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The Frank Church Papers : A Summary Guide Including the Papers of Bethine C. Church and Carl Burke

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THE
**FRANK CHURCH
PAPERS**



BOISE STATE UNIVERSITY
BOISE, IDAHO

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A Summary Guide

Including the Papers of
Bethine C. Church
and
Carl Burke

By Ralph W. Hansen and Deborah J. Roberts
Assisted by Ellen Koger and David Kennedy

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**Boise State University Library
Special Collections Department
Boise, Idaho
1988**

Contents

Acknowledgements	iii
Preface by President John H. Keiser	1
Introduction	2
Frank Church Biography	4
The Frank Church Chair of Public Affairs	6
The Papers	8
Legislation Files	9
Senate Committees	13
Federal Government	16
Idaho	19
Campaigns	20
Political Affairs	21
Public Relations	22
Speeches	24
Administration	25
Personal	26
Audio-Visual Collection	28
Bethine Church Papers	30
Carl Burke Papers	31
Frank Church Chronology	32

The conclusions and opinions in this work do not necessarily represent the views of either the Idaho Humanities Council or the National Endowment for the Humanities.

**The Boise State University Library
Wishes to Thank
All Those Who Helped Process**

**THE
FRANK CHURCH
PAPERS**

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Preface

No individual has touched the nation, Idaho or Boise State University quite in the same manner as Frank Church. Church served his native state for 24 years in the U.S. Senate, creating a legacy of unequalled public service.

By testimony and example, he represented Idaho's beauty and its love of freedom. The natural grace and strength of his rhetoric, the unfailing and courageous ability to call us above self-interest, the eloquence of his ideas and the respect for mastery of learning, set him apart as a powerful example of our definition of an educated person.

Over the years Frank and Bethine Church have maintained a long-standing relationship with Boise State University. When the school was a junior college, he was a young attorney who served as a part-time faculty member, teaching speech and commercial law. Bethine attended the junior college, later completing her education at the University of Michigan.

Today, Boise State University is especially honored to serve as the home of the Frank Church Chair and the Frank Church Collection. One of the most extensive senatorial collections ever housed at a university, the Church Collection will provide a wealth of material for research scholars, students and faculty.

Both the Chair and Collection are important to our academic mission. But even more vital, they serve as effective vehicles to preserve and transmit the wisdom and values of Frank Church to future generations.

The living legacy of Frank Church exists in this rich lode of records and materials, and the university is pleased to make them available to scholars and researchers everywhere.

John H. Keiser
President
Boise State University



Announcing the establishment of the Frank Church Chair of Public Affairs with Boise State University President John Keiser.

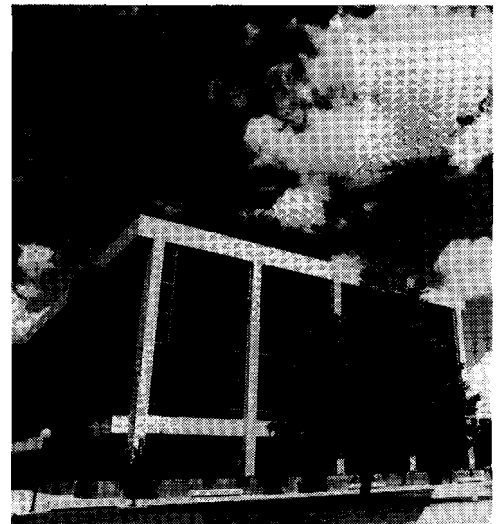
Introduction

In 1980, when Frank Church lost his bid for a fifth term in the United States Senate, he decided to give his extensive collection of papers to Stanford University, his alma mater. The collection was transferred to Stanford in 1980-1981. Early in 1984, Senator Church reassessed the prospect of having his papers outside of Idaho. Church approached Boise State University about our willingness to be the repository of choice and received a confirmation of interest. Church then wrote the president of Stanford University requesting that institution release his papers to Boise State. Stanford graciously acceded.

Before Boise State could house the papers, it was necessary to construct appropriate quarters. To do so, 2,500 square feet of Library space was assigned to the Church Room. In this area, a large workroom and an exhibit/seminar room were constructed with financial assistance from the university and the Idaho State Board of Education. The facility was provided with separate air conditioning and humidity control so that the temperature could be kept at 68 degrees and the humidity at 40 percent, levels best suited for preserving paper.

The papers were received from Stanford in April 1984, and transferred to their new quarters in August 1984. Publicity of the transfer reached all the way to Washington where the Information Security Oversight Office, which receives its policy direction from the National Security Council, invited itself to Boise to examine the Church Papers for classified documents. Mrs. Church and members of the Church staff who were contacted by the University gave assurance that no such papers were in the files. We so notified Washington, and declined their offer of coming to Boise to search through the collection. Now that the processing of the Papers is complete, that decision has proven correct. No classified documents were found.

Although we had atmospheric controlled housing for the Papers and all of the original transfer boxes were on shelves instead of pallets, we still faced the formidable task of arranging the collection. As the collection sat unprocessed, it grew as if it had a life of its own. From Senator Church's pre-Senate law practice we received seven boxes of documents. From Mrs. Church we received considerable memorabilia, 35 boxes and two trunks of papers from Church's post-Senate career. Later, as the collection was well into the processing stage, Mrs. Church sold the family home in Boise and discovered another cache of memorabilia and some campaign material in the attic. Then Carl Burke, Church's boyhood friend and his campaign manager, donated his Church-related papers, a few of which date back to the 1940s. Finally, Mrs. Church sent us some of her historical records which will be incorporated as a unit of the Frank Church Collection.



The Boise State University Library, home of the Frank Church Collection.

The Boise State University Library had on its staff two trained archivists, but neither had ever worked with a collection of this magnitude. Other libraries that had processed or were processing large senatorial collections generously shared processing guides and time on the telephone to assist us. We are particularly indebted to the University of Washington Manuscripts Department. After a hesitant start, we gained experience and the work went smoother and faster. Ultimately, with outside financial assistance, we were able to recruit sufficient staff to complete the project in a shorter time than we dared hope at the outset.

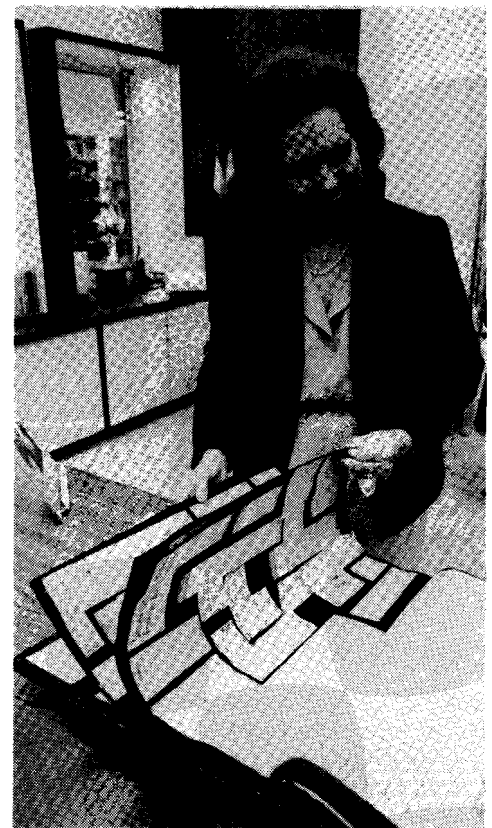
Funding for such an effort was a problem, as it must be for all institutions that undertake the processing of a major collection. At first we used unallocated salary funds to hire an emigre Polish archivist. Then a vacancy at the librarian's level was not filled for one year. We received a grant from the Idaho Humanities Council, for which the Boise State University Foundation provided the matching component. The latter funding was the catalyst that propelled us to finish the project by the end of 1987.

