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NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY  
CENTRAL SECURITY SERVICE  
FORT GEORGE G. MEADE, MARYLAND 20755-6000

FOIA Case: 84652B  
11 July 2017

JOHN GREENEWALD  
[REDACTED]

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

This is our final response to your Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request of 7 June 2016 for Intellipedia pages on the Church Committee, and/or Frank Church, and/or United States Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, and/or U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. A copy of your request is enclosed. In our initial response to you, dated 8 June 2016, we informed you that this request was assigned case number 84652 and that there are no assessable fees for this request. We provided you with two responsive documents on 12 August 2016 and informed you that we continued to work on your case. The final responsive documents are enclosed.

This Agency is authorized by statute to protect certain information concerning its activities (in this case, internal URLs) as well as the names of its employees. Such information is exempt from disclosure pursuant to the third exemption of the FOIA, which provides for the withholding of information specifically protected from disclosure by statute. The specific statute applicable in this case is Section 6, Public Law 86-36 (50 U.S. Code 3605). We have determined that such information exists in this record, and we have excised it accordingly.

In addition, personal information regarding individuals has been deleted from the enclosures in accordance with 5 U.S.C. 552 (b)(6). This exemption protects from disclosure information that would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy. In balancing the public interest for the information you request against the privacy interests involved, we have determined that the privacy interests sufficiently satisfy the requirements for the application of the (b)(6) exemption.

Since these deletions may be construed as a partial denial of your request, you are hereby advised of this Agency's appeal procedures. You may

appeal this decision. If you decide to appeal, you should do so in the manner outlined below.

- The appeal must be in sent via U.S. postal mail, fax, or electronic delivery (e-mail) and addressed to:

NSA/CSS FOIA/PA Appeal Authority (P132),  
National Security Agency  
9800 Savage Road STE 6932  
Fort George G. Meade MD 20755-6932

The facsimile number is (443)479-3612.

The appropriate email address to submit an appeal is [FOIARSC@nsa.gov](mailto:FOIARSC@nsa.gov).

- It must be postmarked or delivered electronically no later than 90 calendar days from the date of this letter. Decisions appealed after 90 days will not be addressed.
- Please include the case number provided above.
- Please describe with sufficient detail why you believe the denial of requested information was unwarranted.
- NSA will endeavor to respond within 20 working days of receiving your appeal, absent any unusual circumstances.

For further assistance and to discuss any aspect of your request, you may contact our FOIA Public Liaison at [foialo@nsa.gov](mailto:foialo@nsa.gov). You may also contact the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS) at the National Archives and Records Administration to inquire about the FOIA mediation services they offer. OGIS contact information is: Office of Information Services, National Archives and Records Administration, 8601 Adelphi Road-OGIS, College Park, MD 20740-6001; e-mail: [ogis@nara.gov](mailto:ogis@nara.gov); main: 202-741-5770; toll free: 1-877-684-6448; or fax: 202-741-5769.

Sincerely,



for  
JOHN R. CHAPMAN  
Chief, FOIA/PA Office  
NSA Initial Denial Authority

Encls:  
a/s

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**From:** donotreply@nsa.gov  
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 07, 2016 8:14 PM  
**To:** donotreply@nsa.gov  
**Subject:** FOIA Request (Web form submission)

**Title:** Mr.

**Full Name:** John Greenewald

**email:** john@greenewald.com

**Company:** The Black Vault

**Postal Address:** [REDACTED]

**Postal City:** [REDACTED]

**Postal State-prov:** [REDACTED]

**Zip Code:** [REDACTED]

**Country:** United States of America

**Home Phone:** [REDACTED]

**Work Phone:** [REDACTED]

**Records Requested:** To whom it may concern,

This is a non-commercial request made under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act 5 U.S.C. S 552. My FOIA requester status as a "representative of the news media" however due to your agency's denial of this status, I hereby submit this request as an "All other" requester.

I prefer electronic delivery of the requested material either via email to john@greenewald.com or via CD-ROM or DVD via postal mail. Please contact me should this FOIA request should incur a charge.

I respectfully request a copy of the Intellipedia entry (from all three Wikis that make up the Intellipedia) for the following entry(s) (Or whatever similar topic may pertain if it is slightly worded differently):

CHURCH COMMITTEE

and/or

FRANK CHURCH

and/or

United States Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities

and/or

U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

Thank you so much for your time, and I am very much looking forward to your response.

Sincerely,

John Greenewald, Jr.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

(b) (3) - P.L. 86-36

# (U) Frank Church

UNCLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET//SI//TK~~

From Intellipedia

You have new messages (last change).

