was very difficult to get this sort of funding that they are getting today. I have represented indigents in civil rights actions. I realize that that is not, perhaps, a very impressive list. It is all that comes to mind now."

(*a*) Would you care to add anything to that list which has come to mind since the hearings?

(*b*) Please explain in more detail the nature of the civil rights actions in which you represented indigents, and please tell the Committee how many such actions there were.

(*c*) Was your membership in the Legal Aid Society Board *ex officio* by virtue of your position in the county bar association?

6. You testified before the Committee as follows in response to a question concerning your role in the government's efforts to prevent publication of the Pentagon Papers: "It does seem to me that because the government ultimately took a public legal position and argued the matter in the courts, that I would not be breaching the attorney-client relationship to answer your question.

"I am hesitant, but I believe that I am right in saying that I had a slipped disk operation in the latter part of May, and was either at home in bed or in the hospital until about the latter part of the second week in June. I am just trying to recall from memory. Then I started coming back into the office half days, and found that I was overdoing the first couple of days, so I stayed out again. And I think it was either on a Monday or Tuesday I was back in, perhaps for the third time, on a half-day basis, and the Attorney General advised me that the Internal Security Division was going to file papers that afternoon in New York to seek a preliminary restraining order and asked me if I saw any problem with it. And it was a short-time deadline, and I rather hurriedly called such of the members of my staff together as I was able to get.

"When we reviewed it we came across *Near* v. *Minnesota*, and advised him that basically it was a factual question so far as we could tell, if the type of documents that were about to be published came within the definition of the language used by Chief Justice Hughes in *Near* v. *Minnesota* there was a reasonable possibility that the Government would succeed in the action.

"I believe I had one other conference with the Attorney General, and I think that was as to who should appear for the United States in the proceedings in New York and in the second circuit. I then went to the beach for a week during which time the arguments took place in the Courts of Appeal, and I think the Supreme Court case was argued while I was at the beach, too, and I have no further involvement in it than that."

(*a*) Did you have any involvement in the government's action in this matter which is omitted from this statement? Did you for example place any phone calls to any newspapers asking them to refrain from publishing the Pentagon Papers?

7. Various Supreme Court nominees, including yourself, have properly refused to answer questions put to them by the Senate which would require the nominee prematurely to state his opinion on a specific case likely to come before him once on the bench. Some nominees have also properly declined to answer questions concerning cases they decided or opinions they wrote while sitting on the bench because answering them would have jeopardized the integrity and independence of the judiciary. You invoked yet a third doctrine to decline to answer certain questions at the hearings: the attorney-client privilege. Are you aware of any precedent in the Senate's consideration of a federal official nominated to the Supreme Court or any legal precedent in decided cases or the cannons of ethics or elsewhere, which supports a nominee's invoking the attorney-client privilege to refuse to give the Senate his personal views on matters of public importance on which he had advocated an Administration's position?

8. You and Senator Tunney had the following exchange during the hearings:

"Senator TUNNEY. Senator Ervin then went on to question you, 'don't you agree with me any surveillance which would have the effect of stifling such activities, namely, the first amendment, those activities which are privileged under the first amendment, would violate those constitutional rights?' Your answer was, 'No, I do not.'

"Mr. REHNQUIST. I am not sure I do agree with that now. I am inclined to think that it is a fact question and I was perhaps resolving the fact question in my own mind on the basis of the line of inquiry that Senator Hart made yesterday, where thousands of people came, knowing there was going to be such surveillance, on the basis of Judge Austin's decision in Chicago, where he found as a fact that there was no stifling effect.

"I do not think I would want to categorically say that such surveillance could not have a stifling effect. I think I would treat it as a question of fact.

"Senator TUNNEY. I appreciate your answer."

(*a*) When you said that you are not sure you would agree with your prior statement now, were you expressing a personal opinion or were you expressing a Justice Department position?

(*b*) If you were expressing a personal opinion, why in your view was this situation different from other situations in which you refused to state a personal view on positions you had taken as an advocate for the Administration?