Processing was divided into two units: the audio-visual unit and the manuscript unit. Leslie Pass was responsible for the processing of the hundreds of audio tapes and the equally large number of motion picture reels and videotapes. Ellen Koger supervised the processing of the manuscript portion. In both areas we used student interns to perform the processing. Most recognized the unique effort they were participating in and assumed a proprietary interest in the Collection. Preservation practices were followed to ensure long life for the Collection: audio tapes were duplicated; motion pictures and videotapes are being copied; paper clips, staples and rubber bands were removed from the paper files; and acidic paper was copied and the originals removed from the Collection. The entire Collection was put in folders again and re-boxed in receptacles made from non-acidic materials.

While preservation activities were under way, staff read through each folder and listed on the front the prominent and not so prominent names that appeared in that folder. They also listed subjects and Senate bills that were contained in the folder. While processing was under way, information about the folders was entered into a computer using Q & A software. Ancillary operations included accessioning the artifacts and mounting exhibits in the Church seminar/exhibit room. During the grant period, three issues of a newsletter describing the Collection and the steps taken to process it were published and distributed throughout Idaho and to archivists, scholars and other interested parties throughout the country.

All of our efforts brought forth an extensive index of the audio-visual materials, a name index of the Collection, both audio-visual and the papers, as well as a folder listing and a subject index to the Papers. The latter is a massive computer file. The name index and the folder listing will be photocopied and distributed to Idaho libraries. Scholars who have already used the Collection have been complimentary of the order in which they have found the papers, but more to the point, they have lauded the Collection for the quantity and quality of the research material contained in its 776 linear feet.

After this sizable effort one might be expected to long for a return to normalcy, but that is not our desire. We hope that scholarly use of the Collection will continue to make demands upon the library staff. Because of the labor of those who worked on the Collection, access will be simpler and the rewards of advancing knowledge will lighten our labor.



*Ralph W. Hansen
Boise, March 1988*

Bethine Church viewing memorabilia in the Frank Church Room.

Biography

Frank Church was born in Boise, Idaho on July 25, 1924, a third generation Idahoan. While in junior high school he wrote a letter to a Boise newspaper in response to an article on foreign relations by Senator William Borah. The letter appeared on the paper's front page and Church took the first step toward his goal of following in the footsteps of Senator Borah of Idaho.

As a junior at Boise High School, Church won the 1941 American Legion National Oratorical Contest with a speech titled "The American Way of Life." The prize was sufficient to provide for four years at the college or university of the winner's choice. Church chose Stanford University, enrolling in 1942. Church never forgot his debt to the American Legion and debating and became the Idaho coordinator for the contest after beginning law practice in Boise. Throughout his career, when corresponding with young debaters, he would mention his experience as a debater and encourage his correspondents to continue this activity.

In 1943, Church enlisted in the United States Army and served as a military intelligence officer in the China-Burma-India theatre. When discharged in 1946, he returned to Stanford to complete his education. In 1947, he married Bethine Clark, daughter of Judge and Mrs. Chase A. Clark, a former governor of Idaho. After receiving his undergraduate degree from Stanford, Church was diagnosed as having cancer and was given one year to live. Painful X-ray treatments spared his life and this second chance led him to later reflect that "life itself is such a chancey 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.

Frank Church became an active Democrat in Idaho and after an unsuccessful try for the State Legislature in 1952, he ran for the U.S. Senate in 1956. After a closely contested primary election, he handily defeated the Republican incumbent Herman Welker. At the age of 32, Church became the fifth youngest member ever to sit in the U.S. Senate. The newly elected junior Senator from Idaho responded to a Lyndon B. Johnson request for committee assignment preferences by asking for a place on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. It was a post he described as being "of great moment and importance to Idaho."

In 1958, Church was appointed to the McClellan "Rackets" Committee and received national television exposure. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson gave Church's career a significant boost in 1959 by appointing him to the Foreign Relations Committee. In 1960, Church received additional national exposure when he gave the keynote speech at the Democratic National Convention. In his first term Church played key roles in civil rights legislation, wilderness preservation and statehood for



Frank, Bethine and sons Forrest and Chase.

Alaska and Hawaii. In 1962, he became the first Democratic Senator from Idaho to win a second term.

In 1965, Church expressed his concern about the continued U.S. involvement in Vietnam in a speech on the Senate floor entitled "Going From Bad to Worse in Vietnam." Church's constituency was to the right of the Senator on this matter and he took a political risk as a vocal opponent of the war. In spite of this position he was re-elected in 1968. In 1969, he joined with Senator John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) to sponsor an amendment prohibiting the use of ground troops in Laos and Thailand. In 1970, the second Cooper-Church Amendment limited the power of the president during a war situation. Thereafter Church was actively engaged in efforts to force the end of the Vietnam War.

Another of Senator Church's interests was the elderly. In 1972, Church became the chairman of the Special Committee on Aging, a committee he was appointed to in 1967. To provide for the welfare of retirees, Church sponsored legislation for a cost-of-living adjustment, improved medical care, better housing and other benefits for Social Security recipients. Church's concern for the elderly played a role in winning re-election time after time.

Senator Church served on numerous other committees. From 1973 to 1976, he was co-chair of the Special Committee on National Emergencies and Delegated Emergency Powers. This committee studied the presidential emergency powers that had developed over a 40-year period. In 1973, Church was appointed chairman of the Subcommittee on Multi-National Corporations, charged with the task of exploring the political influence of multi-nationals. Church felt this appointment may have been his single most important assignment. In 1975, Church became the chairman of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. This committee investigated alleged abuses of power by the CIA and FBI.

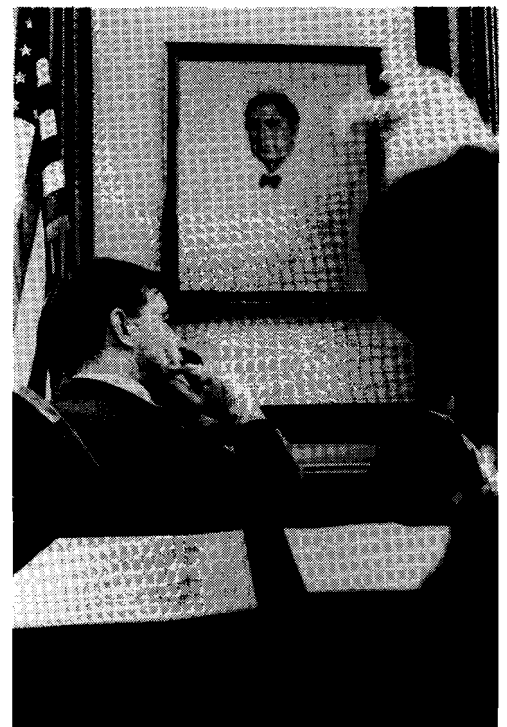
In the spring of 1976, Church sought the nomination for the Democratic candidacy for president. He won primaries in Nebraska, Idaho, Oregon and Montana, but handicapped by his late start, he decided to withdraw in favor of Jimmy Carter.