*For his son, Frank Forrester Church IV, the Unitarian Universalist minister and theologian, see Forrest Church. For the author of the Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus editorial, see Francis Pharcellus Church.*

**Frank Forrester Church III** (July 25, 1924 – April 7, 1984) was an American lawyer and politician. A member of the Democratic Party, he served as a United States Senator from Idaho from 1957 to 1981.<sup>[1][2]</sup>

Church was an unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic nomination in the 1976 presidential election, losing to Jimmy Carter. He is known for heading the Church Committee, which investigated abuses in the U.S. intelligence agencies.

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## Early life

Born and raised in Boise, Idaho, Church was the younger of the two sons of Frank (II) and Laura Bilderback Church.<sup>[3]</sup> His father co-owned a sporting goods store and took the sons on fishing, hunting, and hiking outings in the Idaho mountains.<sup>[4]</sup> The family was Catholic and conservative, and Frank III attended St. Joseph's School as a youngster,<sup>[5]</sup> and at went by the nickname "Frosty."<sup>[6]</sup> His older brother Richard became a career officer in the U.S. Marines Corps, and retired as a colonel.<sup>[3]</sup>

In his youth, Church admired William E. Borah, who represented Idaho in the U.S. Senate from 1907 to 1940. Church graduated from Boise High School in 1942, where he served as student body president. As a junior in 1941, he won the American Legion National Oratorical Contest. The prize was sufficient to provide for four years at the college of the winner's choice. Church chose Stanford University, and enrolled in 1942.

In 1943, Church enlisted in the U.S. Army and attended officer candidate training in Georgia.<sup>[1]</sup> He served as a military intelligence officer in the China-Burma-India theater. Following his discharge in 1946, he returned to Stanford to complete his education, receiving his bachelor's degree in political science in 1947.<sup>[4]</sup>

## Frank Church

Frank Church

**United States Senator  
from Idaho**

**In office**

January 3, 1957 – January 3, 1981

**Preceded by** Herman Welker

**Succeeded by** Steve Symms

**Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign  
Relations**

**In office**

January 3, 1979 – January 3, 1981

**Preceded by** John J. Sparkman

**Succeeded by** Charles H. Percy

### Personal details

<b>Born</b>	Frank Forrester Church III July 25, 1924 Boise, Idaho
<b>Died</b>	April 7, 1984 (aged 59) Bethesda, Maryland
<b>Resting place</b>	Morris Hill Cemetery Boise, Idaho
<b>Nationality</b>	United States
<b>Political party</b>	Democratic
<b>Spouse(s)</b>	Bethine Clark Church (b.1923) (m. 1947–1984, his death)
<b>Children</b>	Frank Forrester Church IV (1948–2009) Chase Clark Church (b.1957)
<b>Residence</b>	Boise
<b>Alma mater</b>	Stanford Law School J.D., 1950 Stanford University B.A., 1947
<b>Profession</b>	Attorney
<b>Religion</b>	Presbyterian
<b>Military service</b>	
<b>Allegiance</b>	<span><span></span></span> United States
<b>Service/branch</b>	U.S. Army
<b>Years of service</b>	1943–46

In June 1947 he married Bethine Clark, daughter of Chase A. Clark, a former Democratic governor of Idaho. The wedding took place at the secluded Robinson Bar Ranch (44.247, -114.678), the Chase family's ranch in the mountains east of

<b>Unit</b>	Intelligence
<b>Battles/wars</b>	World War II

Stanley (and now owned by singer Carole King, since 1981).<sup>[7]</sup> He entered Harvard Law School that fall and after one year at Harvard, Church transferred to Stanford Law School, when he thought the cold Massachusetts winter was the cause of a pain in his lower back. The pain did not go away and the problem was soon diagnosed as testicular cancer.<sup>[8]</sup> After one of his testicles and glands in his lower abdomen were removed, Church was given only a few months to live. However, he rebounded from the illness after another doctor started X-ray treatments. This second chance led him to later reflect that "life itself is such a chancy proposition that the only way to live is by taking great chances." In 1950, Church graduated from Stanford Law School and returned to Boise to practice law and teach public speaking at the junior college.

Frank and Bethine had two sons, Frank Forrester Church IV, who died in 2009, and Chase Clark Church, who lives in Boise. Both boys were named for their grandfathers.

## Political career

Church became an active Democrat in Idaho and after an unsuccessful try for the state legislature in 1952, he ran for the United States Senate in 1956. After a closely contested primary election against former Senator Glen H. Taylor, Church handily defeated Republican incumbent Herman Welker in the general election. At the age of 32, Church became the fifth youngest member ever to sit in the U.S. Senate. Church was reelected three times (1962, 1968 and 1974), the only Democrat ever to win reelection to the U.S. Senate from Idaho.