9. At the time that you testified before Senator Ervin's Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights with regard to the government's intelligence-gathering activities, you said that it was "quite likely that self-discipline on the part of the executive branch will provide an answer to virtually all of the legitimate complaints against excesses of information gathering."

(*a*) Were you aware at that time as reported in the press, that Federal Bureau of Investigation agents in at least one part of the country had been instructed to conduct interviews for the purpose of making dissenters believe that "there is an agent behind every mailbox" (see, e.g., p. 425–26, 581)?

(*b*) Does this document give you any reason to alter your views that executive self-restraint will provide sufficient protection of first and fourth amendment freedoms?

10. Please describe in as much detail as possible your position (including title and the manner in which you were selected), responsibility, and activities in connection with Republican Party efforts to challenge Democratic voters in Arizona for each of the following elections, separately: 1958, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1968.

In addition, please answer the following questions concerning your position, responsibility or activities in each of the above-mentioned years:

(*a*) Did you personally engage in challenging the qualifications of any voters? If so, please describe the nature and extent of the challenging you did and the bases on which the challenges were made.

(*b*) Did you train or counsel persons selected to be pollwatchers or challengers about the procedures to be used in challenging? If so, please elaborate concerning how the persons were selected, and the training that you gave. Did you in any of the above-mentioned years train or counsel persons selected to be pollwatchers on the bases on which challenges could be made? If so, please elaborate concerning what you advised these persons were proper bases under law for challenges in each of the relevant years.

(*c*) Did you prepare, select or advise on the use of printed passages from the Constitution designed to be employed by challengers to determine the literacy of a potential voter? Did any such practice come to your attention? Did you think it proper and lawful? If not, did you take steps to curb such procedures?

11. To what extent are you able to confirm Mr. Richard G. Kleindienst's statement found in the *Arizona Republic* of November 7, 1962, that the Republican challengers who worked in 1962 "are the same persons, under the same instructions, who have been doing this in Maricopa and Pima counties since 1956?"

12. You testified that one of the roles you played in the Republican efforts to challenge Democratic voters was "to arbitrate disputes that arose" along with a Democratic counterpart (p. 149). Did any of the disputes as to the roles of the Republican challengers which you sought to mediate involve opposition to the type of challenging procedure being employed or the basis of the challenge, as distinct from the right of the Republican challenger to function at all in such a capacity in the precinct in question? If so, please explain the challenging procedures which came under attack.

13. Judge Charles L. Hardy in a letter to Senator Eastland describes the tactics of the Republican Party in Phoenix in 1962 as follows: "In 1962, for the first time, the Republicans had challengers in all of the precincts in this county which had overwhelming Democratic registrations. At that time among the statutory grounds for challenging a person offering to vote were that he had not resided within the precinct for thirty days next preceding the election and that he was unable to read the Constitution of the United States in the English language. In each precinct *every* black or Mexican person was being challenged on this latter ground and it was quite clear that this type of challenging was a deliberate effort to slow down the voting so as to cause people awaiting their turn to vote to grow tired of waiting and leave without voting. In addition, there was a well organized campaign of outright harassment and intimidation to discourage persons from attempting to vote. In the black and brown areas, handbills were distributed warning persons that if they were not properly qualified to vote they would be prosecuted. There were squads of people taking photographs of voters standing in line waiting to vote and asking for their names There is no doubt in my mind that these tactics of harassment, intimidation and indiscriminate challenging were highly improper and violative of the spirit of free elections."

(*a*) Please describe the relationship between your role in planning and implementing Republican election day challenging efforts that year and the tactics described by Judge Hardy.

(*b*) Did any of the practices described by Judge Hardy come to your attention before or during election day in 1962? If so, did you seek to curb such procedures or were they in your view proper?

14. Were you present at the Bethune precinct at any time on election day, November 3, 1964? If so, while you were there, did you speak to any persons waiting to vote regarding their qualifications to vote under the state literacy laws or other laws, or regarding their ability to read the Constitution? Did you ask anyone waiting to vote at the Bethune precinct in 1964 to read from any printed material which you or anyone else presented to the potential voter? Were you engaged in any dispute at the Bethune precinct in 1964 with Democratic workers regarding efforts by yourself or other Republican representatives to challenge voters? If so, please describe the incident in detail.

15. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of November 18 carries a story which states that "documents have been discovered suggesting" that you were "once a member of a rightwing organization" called "Arizonans For America," or "For America." You have previously denied that you are or at any time in the past have been a member of the John Birch Society. Have you been a member of the "Arizonans For America" as is alleged by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch?* Do you have any additional response to the article.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, D.C., November 20, 1971.

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: Enclosed are my answers to the questions propounded to me by members of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST,
Assistant Attorney General,
Office of Legal Counsel.

1. (*a*) When I used the phrase "the interests of the Government in the larger point of view," I meant that the Government is under a greater obligation than

the ordinary adversary in a lawsuit to make a reasoned, responsible presentation of its case.

(*b*) One implication of the "inherent power" position was that in this area the Executive was not subject to the requirements of the Fourth Amendment. The effect of the abandonment of the "inherent power" theory in favor of the argument of reasonableness under the Fourth Amendment was to recognize that the Executive is subject to the restraints of the Fourth Amendment in this area as elsewhere. The practical result was to recognize that the courts would decide whether or not this practice amounted to an unreasonable search which would violate the Fourth Amendment.

(*c*) During the course of the hearing I declined to answer the questions enumerated because I felt it inappropriate for one who has spoken as an advocate for the Attorney General or for the President to thereafter offer his personal opinion on the same subject. I see nothing inconsistent between that position and my willingness to explain my contribution to a Departmental position which was primarily developed by the Internal Security Division, and ultimately publicly expounded by the Solicitor General.

2. (*a*) In a speech delivered in Houston for Law Day, April 29, 1970, I referred to the fact that "dramatic progress has been made by minorities in all of the civil rights areas in the past generation." I would not have referred to a law of the type I had opposed in 1964 as representing "dramatic progress" if I still opposed that type of law.

(*b*) It is impossible for me to pick out any particular date on which I came to realize "more than I did" in 1964 "the strong concern that minorities have for the recognition of these rights." When I spoke in Phoenix in 1964 I placed a good deal of emphasis on the fact that very few restaurants in Phoenix actually did discriminate and therefore the denial of these rights in practice was infrequent. In the intervening years, at least in part as a result of having become acquainted with more members of minority groups, I have come to appreciate the importance of the legal recognition of rights such as this without regard to whether or not that recognition results in a substantial change in custom or practice.

(*c*) No. While the manner in which the ordinance was accepted was a factor in changing my opinion, my realization of the depth of feeling of the minorities about this sort of right would not be diminished, and would control, even though the ordinance had been less readily accepted.

3. (*a*), (*b*) This question refers to a letter to the Editor appearing in the *Arizona Republic* on Saturday, September 9, 1967, which is captioned " 'De facto' Schools Seen Serving Well." The question characterizes the letter as stating my "opposition to proposals to alter the 'de facto segregation' of the Phoenix schools." The letter, of course, speaks for itself; the caption above the letter was not chosen by me. My position, as stated in the letter, was clearly not opposed to a number of the proposals advanced by Superintendent Seymour for reducing *de facto* segregation.

While I have not had an opportunity to review the series of articles by the newspaper reporter, Mr. Harold Cousland, to which my letter refers, I have reviewed a copy of an article in the *Arizona Republic* describing the Superintendent's "integration program" for Phoenix high schools. Referring to this letter, and to my own recollection of the situation in Phoenix at that time, I think that Professor Orfield's description of the Superintendent's proposal is materially inaccurate. Professor Orfield says that the "integration program" called for "freedom of choice desegregation with students paying their own bus fare to attend other high schools." This was not a part of the Superintendent's *proposal* at all; it was a program *already in effect* in Phoenix at that time. I was in full agreement with this program. Superintendent Seymour, according to the article, in fact commented that there was little evidence that minority groups had taken advantage of this existing "open enrollment" policy.