Early in his career Senator Church struck a balance between preservation and development of the nation's dwindling wilderness areas. His sponsorship and support of the Wild and Scenic Rivers and National Wilderness Acts helped ensure the preservation of the most beautiful regions in the nation. To honor his efforts, the River of No Return Wilderness Area in Idaho was re-named the Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness Area.

A balanced stance was one of the ingredients that helped Senator Church achieve re-election three times in an essentially conservative state. By opposing gun control legislation, supporting local agricultural interests and fighting efforts by southwestern states to export Idaho's water, Church's liberal foreign relations stances were not serious impediments — until 1980.

In 1979, Church achieved a lifelong dream when he was appointed chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In the late 1970s, and later as chair of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Church guided the ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties through the Senate. This support was used by Church's political foes to defeat his efforts for a fifth term. He was defeated by Congressman Steve Symms by 4,262 votes — less than 1 percent of the voter turnout.

After his defeat, Frank Church practiced international law with the Washington, D.C., firm of Whitman and Ransom, specializing in Asian issues. In 1984, Church was hospitalized for a pancreatic tumor and died at home in Bethesda, Md., on April 7 at the age of 59.



Senator Church, with a portrait of his boyhood idol Senator William E. Borah in the background.

The Frank Church Chair of Public Affairs

The Frank Church Chair of Public Affairs was established at Boise State University in 1982 to honor the achievements and carry forward the principles of one of America's most distinguished public servants. Through the Chair, Boise State emphasizes those ideals which the Senator held dear — a strong belief in the rule of law, eloquence firmly based on reason, and an unwavering faith in the American political system.

Led by the late Governor Averell Harriman, Pamela Harriman and philanthropist Velma Morrison, more than 2,000 donors have given money in Senator Church's name. Placed in an endowment, the interest from those funds will eventually support a faculty position. Currently the endowment is used to sponsor the Frank Church Conference on Public Affairs, which annually brings internationally known speakers and scholars to Boise to discuss topics of current interest.

Since the first conference in 1983, speakers have included former President Gerald Ford, former Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, Mayor Andrew Young, and former ambassadors Joseph Sisco and David Newsom. Conference topics have included the Middle East, political repression, Americanism, revolution and American foreign policy.



Secretary Edmund Muskie at the 1985 Frank Church Conference of Public Affairs.

Presidents and Prime Ministers



World leaders sought the advice and counsel of Senator Frank Church. Photos, moving clockwise from the upper left, illustrate his worldwide influence with: Margaret Thatcher, Great Britain; Anwar Sadat, Egypt; Golda Meir, Israel; Gerald Ford; Lyndon Johnson; Menachem Begin, Israel; John Kennedy; and Jimmy Carter.

The Papers

After 24 years and countless file clerks, the Church Collection presented a distinct processing challenge. Many of the older files had been in storage in a Federal Record Center in Maryland. Others had been stored in the "attic" of the Senate Office Building. Much, of course, was in the active file in the Senator's office. When these were all sent to Stanford, six boxes were lost in transit, never to be found.

How to organize all this paper was the question when processing began at Boise State. Since the Church office files were subject-oriented, it was decided to follow this arrangement and use a chronological sequence within each subject. One major problem was that over the years the file clerks gave differing interpretations to the same subject. Little effort was expended to reorganize misfiled information. The BSU processing staff determined to make the computer index the instrument of cohesion.

Most of the federal documents and ephemeral publications in the Church Papers are unique to the Boise State University Library and were left in their original files and included in the index. Monographic works were separated from the files.

Because index information was entered into the computer while processing was under way, it was not possible to number the boxes consecutively as is the general practice. By breaking the collection into series numbers the processing staff was able to enter the names, subjects and folder titles as each unit was processed.

The "General" section, which precedes more specific files in some parts of the Collection, seems to have been used by Church's staff to file miscellaneous material that did not fit into a more specific location. Letters coded "General" can include more than one issue, or can be on a single topic which never generated sufficient volume to need its own location. Because "General" includes such a wide variety of topics, researchers who wish an overview can consult these files first, then pursue more specific interests in the subject index and the subject areas of the files.

The completed collection consists of 776 linear feet and covers the years 1941-1984.



Inspecting anti-gun control petitions from Idaho.



1. Legislation Files, 1956-80

162 Boxes and 20 Notebooks

Senator Church's legislative files are arranged alphabetically by subject. Many issues will be found in more than one place in the Legislation files, depending on the aspect being treated or the volume of correspondence or the whim of the filing staff that day. Thus, the computerized subject index to the collection will be essential for exhaustive retrieval of information. For example, the Basques appear in the Legislation files as shepherders with immigration problems and as wool raisers who want protection from foreign wool. Because of the Basques's ties to Spain, a significant amount of material is found in the Foreign Relations Committee files, and immigration problems surface in the Immigration and Naturalization Service files of the Federal Government series. In the same way, the issues of natural resources, forests and forestry, timber and lumber are so interrelated that information about wood can be found under each heading.

Photo: Meeting with Senators Edward Kennedy and George McGovern.