Upon entering the Senate in January 1957, Church made the mistake of voting on a measure against the wishes of Democratic Majority Leader, Lyndon Johnson, and Johnson punished Church by all but ignoring him for the next six months. Church found solace from Republican Minority Leader, William Knowland. However, Church managed to find his way into Johnson's good graces by providing key assistance in getting the Civil Rights Act of 1957 passed. LBJ was so grateful he made the young Idahoan a veritable protégé, rewarding him with plum assignments, such as a seat on the prestigious Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a position which allowed Church to follow in the footsteps of his idol, William Borah. Recently declassified documents show that the young veteran also challenged his mentor, behind closed doors, after the 1964 incident in the Gulf of Tonkin,<sup>[9]</sup> making this prescient warning: "In a democracy you cannot expect the people, whose sons are being killed and who will be killed, to exercise their judgment if the truth is concealed from them."

In 1967, a recall campaign was waged against Church by Ron Rankin, a Republican county commissioner in Kootenai County in northern Idaho. Rankin unsuccessfully sued Idaho's secretary of state to accept recall petitions. The U.S. District Court for Idaho ruled that the state's recall laws did not apply to U.S. senators and that such a recall would violate the U.S. Constitution. Allan Shepard, Idaho's attorney general at the time, agreed with the court's decision.

"It must be pointed out that a United States senator is not a state officer but a federal officer whose position is created by Article I, Section I of the United States Constitution," Shepard wrote in a June 17, 1967, opinion for the secretary of state. "There seems to be no provision for canvassing the votes of a recall election of a United States senator." Most commentators at the time believed that the recall attempt strengthened Church politically by allowing him to play the role of political martyr and he was reelected in the next year's election over Republican Congressman George V. Hansen 60% to 40%.

## Vietnam War and Church Committee

Template:Further2

File:Biden-Church-Sadat.jpg  
From left: Senator Joe Biden, Senator Frank Church and President of Egypt Anwar Sadat after signing Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty, 1979

Church was a key figure in American foreign policy during the 1970s, and served as chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations from 1979 to 1981. Following the instinct that led him to ask questions early on (see above), Church was one of the first senators to publicly oppose the Vietnam War in the 1960s, although he had supported the conflict earlier. He was the co-author of two legislative efforts to curtail the war: the Cooper-Church Amendment of 1970, and the Case-Church Amendment of 1973.

In September 1970, Church announced on television and in speeches across the country that "the doves had won." Author David F. Schmitz states that Church based his assertion on the fact that two key propositions of the anti-war movement, "A negotiated peace and the withdrawal of American troops," were now official policy. The only debate that remained would be over when to withdraw, not whether to withdraw, and over the meaning of the war. Church concluded:

“So the last service the doves can perform for their country, is to insist that President Nixon's withdrawal program truly leads to a "Vietnamization" of the war. It must not become a device for lowering — and then perpetuating — an American military presence in South Vietnam for the indefinite future. Our long ordeal in this mistaken war must end. The gathering crisis in our own land, the deepening divisions among our people, the festering, unattended problems here at home, bear far

more importantly on the future of our Republic than anything we ever had at stake in Indochina."

Church argued that the opponents of the Vietnam War needed to prevent the corruption of the nation and its institutions. To Church, the anti-war opposition was the "highest concept of patriotism — which is not the patriotism of conformity — but the patriotism of Senator Carl Schurz, a dissenter from an earlier period, who proclaimed: 'Our country right or wrong. When right, to be kept right: when wrong, to be put right.'"<sup>[10]</sup>

Church gained national prominence during his service in the Senate through his chairmanship of the Church Committees, which conducted extensive hearings investigating extra-legal FBI and CIA intelligence-gathering and covert operations. Together with Senator Sam Ervin's committee inquiries, the Church Committee hearings laid the groundwork for the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978. The committee also investigated CIA drug smuggling activities in the Golden Triangle and secret U.S.-backed wars in Third World countries.  
[11][12][13][14]

## Environmental record and other issues

Church is also remembered for his voting record as a strong progressive and environmental legislator, and he played a major role in the creation of the nation's system of protected wilderness areas in the 1960s. In 1964, Church was the floor sponsor of the national Wilderness Act. In 1968, he sponsored the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act and gained passage of a ten-year moratorium on federal plans to transfer water from the Pacific Northwest to California. Working with other members of Congress from northwestern states, Church helped establish the Hells Canyon National Recreation Area along the Oregon-Idaho border, which protected the gorge from dam building. He was also the primary proponent in the establishment of the Sawtooth Wilderness & National Recreation Area in central Idaho in 1972.

