

challenging unqualified voters, principally on the basis of residence or valid registration.

Since the unaccustomed sight of Republican poll watchers was quite unwelcome at some of the heavily Democratic precincts, there was considerable tension and stress. This resulted in occasional confrontation between Republican members of the legal committee, poll watchers and other election officials, with their Democrat counterparts. The Republican effort was successful and a substantial number of unqualified voters were effectively challenged, principally because they did not meet residency requirements or had invalid registration.

To our knowledge, there was no formal protest by the Democrat Party organization or by any individual voters to the county attorney, who was also a Democrat, concerning the conduct of any Republican poll watcher or attorney on that day, including Mr. Rehnquist. If there were any unreported expressions of concern at that time, some 24 years ago, when memories were still quite fresh, the county attorney was apparently not sufficiently impressed with their credibility or merits to take any action.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Ralph Staggs.

Mr. STAGGS. Is this one on?

#### STATEMENT OF RALPH STAGGS

I am Ralph Staggs, a semiretired homebuilder from Phoenix, AZ, a native Phoenician. I have held considerable offices in—organizational offices—in the Republican Party in Arizona since 1952, up through precinct committeeman and including 4 years as a Republican national committeeman.

I would like to state for the record that I have known Associate Justice Bill Rehnquist politically since late 1959, and in my opinion, there is not a more honorable man in my total acquaintances than William Rehnquist.

I have never observed any remote biases or prejudices by Bill Rehnquist during his political and social activities that I'm aware of.

I would like to state that I have no information in regards to the 1960 general election, the November general election. I do have information on the 1962 November general election, as I was Republican county chairman for Maricopa County at that time.

I have no information as to the activities of the November general election in 1964.

On November 6, 1962, I was Maricopa County Republican chairman of the Republican party. I would like to point out here, because of historical practices by the Democrat Party to vote tombstones, to vote voter registrations from vacant lots, empty houses, and moved-out residences, the State Republican Committee instructed all county chairmen to set up a program to prevent illegal and/or fraudulent voting. I would be glad to describe that later.

Senator BIDEN. Are you from Chicago or Phoenix?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, he has a right to—

Mr. STAGGS. I am not from Cook County.

In establishing this voter security at the Maricopa County level, we established a vote security committee, better known as the challengers committee, made up of two parts. As Bill Turner has stated, he and Gordon Marshall were chairmen, cochairmen, of the challengers committee. Bill Rehnquist was appointed as chairman of the legal committee, and Mr. Bush was vice-chairman.

On November 6, Justice Rehnquist was not a member of the challengers committee, and to the best of my knowledge, never was involved in any actual challenging in any of the precincts in Maricopa County, challenging any voters. His duty, as has been stated, was chairman of the legal committee, to give advice to the challengers and other precinct workers. That legal committee, as Mr. Bush stated, had 12 lawyers that roamed Maricopa County that day.

On November 6—they gave legal advice to the precinct workers in reference to the Arizona State statutes and the Federal Constitution.

On November 6, 1962, Bill Rehnquist was sent down to the Bethune precinct at my instructions. He was in county headquarters with me most of the day. However, he was sent down to the Bethune precinct, I believe some time after lunch, to clear up a problem that had been reported to us from that precinct, that voting precinct.

The illegal and fraudulent voting occurred because registered lists—and I want to point this out emphatically. The reason that this challengers committee had to be established was that in Arizona the voter registration lists never got purged of illegal voters from year to year, from election to election. In 1962, there could have been names registered on the voter registration lists that had been on there for 20 or 30 years. Persons could have died, and did, and had. People had moved out of the voting precincts, where their name appeared on the voter registration lists. Houses had been removed, torn down, burned down, et cetera. There were names on the voter registration lists at vacant lots and so on. This is the reason that a challengers committee was necessary to be established.

As has been stated earlier, the method used was to send out a first class mailing letter with political information in it, with an address return requested. All of those letters that were returned as undeliverable for any reason were segregated by the voting precinct and given to the precinct captain. That was the basis for the primary challenge.

After the November 6, 1962 general election, with the help of Bill Rehnquist, who, incidentally, prior even to him chairing the legal committee, was also legal counsel for the Maricopa County Republican Committee and was on our executive committee at that time. But after the 1962 election, Bill Rehnquist, with the help of my good friend, Democrat County Chairman Vince Maggiore, who just testified, determined that it was time for the legislature to correct this law that did not permit purging of dead names on the registration list.

So I don't recall how long it was, but it was within 2 or 3 years after that that we finally convinced the legislature to pass a law to purge the voter registration lists after every election every 2 years.

This got those fraudulent names off of the registration list and it became almost unnecessary to challenge any voters.

Also after that—and again, I don't know the timing—but the Arizona Legislature passed a law that the ballots be printed in Hispanic, in Spanish, to assist and aid the Spanish minority voters. This also was done with the cooperation of the Democratic Party.

That pretty well covers my basic statement, except that I would like to read from an article that appeared in the October 25, 1962 Phoenix Gazette, which is the afternoon paper in Phoenix. It is headlined:

**GOP Plans Unusual Measures to Get Heavy Vote.** Unusual measures to get out heavy vote and to guard against violation of election laws will be used this year. To put it bluntly, we will be guarding against possible election fraud and so on. Especially in Maricopa County, extra efforts will be made to challenge those not legally qualified to go to the polls and attempt to cast ballots. "We will not try to prevent anyone from voting who is qualified legally to vote", stated the State Chairman. "On the contrary, we are doing all we can to encourage the biggest possible turnout. On the other hand, we anticipate that certain attempts will be made to capitalize on apparent voter apathy. This could take the form of persons trying to vote under assumed names—" which they did "—or to vote when they were barred by the Constitution or the State laws for any reason."

That appeared 2 weeks before the general election of November, 1962.

That's the end of my statement, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Fred Robertshaw.

#### STATEMENT OF FRED ROBERTSHAW

Mr. ROBERTSHAW. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my statement will be cumulative to that of Jim Bush, and I think will be much shorter than the other gentlemen here.

I am a lawyer and have been practicing law in Phoenix, AZ for 25 years. I, in 1962, was on this lawyers committee. I think that's the reason why whomever called me wanted me to come. I was not a chief like Bill or Jim Bush, but I was an Indian. I think the people who had me come here want me to tell you what we did.

I said, "Bill, what do I do, being on the lawyers committee in this election?" He said, "Bring the code book down to the county headquarters and read the code and answer questions from people at the precinct level who will be calling in to ask you what the law is."

Most people don't like to read the dry prose that we lawyers have to, and so I guess that was basically our instructions and that's what I did.

I know that I was not an officially designated challenger, and I don't believe that anybody else on the lawyers committee, of whom Bill Rehnquist was one and Jim Bush was one, were designated election officials, either. I think our scope, as I recall it—and this was 25 years ago—was simply to read the code and advise people, first over the phones when they called in, whether they were a designated challenger or an election official from a party, whomever. That's what I know I did.

I think one time I went out to a precinct and read the code to somebody, and they said, "Gee, that's the law" and that was that.