- 1.1 Boxes 1-9. **General and General-Senate, 1956-1980.** General correspondence between the Church office and constituents, personal and political acquaintances, and other government offices (except the Senate) on a wide variety of topics. The same issues may also be filed under a specific heading. General Senate is intra-Senate correspondence on upcoming or intended legislation.
- Boxes 10-22. **Agriculture** is a major facet of Idaho's economy and Church worked tirelessly for bills that would benefit his farm constituency. Sugar and potatoes, beef and dairy prices, disaster relief and soil conservation funding were perennial issues throughout his career. Irrigation and reclamation are other issues that surface again in the Public Works and Water Resources files.
- Boxes 23-25. **Alcoholic Beverages—Cancer.** Also files on alcoholism, anti-vivisection, appropriations, atomic energy, aviation, Basques, and Bible reading and prayer in public schools.
- Boxes 26-29. **Civil Rights.** Church's stand on the jury trial amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1957 brought him national attention and showed him to be an articulate spokesman for causes he believed in. In 1964 Church again supported full civil rights for all citizens, despite the fears expressed by his Idaho constituents. These files do not have material relating to Dr. Martin Luther King, which one might expect to find here, nor are there King-related materials anywhere in the collection.
- Boxes 30-32. **Civil Service—Craters of the Moon National Monument.** Also conservation and consumer affairs.
- Boxes 33-36. **Crime—Drug Store.** Contains files on defense, District of Columbia, draft, drugs and drug store robberies.
- Boxes 37-40. **Economics.**
- Boxes 40-47. **Education.** Includes federal aid to education, parochial schools, school lunches, and student loans.
- Boxes 48-56. **Election Reform—Environment.** Considerable material on energy-related topics such as coal, conservation, gasohol, geothermal, hydroelectric, natural gas, nuclear and oil.
- Boxes 57-58. **Equal Rights Amendment—Firearms.** Church was an early supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment. ERA documents before 1977 will be found in the Civil Rights files. The ERA files here reflect the volume of correspondence in 1977 and 1978 relating to the extension of time for ratification and the debate about the legality of rescission. Church felt fairness mandated allowing states to rescind an earlier ratification and was concerned about the Constitutional precedent that extension might set.
- Boxes 59-63. **Firearms—Forestry.** The issue of gun control was important to Idahoans throughout Church's tenure in the Senate and he consistently opposed legislation which would set unacceptable limits on firearms. This strong conservative stand was one of the reasons for his continued popularity with Idaho voters. Forestry files are especially strong on a 1977 Forest Timber Sales Bidding Bill and the National Forest Management Act of 1976.
- Boxes 63-67. **Grazing—Health.** Includes subject of Hawaiian statehood.
- Boxes 68-69. **Hells Canyon, 1957-1975.** Concerns legislation both to develop and preserve the canyon.
- Boxes 69-71. **Housing—Immigration and Naturalization.**
- Boxes 72-74. **Indians.** General and by tribe and reservation.
- Box 75. **Insurance.**
- Boxes 76-83. **Labor.** Although the union men of the Idaho mines were not a large part of Church's constituency, as a Democrat he supported the union

- position on issues such as right-to-work, Taft-Hartley and Davis-Bacon act reform. The Labor files also include material relating to the railroad unions, the CETA program and unemployment in general.
- Boxes 84-93. **Legal—National Parks & Recreational Areas.** Also included are files on lumber, maritime industries, medical care, including Medicare, military and national parks and recreational areas.
- Boxes 94-109. **Natural Resources.** These files are a good illustration of Church's ability to find compromise and balance both the economic and the aesthetic interests of his constituents and the nation. While the minerals and mining legislation for Church's first three terms is almost exclusively pro-mining, his work at the same time to create national parks and forests and to preserve habitats for fish and wildlife led to his being named Conservationist of the Year in 1965. Water resources were an important Idaho issue and this material fills over two boxes. It shows Senator Church's concern for the people of Idaho and their water rights.
- Boxes 110-114. **OSHA—Population.** The Occupational Safety and Health Act is also found in the Labor and Agriculture files. Most of the Population files are concerned with abortion. Because Church felt that legislation affecting personal matters should be considered at the most local level possible, he opposed federal laws and constitutional amendments banning abortion. Personally opposed to abortion, he sponsored the successful "Conscience Clause" amendment to the Social Security Act of 1973, which allowed hospitals receiving Medicare or Medicaid funding to refuse to perform abortions.
- Boxes 115-117. **Postal Affairs—Public Lands.** Omitted lands was an important area of concern for Senator Church and his constituents. These lands are often held without title and obtaining title to them presented problems which Church was asked to resolve. Omitted lands, as a topic, can be found throughout the collection.
- Boxes 118-123. **Public Works.** For Church, public works meant water projects proposed and sometimes constructed by the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation for flood control, irrigation, or other purposes. Most of the Columbia Basin projects have their own subject files; the rest of the country is consolidated in General. The Public Works files are closely related to Water Resources issues, as well as Fish and Wildlife.
- Boxes 124-128. **Reapportionment—Social Security.** Frank Church was especially concerned with the senior citizens within his constituency. This concern is reflected in these files which also deal with retirement of railway workers and civil servants. In 1972, the northern Idaho mining industry was stunned by the disaster at the Sunshine Mine in Kellogg. Church's efforts to send relief to the area are documented within these files.
- Boxes 129-134. **Taxes.** A government funds its activity through taxation and Senator Church's efforts to reply to the concerns of his constituents about taxation are reflected in this material.
- Boxes 135-136. **Timber/Lumber.** Idaho depends, in part, upon timber and lumber sales to support its economy. Church recognized this important area of concern and worked to maintain the economic viability of the wood products industry. He sought to balance these needs with the desire to preserve some of Idaho's scenic wild lands.
- Boxes 137-143. **Trade—Transportation.** Trade issues which concerned Senator Church and his staff were the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, and legislation forbidding trade with an enemy. The Transportation files reflect Church's concern for proper construction and maintenance of roads into and within Idaho. During the early 1970s, railroad service to Idaho was

drastically reduced. Much of the correspondence in these files shows the concern felt by Idahoans who depended upon the railroads for their livelihood or for transportation.

- Boxes 143-146. **Tussock Moths—Utilities.** The Senator's staff filed a variety of subjects under the heading Utilities. These files concern regulation of public services by the federal government. Idaho issues addressed in these files are the Bonneville Power Administration, hydroelectric projects and the shipment of power generated in Idaho to California. During Church's early years in the Senate, regulation of the railroads was also filed under Utilities.
- Boxes 146-150. **Veterans—Welfare.** Church was interested in the well-being of the men and women who had served their country in the armed services and of the less fortunate members of his constituency. These files reflect the attention their problems received from the Senator and his staff.
- Boxes 151-158. **Wilderness.** Senator Church worked on the Endangered Wilderness Act and the Wild and Scenic Rivers System throughout much of his Senate career. The Wilderness files illustrate the evolution of these bills and the many changes made to achieve an agreement with which both sides of the controversy could live.
- 1.2 13 Notebooks. **Senate Roll Call Votes.** 94th Congress, 1st Session (January 1975)—96th Congress, 2nd Session (December 1980).
- 1.3 Boxes 1-3/
6 Notebooks. **Congressional Record Summaries.** (Boxes) 1957-1959, 1962-1964, 1970-1978. (Notebooks) 1975-1980. Clippings from the Record and typed brief summaries of how the Idaho delegation voted or debated the legislation before the Senate. A daily record.
- 1.4 1 Box/
1 Notebook. **Legislation sponsored, co-sponsored and rejected sponsorship 1957-1980.** This file contains lists of bills Church supported or rejected, correspondence with colleagues about bills they were seeking to introduce and brief notes by the staff on the merits of the proposed legislation.



Photo: With John L. McClellan and aide Robert Kennedy on the Rackets Committee.



2. *Senate Committees*

71 Boxes

Senator Church served on numerous committees and subcommittees during his four-term tenure in the U.S. Congress but not all of his committee activities were filed by his staff under the committee name. Researchers are advised to use the computer-produced index to the collection in order to locate desired files. Church was appointed to the Foreign Relations Committee in 1959 by Lyndon B. Johnson. He served on this committee from 1959-1980, and became chairman of it in 1979. There are extensive files coded "Foreign Relations" and includes related committee work such as the Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations. Another assignment to which Church devoted considerable attention was the Special Committee on Aging, 1967-1980, of which he became chairman in 1972.