Church also was instrumental in the creation of Idaho's River of No Return Wilderness in 1980, his final year in the Senate. This wilderness comprised the old Idaho Primitive Area, the Salmon River Breaks Primitive Area, plus additional lands. At 2.36 million acres (9,550 km<sup>2</sup>), over 3,600 square miles (9,300 km<sup>2</sup>), it is the largest wilderness area in the nation outside of Alaska. It was renamed the Frank Church-River of No Return Wilderness in 1984, shortly after the diagnosis of his pancreatic cancer. Idaho Senator Jim McClure introduced the measure in the Senate in late February,<sup>[15]</sup> and President Reagan signed the act on March 14,<sup>[16]</sup> less than four weeks before his death on April 7.

Frank Church was considered a progressive (remarkable considering that he represented one of the most conservative states in the nation); He in 1979, was the first in Congress to disclose and protest the presence of Soviet combat troops in Cuba. According to the Christian Science Monitor, this stance somewhat disarmed his opponent's charge in the 1980 campaign that Church's performance on the Foreign Relations Committee had helped to weaken the US militarily.<sup>[17]</sup> In 1974, Church joined Senator Frank Moss, D-Utah, to sponsor the first legislation to provide federal funding for hospice care programs. The bill did not have widespread support and was not brought to a vote. Congress finally included a hospice benefit in Medicare in 1982.<sup>[18]</sup>

In late 1975 and early 1976, a sub-committee of the U.S. Senate led by Church concluded that members of the Lockheed board had paid members of friendly governments to guarantee contracts for military aircraft<sup>[19]</sup> in a series of illegal bribes and contributions made by Lockheed officials from the late 1950s to the 1970s. In 1976, it was publicly revealed that Lockheed had paid \$22 million in bribes to foreign officials<sup>[20]</sup> in the process of negotiating the sale of aircraft including the F-104 Starfighter, the so-called "Deal of the Century".

He also sponsored the "conscience clause," which prohibited the government from requiring church-affiliated hospitals to perform abortions.<sup>[6]</sup>

## Late political career

In 1976, Church belatedly sought the Democratic nomination for president and announced his candidacy on March 18 from rustic Idaho City, his father's birthplace.<sup>[21]</sup> Although he won primaries in Nebraska, Idaho, Oregon, and Montana, he withdrew in favor of the eventual nominee, former Georgia governor Jimmy Carter. Church remains the only Idahoan to win a major-party presidential primary election.

By June, Carter had the nomination sufficiently locked up and could take time to interview potential vice-presidential candidates. The pundits predicted that Church would be tapped to provide balance as an experienced senator with strong liberal credentials. Church promoted himself, persuading friends to intervene with Carter in his behalf. If a quick choice had been required as in past conventions, Carter later recalled, he would probably have chosen Church. But the longer period for deliberation gave Carter time to worry about his compatibility with the publicity-seeking Church, who had a tendency to be long-winded. Instead, Carter invited Senators Edmund Muskie, John Glenn, and Walter Mondale to visit his home in Plains, Georgia, for personal interviews, while Church, Henry M. Jackson, and Adlai Stevenson III would be interviewed at the convention in New York. Of all the potential candidates, Carter found Mondale the most compatible. As a result, Carter selected Mondale as his running mate.

In the late 1970s, Church was a main congressional supporter of the Torrijos-Carter Treaties, which proposed to return the Panama Canal to



Panama. The latter position proved to be widely unpopular in Idaho and led to the formation of the "*Anybody But Church Committee*" (ABC), committee created by the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), based in Washington, D.C. ABC and NCPAC had no formal connection with the 1980 Senate campaign of conservative Republican congressman Steve Symms, which permitted them, under former Federal election law, to spend as much as they could raise to defeat Church.<sup>[22]</sup>

Church lost in his attempt for a fifth term to Symms by less than one percent of the vote. His defeat was blamed on the activities of the *Anybody But Church Committee* and the national media's early announcement of Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan's overwhelming win in Idaho. These predictions were broadcast before polls closed statewide, specifically in the Pacific Time Zone in the north. Many believed that this caused many Democrats in the more politically moderate Idaho Panhandle to not vote at all. As of 2013, Church is the last Democrat to represent Idaho in the U.S. Senate.