Thus, Professor Orfield confuses the program of open enrollment which was already in effect in Phoenix with a series of additional proposals made by Superintendent Seymour in September, 1967. Among these proposals was the appointment of a policy advisor who was skilled in interpersonal relations and problems, the organization of a city-wide citizens advisory committee representing minority groups, the formation of a human relations council at each high school, and the promotion of a voluntary exchange of students among racially imbalanced schools. He went on to suggest, in addition to this voluntary exchange of students, that he would not rule out busing of students as a partial solution.

As is clear from my letter, I was speaking out in favor of the neighborhood school system, which is entirely consistent with a number of Superintendent

Seymour's proposals. It was not, however, consistent with his statement that he would "not dismiss busing of students as a partial solution." In the context of a proposal which had already discussed voluntary exchange of students, and which was made in the context of an existing open enrollment program, the sort of busing envisioned by Superintendent Seymour was inconsistent with the neighborhood school concept. The reason for my opposition to this type of busing can best be expressed in the words which I used at that time: "The school's job is to educate children. They should not be saddled with the task of fostering social change which may well lessen their ability to perform their primary job."

3. (*c*) To the extent that the term "that effort" used in this question refers to the suggestion of busing outside of neighborhood schools solely for the purpose of establishing racial balance, I regarded it as undesirable for the reasons stated in my letter and therefore excessive. I certainly did not consider the open enrollment program already in effect in Phoenix in 1967, which is basically that described in the quoted language of Professor Orfield, as being in the least excessive.

4. I did not make the statement described in question 4, or any similar statement, to Senator Cloves Campbell.

5. (*a*) I have recalled since my testimony at the hearings that in 1963 I served as an Associate Member of the American Bar Association Special Committee on the Defense of Indigent Persons Accused of Crime. Since becoming Assistant Attorney General, I have publicly testified in support of the ratification of the Genocide Convention and in support of the Equal Rights Amendment. As Assistant Attorney General, I also supervised and personally participated in the preparation of the Attorney General's Opinion upholding the lawfulness of the so-called "Philadelphia Plan."

(*b*) (Note: With respect to this question, and subsequent questions which call for historical recollection of legal cases or political activities in which I participated, I have tried as best I can to recall the events requested. I have not had the benefit of my case files or of any other contemporaneous written material, which might have been of significant aid in sharpening my recollection.)

Throughout my practice in Phoenix, I took cases on a regular rotating basis from the Legal Aid Society, a practice followed by many but by no means all of the Bar. In addition, after the *Gault* decision was handed down, I responded to a request from the then Juvenile Court judge for lawyers with some experience to appear without compensation representing juvenile defendants. I would estimate that in addition to the three cases mentioned below, there would be several times that number of the same general description, the particulars of which I cannot now recall.

I recall the following fairly recent representation of indigents outside the criminal defendant area:

(*i*) I was requested by the Juvenile Court judge of Maricopa County to represent the interests of a woman who had been committed to the State mental hospital during a juvenile proceeding in which she had been deprived of custody of one of her children.

(*ii*) I represented an elderly woman who was threatened with the sale of her interest in a home as a result of a judgment taken against her by a collection agency in which, as I recall, she contended she had a defense which she had no opportunity to assert because of lack of proper notice of proceedings.

(*iii*) I spent a good number hours, partly on the Navajo Reservation and partly in my office in Phoenix, counselling with a group of Indians who constituted one faction in a tribal dispute revolving around whether certain actions taken by the tribal chairman could properly be taken by him, or whether instead they required the approval of the tribal council.

(*c*) My recollection is that either as Vice President of the Maricopa County Bar Association, or as its immediate past President, I was an *ex officio* member of the Legal Aid Society Board. It would be a mistake to assume from the word *ex officio* that the position was by any means a ceremonial one: it was the principal bar association duty of the officer filling that post. At the time I served, the County Bar Association contributed a substantial part of the total funds available to the Legal Aid Society Board for its operating budget, and I took an active part in the work of the Board.