The committee assignment that gave Senator Church national exposure was his 1975 appointment as chairman of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, more commonly referred to as the Intelligence Activities Committee. There is little in the Church Papers on this subject. According to Senate rules, the files of committee chairmen are considered official Senate records, and as such, remain with the committees until transferred to the National Archives.

Photo: The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 1976

- 2.1 Boxes 1-7. **Special Committee on Aging, 1959-1980.** Senator Church became chair of the Special Committee on Aging in 1971 and the bulk of the files cover the years since 1971. There is substantial correspondence with constituents and considerable material on legislative matters in these files. The papers are rich in all phases of the problems faced by the aging and cover such subjects as illness and aging, cost-of-living increases for Social Security recipients, the 1971 and 1981 White House Conference on Aging, nutrition for the elderly, elderly minorities, transportation problems of the elderly and Medicare. There is a separate folder of correspondence from President Jimmy Carter to the committee dated December, 1976.
- 2.2 **FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, 1959-1980**
- Boxes 1-3. **Minutes and Agendas, 1959-1980.**
- Boxes 3-6. **General.**
- Boxes 6-7. **Atlantic Union—Food.** This section also includes repeal of the Connally Amendment (1959-1963), disarmament (1959-1965).
- Boxes 8-12. **Foreign Aid—Foreign Policy.** Especially Vietnam, 1975.
- Boxes 12-13. **Health for Peace—Military Sales.** Other topics include human rights, infant formula, Inter-American Development Bank, International Cooperation Administration.
- Boxes 13-14. **Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations, 1972- 1976.** This subcommittee is succeeded by the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy.
- Boxes 14-16. **Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy—Trade.** These boxes contain materials concerning Mutual Security Act, NATO, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Peace Corps and State Department.
- Boxes 17-20. **Treaties.** Specific concerns are Genocide Convention, Law of the Sea, Nuclear Test Ban, Panama Canal, SALT and SALT II.
- Boxes 20-22. **United Nations—World Bank.** Includes War Powers Act.
- FOREIGN RELATIONS BY GEOGRAPHICAL AREA**
- Boxes 23. **Africa, by country.**
- Boxes 24-25. **Asia.**
- Boxes 25-41. **Southeast Asia, by country, but mostly Vietnam.**
- Box 42. **Eastern Europe.**
- Boxes 42-43. **Western Europe.**
- Box 44. **North America.**
- Box 44-52. **South America.** Includes Panama Canal Treaty.
- Boxes 53-54. **Middle East.**
- 2.3 Boxes 1-5. **Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, 1963-1976.** This committee assignment was one Church desired because the Senator felt that participation on it would help him to be of service to his constituents in Idaho. These committee files contain a broad range of topics such as water resources, gold mining, reclamation projects, rock collecting and outdoor recreation. Specific areas covered are Pacific Trust Territories, Indiana Dunes, Lower Colorado Basin Project, Sawtooth National Recreation Area and Redwood National Park. Other issues are grazing fees on public lands, Golden Eagle Passport, various Snake River projects, wilderness preservation, Alaskan Native Land Claims, firing of Walter J. Hickel, clear-cutting of timber, wild horses and burros, geothermal resources, deep water ports, fuels and energy, parks, surface mining, water marketing, Virgin Islands, Guam, and Teton Dam failure. In 1977 this committee was renamed the Energy and Natural Resources Committee.

- 2.4 1 Box. **Energy and Natural Resources Committee, 1977-1980.** Many of the subjects that appear in these committee files are continued from the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee files. Unique topics are home heating oil, natural gas, oil shale technology, synfuels, Continental Shelf Land Act of 1977, and documentation from the Subcommittee on Energy Research and Development.
- 2.5 1 Box. **Indian Affairs Subcommittee, 1956-1966, 1972.** These files contain various House and Senate bills related to Indian lands, land claims, distribution of judgment funds, termination of leases to Indian lands, exchange of lands and other issues concerned with Indian land rights.
- 2.6 1 Box. **Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, 1966-1977 and 1978-1980.** This file does not contain official committee records which Senator Church, Committee Chairman, left in Washington as required by law. The box contains such diverse items as transcripts of Senator Church's appearance on "Face the Nation," correspondence with constituents and interested citizens and printed matter concerning the hearings.
- 2.7 1/2 Box. **Select Committee on Labor-Management Relations (also known as the Rackets Committee), 1958-1962.** Church was appointed to this committee by Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson. While on the committee Church received his earliest recognition outside Idaho when the hearings were broadcast on television.
- 2.8 1/2 Box. **Post Office and Civil Service Committee, 1957-1958.** Additional material related to this subject can be found in the Legislation Files.
- 2.9 1 Box. **Select Committee on the Termination of the National Emergency, 1972-1977.**