## Election results

U.S. Senate elections in Idaho (Class III): Results 1956–1980

Year	Democrat	Votes	Pct	Republican	Votes	Pct	3rd P
1956	Template:Party shading/Democratic   <b>Frank Church</b>	Template:Party shading/Democratic align="right"  149,096	Template:Party shading/Democratic  56.2%	Template:Party shading/Republican  Herman Welker (inc.)	Template:Party shading/Republican align="right"  102,781	Template:Party shading/Republican  38.7%	Template:Party shading/Republican  Glen H. Taylor
1962	Template:Party shading/Democratic   <b>Frank Church</b> (inc.)	Template:Party shading/Democratic align="right"  141,657	Template:Party shading/Democratic  54.7%	Template:Party shading/Republican  Jack Hawley	Template:Party shading/Republican align="right"  117,129	Template:Party shading/Republican  45.3%	
1968	Template:Party shading/Democratic   <b>Frank Church</b> (inc.)	Template:Party shading/Democratic align="right"  173,482	Template:Party shading/Democratic  60.3%	Template:Party shading/Republican  George V. Hansen	Template:Party shading/Republican align="right"  114,394	Template:Party shading/Republican  39.7%	
1974	Template:Party shading/Democratic   <b>Frank Church</b> (inc.)	Template:Party shading/Democratic align="right"  145,140	Template:Party shading/Democratic  56.1%	Template:Party shading/Republican  Bob Smith	Template:Party shading/Republican align="right"  109,072	Template:Party shading/Republican  42.1%	Template:Party shading/Republican  Jean L. Starnes
1980	Template:Party shading/Democratic   <b>Frank Church</b> (inc.)	Template:Party shading/Democratic align="right"  214,439	Template:Party shading/Democratic  48.8%	Template:Party shading/Republican   <b>Steve Symms</b>	Template:Party shading/Republican align="right"  218,701	Template:Party shading/Republican  49.7%	Template:Party shading/Republican  Larry Fullerton

Following his 24 years in the Senate, Church practiced international law with the Washington, D.C., firm of Whitman and Ransom, specializing in Asian issues.

## Death and legacy

Three years after leaving the Senate, Church was hospitalized for a pancreatic tumor on January 12, 1984. Less than three months later, he died at his home in Bethesda, Maryland, on April 7 at age 59.<sup>[1][2]</sup> A memorial service was held at the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C.<sup>[23]</sup> and then his body was flown home to Idaho, where he lay in state beneath the rotunda of the Idaho State Capitol.<sup>[24][25]</sup> His funeral was held in downtown Boise at the Cathedral of the Rockies on April 12 and televised throughout Idaho. Church was buried at Morris Hill Cemetery near his boyhood hero, Senator William Borah.<sup>[26][27][28]</sup> His parents and paternal grandparents are also buried at Morris Hill, in the St. John's Catholic section.<sup>[29]</sup> His maternal grandparents are buried across town in the Pioneer Cemetery,<sup>[30]</sup> as are the Bayhouse great-grandparents.<sup>[31]</sup>

Church received an honorary doctorate from Pennsylvania's Elizabethtown College in 1983 to honor his work for the American people during his career in public office. His papers, originally given to his alma mater Stanford University in 1981, were transferred to Boise State University at his request in 1984.

Church is widely quoted in regard to the National Security Agency: "I don't want to see this country ever go across the bridge... I know the capacity that is there to make tyranny total in America, and we must see to it that this agency and all agencies that possess this technology operate within the law and under proper supervision, so that we never cross over that abyss. That is the abyss from which there is no return."

Church is the last Democrat to serve in the U.S. Senate from Idaho. Since his last re-election in 1974, the Republicans have won twelve consecutive U.S. Senate elections in the state, through 2012



## See also

- Cooper-Church Amendment
- Case-Church Amendment
- Frank Church High School - an alternative high school in Boise
- Frank Church—River of No Return Wilderness