6. I took one action in connection with proposed litigation by the Government against *The Washington Post* in connection with its publication of portions of the Pentagon Papers. At the request of the Attorney General on a date which I believe was Friday, June 18, I telephoned Mr. Ben Bradlee, Executive Editor

of *The Washington Post*, and requested on behalf of the Justice Department that the *Post* refrain from further publication of these papers. Mr. Bradlee told me that the *Post* would not accede to this request. I believe that my telephone conversation with Mr. Bradlee was described in a story in the *Post* on Saturday, June 19.

7. I know of no other Supreme Court nominee who, having acted as a representative or spokesman for the Executive Branch, was then asked by the Judiciary Committee to express his personal views on the matters with respect to which he had served as a spokesman or advocate. There is, therefore, so far as I know, precedent neither for the questions being asked, nor for the answers being declined.

8. (*a*) I was expressing the position that I felt any reasonable spokesman for the Department would have taken had he been aware of this aspect of the problem at the time of his original testimony.

(*b*) Not applicable.

9. (*a*) I was not.

(*b*) This question characterizes my views as being "that Executive self-restraint will provide sufficient protection of First and Fourth Amendment freedoms." I do not believe this is a fair characterization of the views which I expressed before the Ervin Subcommittee, and it is therefore all but impossible to answer the question as stated. I made quite plain in my testimony, I thought, that both the First Amendment and the Fourth Amendment imposed significant limitations on governmental information gathering. The context in which I made my statement about "Executive self-restraint" was one in which the protections of the First and Fourth Amendments to the Constitution, and such additional statutory limitations on the Executive as those pertaining to wiretapping in the Omnibus Crime Bill of 1968, were already in existence, and the question to which I was addressing myself was whether additional statutory restrictions were desirable.

To the extent that the actual activities of the FBI, as opposed to the characterizations of such activities by a particular agent or by the press, were in fact such as to have a chilling effect, there would be an added factor to be weighed in making a constitutional determination under the First Amendment. If such activities were at all prevalent, I indicated in my testimony before the Ervin Subcommittee that the Department would give careful consideration to remedial legislation.

Following is the text of my statement on these points:

"I think it quite likely that self-discipline on the part of the Executive Branch will provide an answer to virtually all of the legitimate complaints against excesses of information gathering. No widespread system of investigative activity, maintained by diverse and numerous personnel, is apt to be perfect either in its conception or in its performance. The fact that isolated imperfections are brought to light, while always a reason for attempting to correct them, should not be permitted to obscure the fundamental necessity and importance of federal information gathering, or the generally high level of performance in this area by the organizations involved.

"In saying this, I do not mean to suggest that the Department of Justice would adamantly oppose any and all legislation on this subject. Legislation which is carefully drawn to meet demonstrated evils in a reasonable way, without impairing the efficiency of vital federal investigative agencies, will receive the Department's careful consideration. But it will come as no surprise, I am sure, for me to state that the Department will vigorously oppose any legislation which, whether by opening the door to unnecessary and unmanageable judicial supervision of such activities or otherwise, would effectively impair this extraordinarily important function of the federal government."

10. During the course of the Committee's deliberations, I submitted the following affidavit to the Chairman of the Committee:

"I have read the affidavits of Jordan Harris and Robert Tate, both notarized in Maricopa County, Arizona. Insofar as these affidavits pertain to me, they are false. I have not, either in the general election of 1964 or in any other election, at Bethune precinct or in any other precinct, either myself harassed or intimidated voters, or encouraged or approved the harassment or intimidation of voters by other persons."

In order to fully respond to question 10, an understanding of the background of Republican challenging procedures in Maricopa County is necessary. I have therefore tried as best I can to recall and set forth that background.

A combination of the peculiarities of Arizona election law, the customary practices of the Board of Supervisors in appointing precinct election officials, and the numerical weakness of registered Republicans in part of the Country resulted in the fact that the only method by which a Republican observer or poll watcher could be stationed inside a particular polling place in many precincts in order to watch for voting irregularities was to be there as a "challenger." While he was authorized by law to challenge voters, the prospects of his being successful were not great, since the challenges he made were ruled upon by a three-man election board (two judges and an inspector) and in the precincts with extraordinarily heavy Democratic registration at least two and often three members of this board would be Democrats. The challenger's real usefulness to the Party, therefore, was not that he was going to be able to prevail upon the election board to disqualify any large number of voters, but that his mere presence as a party representative would have a tendency to discourage any large-scale irregularities in voting procedures at that precinct. My recollection is that the most frequent cause of dispute which arose on Election Day during the late 50s and early 60s was the nature of the credentials required for a challenger to be allowed to enter and remain in a polling place, since in many of these precincts there had never been a Republican representation on the scene during Election Day.