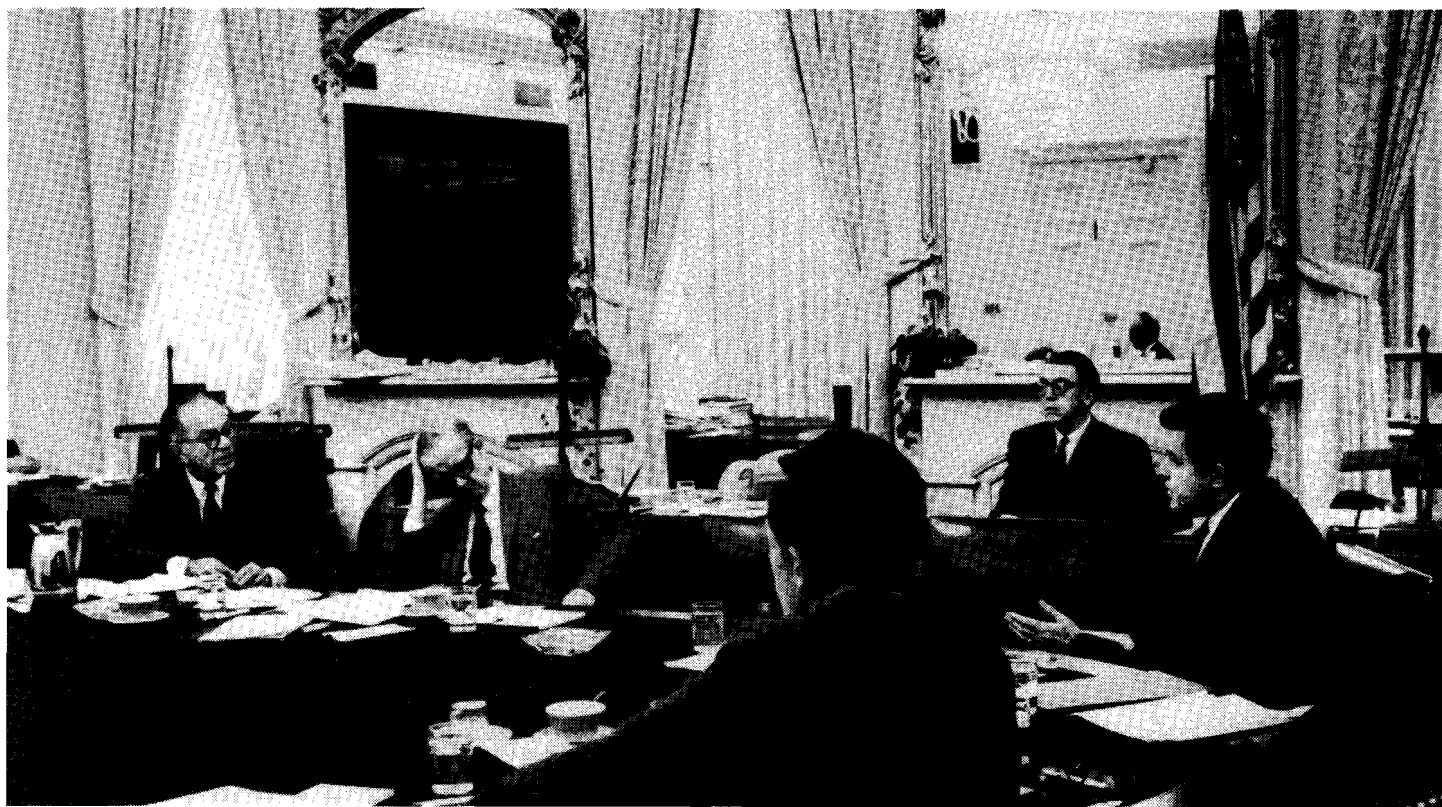


Photo: The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.



3. *Federal Government, 1958-1980*

226 Boxes

The Federal Government files consist of correspondence, memoranda, studies pertaining to Idaho projects and/or proposed legislation or regulations, annual reports of agencies and some clippings. They are organized alphabetically by agency name. A large part of the Senator's work was interceding with government agencies to cut through red tape and help constituents solve problems. Much of the correspondence in the Federal Government series deals with such problems. The 65 boxes of these "case files," mainly dealing with veterans, members of the military, and the elderly, will be closed to researchers until 1994 under the terms of Church's bequest.

Photo: Discussing Idaho wilderness with Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall.

3.1 Boxes 1-3. **General.** The general files consist of a miscellany of issue correspondence with constituents. Each letter may deal with one issue or with a variety. These files can be used as an overview of the material contained in the Federal Government series.

3.2 **INDEPENDENT AGENCIES**

The Independent Agencies of the Federal Government regulate the activities of specific segments of society. These files contain correspondence from Senator Church's constituents generated when they came into conflict with a particular agency and asked the senator's staff to intervene on their behalf.

Boxes 1-9. **Action—Environmental Protection Agency.** The Action files concern the Peace Corps, Vista and related files of other volunteer agencies. Also in this section are the Atomic Energy Commission files. These follow the development of the National Reactor Testing Station, near Idaho Falls, as it evolved into the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory. In 1974, the duties of the AEC were divided between the Energy Research and Development Administration and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. In this series, the files covering the Central Intelligence Agency are contained within two folders. The Environmental Protection Agency files reflect the concern of Idaho's agricultural industry pertaining to the regulation of chemical fertilizers and pesticides.

Boxes 10-18. **Federal Aviation Agency—Housing and Home Finance Agency.** The Federal Communications Commission files address the issue of pay television, TV booster stations and cable TV. This was an issue of importance to Idahoans during Church's tenure in the Senate since Idaho is a mountain state and television reception was negligible in many areas. The Federal Energy Office and its successor Federal Energy Administration files deal with the energy crisis and concerns about fuel allocation which constituents addressed to Senator Church.

Boxes 19-31. **International Cooperation Administration—Small Business Administration.** The Interstate Commerce Commission files indicate Senator Church's concern for continuing railroad service to Idaho. This section also contains the one folder specifically handling issues regarding the Nuclear Regulatory Commission found within the collection.

Boxes 31-42. **United States Civil Service Commission—United States Postal Service.**

Boxes 43-54. **Veterans Administration Case Files—**These files contain correspondence from veterans who wrote Church regarding benefits and pensions. They are closed until 1994.

3.3 **EXECUTIVE BRANCH**

The Executive Branch subseries contains those departments which are headed by a Cabinet secretary. Each department within the series has been divided into sections according to the organizational plan of that department.

Boxes 1-28. **Department of Agriculture.** The Department of Agriculture has extensive involvement within Idaho because of its jurisdiction over agriculture and forestry. This section also includes three boxes of closed case files from the Farmers Home Administration.

Boxes 29-33. **Department of Commerce.** The jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce is subdivided into Area Redevelopment Administration, Bureau of Public Roads, Census Bureau, Economic Development Administration and Weather Bureau.

Boxes 34-73. **Department of Defense.** The Department of Defense is divided into the four branches of the military. Within the Air Force files researchers will find the Mountain Home Air Force Base, and the issue of the B-1 bomber. The subdivision Army includes Army Corps of Engineers, which is further subdivided into named projects. The corps played an

important part in the development of Idaho's water resources and flood control. There are also some case files pertaining to military personnel who wrote Senator Church for assistance.

- Boxes 73-74. **Department of Energy.** The Department of Energy was established by President Carter in 1977. These files continue Idaho's energy story from the earlier files on the Atomic Energy Commission and the Energy Research and Development Administration.
- Boxes 75-105. **Department of Health, Education and Welfare.** The HEW files are subdivided under Food & Drug, Mental Health, Office of Education, Public Health Services, and include 18 boxes of Social Security Case Files.
- Boxes 106-109. **Department of Housing and Urban Development.**
- Boxes 110-135. **Department of Interior.** The Department of Interior holds jurisdiction over many of Idaho's resources. These files include the Bonneville Power Administration, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Bureau of Land Management, and the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. The Bureau of Reclamation, in this section, includes the Teton Dam files, regarding both the approval and financing of the project and aid to the victims of the dam's failure. The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, which regulates some of Idaho's hunting and fishing, is also found in this section.
- Boxes 136-148. **Department of Justice—Department of Labor.** Justice includes a small amount of correspondence on the Bureau of Prisons and three boxes of Immigration and Naturalization closed case files. Labor includes the Bureau of Employee's Compensation and Occupational Safety and Health Act files.
- Boxes 149-160. **Department of State—Department of Transportation.** The State Department files include the Agency for International Development and the Peace Corps. Subtopics in Transportation include Amtrak, Coast Guard, Federal Aviation Administration, and the Federal Highway Administration.
- Boxes 160-167. **Department of Treasury—White House.** Most of the Treasury files are subdivided under Internal Revenue. The White House files include Office of Emergency Preparedness and the Office of Management and Budget.