## References

Template:Bioguide

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- ↑ 2.0 2.1 "Frank Church dies of cancer (<http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=zWpfAAAAIbAJ&sjid=3i4MAAAAIAIbAJ&pg=4021%2C2102095>) ", April 8, 1984, p. 1.
- ↑ 3.0 3.1 "Mother of former Sen. Church dies in Boise ([http://news.google.com/news/papers?id=9ZdfAAAAIbAJ&sjid=PjEMAAAAIAIbAJ&pg=2456,145013\\_6](http://news.google.com/news/papers?id=9ZdfAAAAIbAJ&sjid=PjEMAAAAIAIbAJ&pg=2456,145013_6)) ", March 5, 1983, p. 5B.
- ↑ 4.0 4.1 Frank Forrester Church III (<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-2506300045.html>) . Encyclopedia of World Biography (2008). Retrieved on March 7, 2013.
- ↑ Template:Cite magazine
- ↑ 6.0 6.1 Lardner, George, Jr., "Frank Church running 'happy campaign,' relaxed about future (<http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=JfBLAAAAIbAJ&sjid=d-0DAAAIAIbAJ&pg=6838,3748495>) ", April 25, 1976, p. A12.
- ↑ "Musician Carole King's Stanley ranch re-listed (<http://www.mtexpress.com/index2.php?ID=2005132116>) ", July 2, 2010.
- ↑ "Milestones: Jan. 23, 1984 ([http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,949974,00.html?iid=chi\\_x-sphere](http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,949974,00.html?iid=chi_x-sphere)) ", *Time*, January 23, 1984. URL accessed on May 2, 2010.
- ↑ Bumiller, Elizabeth, "Records Show Doubts on '64 Vietnam Crisis (<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/15/world/asia/15vietnam.html>) ", 14 July 2010. URL accessed on 15 July 2010.
- ↑ Schmitz, David F (2006). *The United States and Right-Wing Dictatorships, 1965–1989*. Cambridge University Press. p. 121. Schmitz uses the example of "The Doves Have Won and Don't Know It" September 6, 1970 on CBS television, 2.2/32/IS, FCP; "The Doves Have Won," September 11, 1970 (Source of the "highest concept of patriotism..." quote), speech at Mills College of Education; "The Doves are Winning — Don't Despair," September 26, 1970, speech at Colorado State University and "The Unsung Victory of the Doves," December 1970, 10.6/8/8 FCP.
- ↑ Knott, Stephen F (November 4 2001), "Congressional Oversight and the Crippling of the CIA (<http://hnn.us/articles/380.html>) ", *History News Network*, <<http://hnn.us/articles/380.html>>
- ↑ Mooney, Chris (November 5 2001), " (<http://web.archive.org/web/20061205025524/http://prospect.org/print/V12/19/mooney-c.html>) The American Prospect (<http://web.archive.org/web/20061205025524/http://prospect.org/print/V12/19/mooney-c.html>) ", *Back to Church*, <<http://web.archive.org/web/20061205025524/http://prospect.org/print/V12/19/mooney-c.html>>
- ↑ Burbach, Roger (October 2003), "State Terrorism and September 11, 1973 & 2001 (<http://zmagsite.zmag.org/Oct2003/burbach1003.html>) " (– Scholar search ([http://scholar.google.co.uk/scholar?hl=en&lr=&q=author%3ABurbach+intitle%3AState+Terrorism+and+September+11%2C+1973+%26+2001&as\\_publication=ZMag&as\\_ylo=2003&as\\_yhi=2003&btnG=Search](http://scholar.google.co.uk/scholar?hl=en&lr=&q=author%3ABurbach+intitle%3AState+Terrorism+and+September+11%2C+1973+%26+2001&as_publication=ZMag&as_ylo=2003&as_yhi=2003&btnG=Search)) ), *ZMag* **16**(10), <<http://zmagsite.zmag.org/Oct2003/burbach1003.html>>
- ↑ "Debate: Bush's handling of terror clues (<http://archives.cnn.com/2002/ALLPOLITICS/05/19/bush.decision.911.cnn.a/>) ", *Cable News Network*, May 19 2002, <<http://archives.cnn.com/2002/ALLPOLITICS/05/19/bush.decision.911.cnn.a/>>. Retrieved on 2 May 2010
- ↑ "Idaho acts to rename area after Frank Church ([http://news.google.com/news/papers?id=vPRSAAAAIbAJ&sjid=\\_4IDAAAIAIbAJ&pg=3837,5258418](http://news.google.com/news/papers?id=vPRSAAAAIbAJ&sjid=_4IDAAAIAIbAJ&pg=3837,5258418)) ", February 28, 1984, p. 10B.
- ↑ "Reagan signs bill naming area after Frank Church ([http://news.google.com/news/papers?id=sv1LAAAAIbAJ&sjid=gPkDAAAIAIbAJ&pg=1550,322316\\_9](http://news.google.com/news/papers?id=sv1LAAAAIbAJ&sjid=gPkDAAAIAIbAJ&pg=1550,322316_9)) ", March 15, 1984, p. 3.
- ↑ Mouat, Lucia (October 16 1980), "It's 'Frank' vs. 'Steve' as Idaho's Church seeks re-election to Senate ([http://www.igottheconch.com/index.php?title=Church\\_Committee#Frank\\_Church](http://www.igottheconch.com/index.php?title=Church_Committee#Frank_Church)) ", *Christian Science Monitor*: 6, <[http://www.igottheconch.com/index.php?title=Church\\_Committee#Frank\\_Church](http://www.igottheconch.com/index.php?title=Church_Committee#Frank_Church)>
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## External links