With respect to the specific questions posed, I have attempted to refresh my recollection by speaking with several persons in Arizona who acted in Republican Party affairs during the years covered in this question and to Judge Hardy, who was active for the Democratic Party at the same time. I have also had occasion to see two local newspaper articles which appeared in the Fall of 1964, describing my position during the elections of 1960, 1962, and 1964. I recall that at the time there were written schedules, instructions, and the like prepared at least for the elections of 1960, 1962, and 1964, but I have not found anyone who was able to locate any of this written material, and it may no longer be in existence.

In 1958, I became involved in the Election Day program on quite short notice, and spent all the day at Republican County Headquarters in Phoenix answering questions as to the election laws on the telephone. So far as I remember, I was the only person having this responsibility at County Headquarters. I don't believe I had a title, and I cannot remember by whom I was selected. As I recall, Don Reese, then of Phoenix but presently of Houston, Texas, was County Chairman in 1958.

My attention has been called to a clipping from the *Arizona Republic* in October 1964, which states that in 1960 I was co-chairman of the "Ballot Security Program." I do not have any independent recollection of this fact, but I have no reason to dispute the account in the newspaper. As I recall, however, the program in 1960 was not called the "Ballot Security Program," since I don't remember hearing that term used before 1964.

In 1960, I supervised and assisted in the preparation of envelopes to be mailed out in advance of the election for the purpose of challenging voters on the basis of their having moved from the residence address shown on the poll list; I also recruited about a half a dozen lawyers to work on a "Lawyers Committee" on Election Day. I did not myself recruit challengers, but I did speak to a "school" held for challengers shortly before election, in order to advise them on the law. I believe I also supervised and assisted in the assembling of returns of our mailings which were returned "addressee unknown", so that they could be made available to the particular challenger who was stationed in the precinct in which the address was located. On Election Day, I believe that I spent most of the day in County Headquarters. In that year, however, we had enough other lawyers available in County Headquarters so that I probably spent some of the day going to precincts where a dispute had arisen, and attempting to resolve it.

I cannot remember whether Don Reese or Ralph Staggs was County Chairman in 1960; I believe I was designated by whoever was County Chairman that year.

With respect to 1962, I have been shown an article in the October 1964, *Arizona Republic* which states that I was Chairman of a Lawyers Committee which operated on Election Day. This is consistent with my own recollection. I do not believe that in this year I participated in the mailing out of envelopes prior to election, though I may have. I did speak at a school for challengers, I believe, in much the same manner as in 1960. On Election Day, my recollection is that I spent most of the day in Republican County Headquarters; however, I think that on several occasions in 1962, just as in 1960, I went to precincts where disputes had arisen in an effort to resolve them.

With respect to 1964, I have seen an article in the *Arizona Republic* dated October 1964, stating that I was Chairman of the "Ballot Security Program." This is consistent with my recollection. I presume that I had overall responsibility for the mailing out of envelopes, the recruiting of challengers, and the recruiting of members of the Lawyers Committee to work in County Headquarters; however, I believe that there were individuals other than me who were directly responsible for each of these aspects of the program. At this time, Wayne Legg was Chairman of the Republican County Committee, and I presume it was he who designated me as chairman. My recollection is that on Election Day during this particular election I spent all of my time in County Headquarters.

I also think, though I am not certain, that I spoke at the school for challengers held just before the election; if I did not speak to the school, I believe I was present when someone else spoke on the law. Challengers were advised in this year, pursuant to an opinion issued by the State Attorney General, that challenging at the polls on the basis of literacy or interpretation of the Constitution was unlawful by virtue of the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In 1966, my best recollection is that I played no part at all in the election activities, though I am not absolutely certain. If I played any part, it was simply to serve as a lawyer on duty at County Headquarters for a period of several hours in order to handle questions that might come in over the phone.