3.4

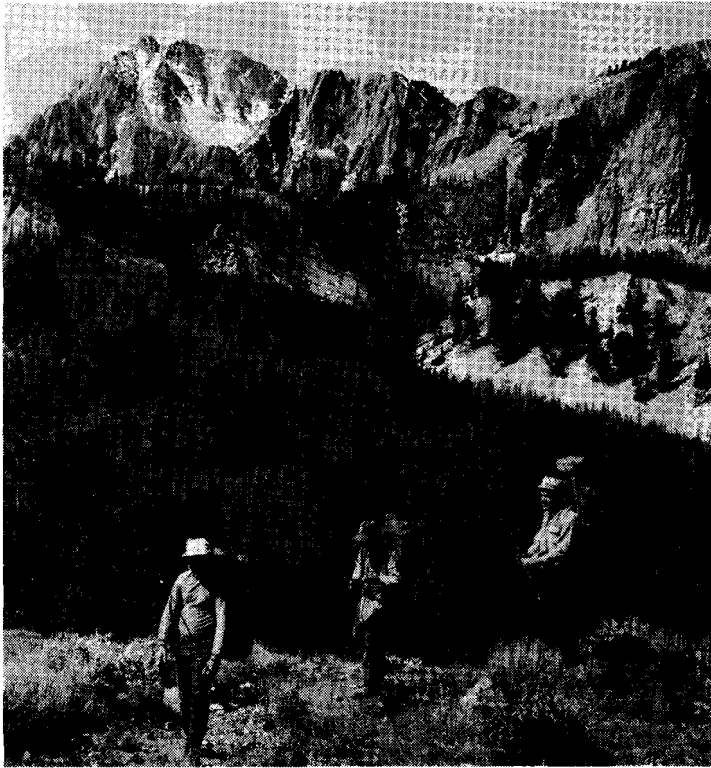
JUDICIAL BRANCH

- 1 Box. **Supreme Court.** These files pertain specifically to H.G. Carswell, William O. Douglas, Abe Fortas and Clement Haynsworth.

3.5

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

- 1 Box. **Controller, General Accounting Office and Library of Congress.** The Library of Congress files contain Senator Church's overdue book notices.



4. *Idaho*

32 Boxes

- 4.1 Boxes 1-23. **Issues.** These issues pertain to state, county and city affairs and should have been brought to the attention of local government officials. When the Church office could not intervene, a letter was written directing the correspondent to the appropriate state or municipal official. This series is a veritable cornucopia of Idaho information, albeit of a disparate nature. Includes case files.
- 4.2 Boxes 1-6. **Idaho Office Files.** North Idaho Office 1972-1980. South Idaho Office 1973-1980. Most of these files are from the office in Northern Idaho. The files concern issues germane to the region served by the office. Where the files overlapped those in the Washington Office, the regional files were removed. Box 6 is all case files, closed until 1994.
- 4.3 Boxes 1-3. **Academies 1957-1976.** Church's nominations to the Air Force, Coast Guard, Merchant Marine, Navy and Army service academies. Only the files of nominees who were appointed and accepted were saved.

Photo: Hiking in the great Idaho outdoors.



5. Campaigns

32 Boxes

This series contains campaign files of Senator Church and his staff. It includes material on advertising, volunteers, fund raising and donors, issues, clippings, speech material and speeches, files on opponents, polls, press releases and financial disclosures. See also Campaign Manager Carl Burke's collection and the Audio Visual materials for campaign media.

- | | | |
|-----|------------|---|
| 5.1 | Boxes 1-2. | 1956 Senatorial Election. |
| 5.2 | Boxes 1-3. | 1962 Senatorial Election. |
| 5.3 | Boxes 1-6. | 1968 Senatorial Election. |
| 5.4 | Boxes 1-5. | 1974 Senatorial Election. |
| 5.5 | Boxes 1-8. | 1976 Presidential Nomination Campaign. |
| 5.6 | Boxes 1-7. | 1980 Senatorial Election. |
| 5.7 | 1 Box. | 1968-1980 Polls. |

Photo: Announcing the campaign for president, 1976.



6. Political Affairs

13 Boxes

Political affairs are primarily files on party politics on both the local and national level, including material on the various elections and delegate selection for the various Democratic National Conventions. Most are dated 1957-1969, with some exceptions such as Watergate, which dates from 1973-1974. Also included are files on prominent Idaho Democrats and Church's political opponents. The Political Affairs series complements the Issue Books in the Public Relations series, the Special Files in the Personal series and the Campaign series.

Photo: Delivering the keynote address at the 1960 Democratic National Convention.



7. *Public Relations*

64 Boxes and 42 volumes

7.1- Boxes 1-5.
7.2

General. The files labeled Public Relations by the Church staff consist of an amalgam of constituent correspondence, much of which is in response to the writer's inquiry. The Public Relations files exemplify Senator Church's inclination to answer all mail and to preserve the entirety of the records created by his office.

PR General contains letters requesting government publications, tickets to the White House, U.S. flag, an autograph or photograph (sometimes both) of the Senator or the President, information for term papers or a debate topic, and occasionally letters of appreciation or disparagement for the Senator's political activity. In addition to such request letters, there were voluminous files in which the Church office wrote to constituents when their names appeared in the newspapers. Weddings, deaths, honors or awards, anniversaries, and elections to office (political, school or service groups) — in a word, any mention, other than for a criminal activity, generated a brief letter of congratulations from the Senator. While the Senate Records Manual suggests that such letters need not be saved, it was decided that a selection from each year might be useful as an example of how a senatorial office functioned.

In addition, an examination of the material indicated that the PR files also contain the minutia of Congressional life such as thank-you letters from senators for the exchange of gifts (usually home-state products), thank-you notes for alerting a senator to a forthcoming speech by Church on the Senate floor and, occasionally, a brief letter of congratulations from prominent Democratic senators on a Church accomplishment. Because of these discoveries, all PR files were carefully reviewed before they were weeded.

Photo: Teaching the Scout Oath.

- 7.3 Boxes 1-2. **Press.** These files contain letters to and from the media, especially but not exclusively Idaho. While the files cover many issues, the letters are often a response by Church to an editorial or a letter to the editor. Sometimes Church's position is presented in some detail.
- 7.4 Boxes 1-8. **Press Releases.** Releases are in chronological order. The Church staff also produced a subject index to this material.
- 7.5 Boxes 1-4. **Radical Right.** Senator Church was under constant attack by ultra-conservative letter writers who took issue with his public positions. These letters were filed by the Church staff under the heading Radical Right.
- 7.6 1 Box **Recommendations.** A selection of the letters and responses to writers seeking Senator Church's support for admittance to a college or university, or job seekers who thought his influence would aid their cause.
- 7.7 Boxes 1-2. **Reprints.** Copies of articles by and about Church, copies of the newsletter issued by the Church staff and off-prints of Church addresses from the Congressional Record.
- 7.8 1 Box **Requests.** A selection of letters filed by the Church staff under Public Relations. Requests are similar in content to PR General.
- 7.9 Boxes 1-19. **Issue Books.** Scrapbook style arrangement filled with clippings, notes, and pages of the *Congressional Record*. They seem to be a quick reference record of the Senator's stand on specific issues. An outstanding feature of the Issue Books, one that distinguishes them, was the number of speeches and speech drafts they contained. For ease of access, Issue Books have been transferred from their oversized looseleaf notebooks to archival boxes.
- 7.10 **NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS AND SCRAPBOOKS**
- Boxes 1-22. **Clippings.** 1968—November 1980. These clippings are generally filed chronologically in annual groups and later as the volume increased in segments of a year. Within each chronological unit the clippings are filed by subject. The subjects changed over the years but usually consisted of files on political opponents, the incumbent governor in Idaho, general Idaho politics, op-ed materials, and issues that were of particular concern to Church such as the Panama Canal Treaty, education, water, agriculture, wilderness and Watergate. In later years the clippings were circulated among the staff before filing for future reference.
- 42 Volumes. **Scrapbooks.** January 1957—May 1976. (Lacking 1/62 - 5/62, 4/70 - 6/70, and 5/73 - 7/73.) General clippings, in chronological order, of events in which Senator Church's name appeared in the story. Five volumes are topical and concern 1) Vietnam, 2) Church's 1960 keynote address, 3) Steve Symms and 4) Church's presidential campaign in 1976 (2 vols.).