Template:Commons category Template:CongBio

- Encyclopedia of World Biography (<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-2506300045.html>) – Frank Forrester Church III
- Boise State University (<http://www.boisestate.edu/fci/whois.shtml>) -The Frank Church Institute
  - BSU Library: Special Collections (<http://library.boisestate.edu/Special/church/church.htm>) - The Frank Church Papers
  - BSU Library (<http://library.boisestate.edu/bchurch/>) – tribute to Bethine Church
- Frank Church—River of No Return Wilderness - user's guide
- Boise High School's Hall of Fame (<http://boise.schoolboiseschools.org/modules/cms/pages.phtml?pageid=232010&sessionid=7c2a9a293726005d301823f3535056b7&sessionid=7c2a9a293726005d301823f3535056b7>)
- Morris Hill Cemetery - Boise, ID (<http://parks.cityofboise.org/parks-locations/cemeteries/morris-hill/morris-hill-walking-tour/>) - Walking Tour
- Template:Find a Grave
- Frankline & Eleanor Roosevelt Institute (<http://newdeal.feri.org/ki/ask/profile.cfm?QID=2828>) – Frank and Bethine Church

Political party offices		
Preceded by: <b>D. Worth Clark</b>	<b>Democratic Party nominee, U.S. Senator (Class 3) from Idaho</b> 1956 (won), 1962 (won), 1968 (won), 1974 (won), 1980 (lost)	Succeeded by: <b>John V. Evans</b>
Template:U.S. Senator box		
Political Offices		
Preceded by: <b>Harrison A. Williams</b> (D-New Jersey)	<b>Chairman of the Senate Aging Committee</b> 1971–1979	Succeeded by: <b>Lawton Chiles</b> (D-Florida)
Preceded by: <b>John Sparkman</b> (D-Alabama)	<b>Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee</b> 1979–1981	Succeeded by: <b>Charles H. Percy</b> (R-Illinois)
Honorary Titles		
Preceded by: <b>Russell Long</b> (D-Louisiana)	<b>Youngest Member of the United States Senate</b> 1957–1961	Succeeded by: <b>John Tower</b> (R-Texas)

Template:USSenID Template:United States presidential election, 1976

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# (U) Church Committee

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The Senate's famous **Church Committee** began its investigation of US intelligence practices in April 1975. Its findings the following April would mark a watershed for the Intelligence Community. Despite hints that the Committee would judge the Central Intelligence Agency to have acted like a rogue elephant, Senator Church and his colleagues concluded that the United States needed a capability for clandestine activities overseas and covert action operations--with proper safeguards. More importantly, the procedures and findings of the Church Committee helped to alter forever Congress's role in overseeing the Community.

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Sen. Frank Church (D-ID)

## The 1975 Church Committee

The Senate created the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities in response to a raft of media allegations of wrongdoing. The panel, better known by the name of its chairman, Sen. Frank Church (D-ID), interpreted its charter as a mandate to "determine what secret governmental activities are necessary and how they best can be conducted under the rule of law."

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Church and his colleagues prepared one of the most detailed public appraisals of any nation's intelligence structure. The Final Report's proposals on the organization and management of the community were articulate and congruent with those of recent thinking in the executive branch, including the idea that the DCI should focus on IC affairs and relinquish direct supervision of CIA to a deputy. As a creature of the legislative branch, the committee naturally insisted on greater Congressional as well as policymaker oversight of intelligence, and did not hesitate to suggest amendments to the various statutes affecting the field.

The breakthrough for the Church Committee came in its treatment of the operational side of American intelligence. The committee suggested that intelligence should be both a collector of data and producer of information, and an instrument for implementing US foreign policy. The report concentrated on clandestine activities, but it took a judicious approach that tempered criticisms with a firm conclusion that intelligence had made "important contributions" to national security and become a "permanent and necessary component of our government." This conclusion countered growing public and congressional concern over the integrity of the nation's intelligence agencies. Even covert action received a grudging endorsement. The committee had considered "proposing a total ban on all forms of covert action," but concluded that America should retain a capability to react to extraordinary threats through covert means.

Within two years of the Final Report's release, the Senate and House formed permanent committees to oversee the



Intelligence Community. While these oversight committees have always operated within distinct limits (in part because of their competition with the established authorizing and appropriating committees), their oversight has had a clearly positive effect. By looking at the Intelligence Community more or less as a whole, they have tended to make it more coherent, disciplined, and accountable.