In 1968, I played no part at all in the election activities.

(*a*) In none of these years did I personally engage in challenging the qualifications of any voters.

(*b*) The recruitment of challengers in each of these years was under the direct supervision of someone other than me. However, in at least two of these elections—1960 and 1962—and perhaps in 1964, I spoke at a challengers' school conducted shortly before the election. The purpose of my talk was to advise the various persons who were to act as challengers as to what authorization was required in order to enable them to be present in a polling place during the time the election was being conducted, and also as to the various legal grounds for challenging as provided by applicable Arizona law. My recollection is that I simply recited the grounds set forth in the Arizona Revised Statutes as to the basis for challenge, the method of making the challenge, and the manner in which the challenge was to be decided by the Election Board of the precinct in question.

(*c*) I did not. No such practice came to my attention until sometime on Election Day, 1962. The manner in which I saw this type of challenge being used, when I visited one precinct, struck me as amounting to harassment and intimidation, and I advised the Republican challenger to stop using these tactics. Since no question was raised at that time as to the propriety or lawfulness of the use of printed passages from the Constitution by challengers in conjunction with the election board in an otherwise courteous and lawful manner, I did not consider it. Shortly after the election, I discussed this type of challenge with Charles Hardy, now Judge of the Superior Court of Maricopa County, and expressed my vigorous disapproval of any scattergun use of literacy challenges. By the time of the next biennial election, in 1964, such challenges were no longer permitted under federal law.

11. I cannot speak at all for Pima County, and I cannot speak at all for 1956. I did not myself directly supervise the recruiting of challengers in Maricopa County in any of these years. If challengers were instructed in any formal way in 1958, I do not remember it. Substantially the same legal advice as to challenging, more fully described in the answer to 10(b) above, was given by me in both 1960 and 1962. I do not presently remember whether the same challengers operated in 1958, 1960, and 1962, but I believe there was some turnover each time, and a rather substantial turnover between 1960 and 1962.

12. As described in my answer to 10(c), I recall one instance in which a Republican challenger was himself going down the line and requiring prospective voters to read some passage of the Constitution, rather than presenting his challenge to the Election Board in an orderly way. I advised him to stop this practice, and to make any challenges in the manner provided by the law.

13.(*a*) My role in 1962 was, to the best of my recollection, that described above. I neither advised nor suggested that scattergun challenges be made on the basis of literacy. I neither advised nor suggested the handing out of handbills, nor the photographing of voters at the election places. My talk to the challenging "school" in 1962 as to the law governing elections was, I believe, substantially the same as that which I gave in 1960. In 1958 and in 1960 virtually the entire

thrust of the Republican challenging effort was devoted to preventing unregistered persons, or persons who had moved from the address from which they were registered, from voting, and as I recall the main disputes which arose in those years with respect to the right of the Republican challengers to enter the polling place to which he was assigned. I did not realize the change in emphasis of some of the Republican challengers in 1962 until sometime during Election Day of that year. I therefore feel that there was no connection between my role and the circumstances related by Judge Hardy.

(*b*) The practices described by Judge Hardy, to the extent that they did in fact obtain, did not come to my attention until quite late in the day of the election in 1962. At that time I believe that the County Chairman decided to remove the Republican challenger from Bethune Precinct because of the serious trouble his actions were causing. The challenging procedures relating to residence described by Judge Hardy were, in my opinion, generally proper; those relating to indiscriminate use of literacy challenges were entirely improper.

14. I was not present at Bethune Precinct at any time on Election Day in 1964.

15. I have never been a member of Arizonans for America or For America. I have seen a newspaper clipping from a local newspaper in 1958 which indicates that I was one of four panelists who appeared at a meeting of Arizonans for America in 1958 to discuss the federal income tax. While I have no independent recollection of speaking at such a meeting, I have no reason to dispute the newspaper account.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST.

○