

promote respect for the flag and the institutions of the United States of America and the State of Washington, reverence for law and order and undivided allegiance to the government,” and the other requiring all state employees to swear, *inter alia*, that they would not “aid in the commission of any act intended to overthrow, destroy, or alter or assist in the overthrow, destruction, or alteration” of government. Although couched in vagueness terms, the Court’s opinion stressed that the vagueness was compounded by its effect on First Amendment rights and seemed to emphasize that the state could not deny employment to one simply because he unintentionally lent indirect aid to the cause of violent overthrow by engaging in lawful activities that he knew might add to the power of persons supporting illegal overthrow.<sup>733</sup>

More precisely drawn oaths survived vagueness attacks but fell before First Amendment objections in the next three cases. *Elfbrandt v. Russell*<sup>734</sup> involved an oath that as supplemented would have been violated by one who “knowingly and willfully becomes or remains a member of the communist party . . . or any other organization having for its purposes the overthrow by force or violence of the government” with “knowledge of said unlawful purpose of said organization.” The law’s blanketing in of “knowing but guiltless” membership was invalid, wrote Justice Douglas for the Court, because one could be a knowing member but not subscribe to the illegal goals of the organization; moreover, it appeared that one must also have participated in the unlawful activities of the organization before public employment could be denied.<sup>735</sup> Next, in *Keyishian v. Board of Regents*,<sup>736</sup> the oath provisions sustained in *Adler*<sup>737</sup> were declared unconstitutional. A number of provisions were voided as vague,<sup>738</sup> but the Court held invalid a new provision making Communist Party membership *prima facie* evidence of disqualification for employment because the opportunity to rebut the presumption was too limited. It could be rebutted only by denying membership, denying knowledge of advocacy of illegal overthrow, or denying that the organization advocates illegal overthrow. But “legislation which sanctions membership unaccompanied by specific intent to further the unlawful goals of the organization or which is not active membership vio-

<sup>733</sup> 377 U.S. at 369–70.

<sup>734</sup> 384 U.S. 11 (1966). Justices White, Clark, Harlan, and Stewart dissented. *Id.* at 20.

<sup>735</sup> 384 U.S. at 16, 17, 19. “Those who join an organization but do not share its unlawful purposes and who do not participate in its unlawful activities pose no threat, either as citizens or public employees.” *Id.* at 17.

<sup>736</sup> 385 U.S. 589 (1967). Justices Clark, Harlan, Stewart, and White dissented. *Id.* at 620.

<sup>737</sup> *Adler v. Board of Education*, 342 U.S. 485 (1952).

<sup>738</sup> *Keyishian v. Board of Regents*, 385 U.S. 589, 597–604 (1967).