## Legislative barriers after the Church Committee

The Hughes-Ryan Act of 1974 put an end to plausible denial by requiring a Presidential finding that each operation is important to national security, and the Intelligence Oversight Act of 1980 required that Congress be notified of all covert operations. But both laws are full of enough vague terms and escape hatches to allow the executive branch to thwart their authors' intentions, as the Iran-Contra Affair has shown. Indeed, the members of Congress are in a dilemma: when they are informed, they are in no position to stop the action, unless they leak its existence and thereby foreclose the option of covertness.<sup>[1]</sup>

## Media reports on the Church Committee and plausible deniability

“ The (Church Committee) conceded that to provide the United States with "plausible denial" in the event that the anti-Castro plots were discovered, Presidential authorization might have been subsequently "obscured". (The Church Committee) also declared that, whatever the extent of the knowledge, Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson should bear the "ultimate responsibility" for the actions of their subordinates.<sup>[2]</sup> ”

“ CIA officials deliberately used Aesopian language<sup>[3]</sup> in talking to the President and others outside the agency. (Richard Helms) testified that he did not want to "embarrass a President" or sit around an official table talking about "killing or murdering." The report found this "circumlocution"<sup>[4]</sup> reprehensible, saying: "Failing to call dirty business by its rightful name may have increased the risk of dirty business being done." The committee also suggested that the system of command and control may have been deliberately ambiguous, to give Presidents a chance for "plausible denial."<sup>[5]</sup> ”

“ What made the responsibility difficult to pin down in retrospect was a sophisticated system of institutionalized vagueness and circumlocution whereby no official — and particularly a President — had to officially endorse questionable activities. Unsavory orders were rarely committed to paper and what record the committee found was shot through with references to "removal," "the magic button"<sup>[6]</sup> and "the resort beyond the last resort." Thus the agency might at times have misread instructions from a high, but it seemed more often to be easing the burden of Presidents who knew there were things they didn't want to know. As former CIA director Richard Helms told the committee: "The difficulty with this kind of thing, as you gentlemen are all painfully aware, is that nobody wants to embarrass a President of the United States."<sup>[7]</sup> ”

## '70s Plausible deniability flaws

The doctrine had six major flaws:

1. It was an open door to the abuse of authority; it required that the bodies in question could be said to have acted independently, which in the end was tantamount to giving them license to act independently.<sup>[8]</sup>
2. It rarely worked when invoked; the denials made were rarely plausible and were generally seen through by both the media and the populace.<sup>[9]</sup>

One aspect of the Watergate crisis is the repeated failure of the doctrine of plausible deniability, which the



administration repeatedly attempted to use to stop the scandal affecting President Richard Nixon and his aides.

3. "Plausible denial" only increases the risk of misunderstanding between senior officials and their employees.<sup>[10]</sup>
4. It only shifts blame, and generally, constructs rather little.
5. If the claim fails, it seriously discredits the political figure invoking it as a defense.
6. If it succeeds, it creates the impression that the government is not in control of the state.

## See also

- Plausible deniability

## References

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1. ↑ New York Times Under Cover, or Out of Control? November 29, 1987 Section 7; Page 3, Column 1 (*Book Review of 2 books: The Perfect Failure and Covert Action*)
2. ↑ New York Times Castro Study Plot finds No Role by White House, November 21, 1975, page 52
3. ↑ Definition: Using or having ambiguous or allegorical meanings, especially, to elude political censorship: "They could express their views only in a diluted form, resorting to Aesopian hints and allusions" (*Isaac Deutscher*).
4. ↑ Definition: The use of unnecessarily wordy and indirect language, Evasion in speech or writing, An indirect way of expressing something
5. ↑ New York Times How Fantasies Became Policy, Out of Control, The Honorable, Murderous Gentlemen of A Secret World, November 23, 1975, page 199.
6. ↑ Definition of the "Magic Button" from the Los Angeles Times Article: The Search for a 'Magic Button' In American Foreign Policy; October 18, 1987; (*Review by David Aaron of the book Covert Action*) I recall during my days as a Senate investigator finding a piece of yellow note pad with jottings from a meeting with White House officials during the Kennedy Administration that discussed an "Executive Action" or, in plain English, an assassination capability. The notes referred to it as the "magic button."
7. ↑ Newsweek The CIA'S Hit List, December 1, 1975, page 28
8. ↑ **Church Committee** II. Section B Page 11; IV. Findings and Conclusions Section C Subsection 1 Page 261
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