8. *Speeches, Articles, Trips and Meetings, 1941-1980*

41 Boxes

- 8.1 Boxes 1-12. **Speeches.** Frank Church's political career germinated with his award-winning speech, "The American Way of Life," given in 1941 at the American Legion National Oratory Speech Contest. This award provided Church with four years of tuition at Stanford University where he competed as a member of the debate squad and received his law degree in 1950.
- Church was only four years into his long Senatorial career when he gave the keynote address to the 1960 Democratic National Convention. This address brought Church to the public's attention as an eloquent speaker. His public speaking skills had been honed during the first years of his Senatorial service where he gave several hundred addresses on the Senate floor and to various civic groups.
- There are 11 boxes of Church's speeches which represent his staff's efforts to maintain a speech file. The processing staff added photocopies of speeches found elsewhere in the collection. For the purpose of this listing, interviews for which a printed copy exists were included as speeches. Chronological and title listings of the speeches have been prepared.
- Additional speeches were found in the post-Senate Church Papers. There is considerable duplication between this file and the Senate file for speeches made during Church's Senate years but none for the post-Senate years. A listing of the post-Senate speeches has been prepared.
- 8.2 Boxes 1-20. **Trip Files.** Chronological file of Senatorial, personal and vacation trips taken by the Senator and his family. Trips are identified by the destination and sponsor.
- 8.3 Boxes 1-4. **Articles and Magazines.** This file contains articles written by Senator Church, some of which were based upon speeches he had given that

Photo: Meeting with Chinese leader Teng Hsiao-ping.

were expanded for publication. The article files are indexed in three ways: alphabetically by the title of the article, the name of the publication in which they appeared, and by date. The controversial January 26, 1965 *Look* article, "Conspiracy USA," can be found in this portion of the collection.

8.4 Boxes 1-5.

Meetings. Over the years the Church staff gave different interpretations to the heading "meetings." Therefore, this series includes records of official Senatorial committee meetings, invitations to social functions and meetings in Idaho, as well as social functions in Washington, D.C., and requests for individuals to meet the Senator.



9. Administration

74 Boxes

9.1- Boxes 1-8.
9.7

General. An amalgamation of office operational records mostly for the 1950s, and incomplete files on the Church staff and interns for the same period. Included are also copies of "Multiple Letters", 1957-1960, which now would be called ROBO's (form letters) and some unrelated subject files. Subject to further retention review.

9.8 Boxes 1-66.

Greens 1957-1980 (1978 Missing). So-called because they are green carbon copies of outgoing letters, filed alphabetically by the name of the correspondent within chronological periods.

Photo: Preparing for the next day.



10. Personal

30 Boxes

- 10.1 1 Box. **Biographical, 1956-1987.** Biographical material has been sorted into two units. The first unit contains material produced by the Church office or the Church campaign committees. The second section is comprised of published stories from newspapers and magazines.
- 10.2 Boxes 1-6. **Pre-Senate, 1951-1956.** These files indicate that Church's early law practice was quite routine. He handled divorce proceedings, personal injury cases, sale of property, breach of contract, child support and wills. There is also material on Church's parents' financial affairs and evidence of Church's growing involvement in Idaho politics.
- 10.3 1 Box. **Correspondence.** The contents of this box are letters, clippings and memoranda on a wide variety of seemingly unrelated topics such as carry-over cases from Church's pre-Senate law practice, family correspondence, script of office birthday party for Church, a memo relating to the meeting in which the DeConcini reservations to the Panama Canal Treaty were settled, draft letter to President Carter and Secretary of State Vance concerning selling aircraft to Middle East states, and letters from people with the surname Church seeking genealogical information. Once again the reader is advised to refer to the computer index in order to pull together all related material found in various series.
- 10.4 1 Box. **Financial Disclosure.** Senator Church supported financial disclosure for public officials and he voluntarily disclosed his finances before such a course was mandated by federal law. The Collection contains disclosure information for 1961-1980. Further financial disclosure records can be found in the Campaign files.
- 10.5 2 Boxes. **Organizations.** Includes groups to which Church belonged and supported, either financially or by endorsing their programs. Specifically named files include the American Legion, CARE, the Hansard Society,

Photo: Visiting with mother Laura.

the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission and The National Committee for an Effective Congress.

10.6

SPECIAL FILES. 8 Boxes.

Files containing background material on then-current legislation, topics for which Church had committee assignments or topics which he wished to be informed about. Some of this material was in expanding files making them easy to extract for a committee meeting or ready reference. Dates on the files are for limited chronological periods further suggesting their immediate utility. See also Issue Books.

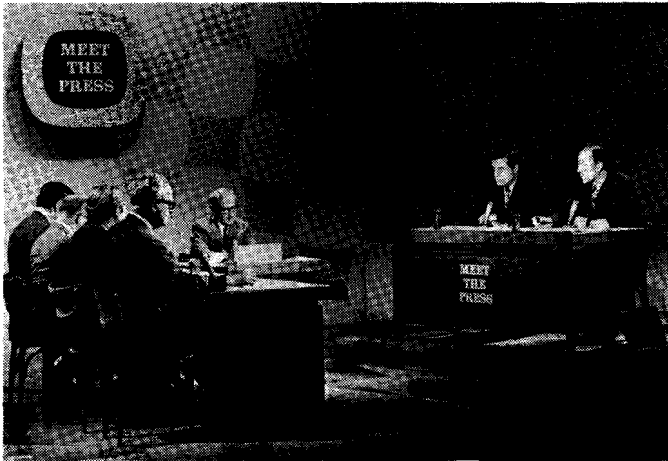
- Box 1. Major headings include Aging 1971-1974, Alaska/Hawaii Statehood 1957-1959, Birth Control 1959-1965, Campaigns by year, CIA/FBI Investigation 1975-1977, and Conservation 1960-1970.
- Box 2. Council of Foreign Relations 1962-1975, Farm speech material 1958-1962, Foreign Aid 1963-1973, Foreign Policy 1959-1968, Foreign Relations Committee 1979-1980, Barry M. Goldwater 1963-1964.
- Box 3. Walter J. Hickel 1969, Nixon Impeachment 1974, India/Pakistan 1971-1975, Lyndon B. Johnson 1963-1973, J. F. Kennedy 1961-1963, George McGovern 1971-1974.
- Box 4. Members of Congress for Peace Through Law 1963-1976, Middle East 1970-1978, Military Budget 1974-1976, Multinational Corporations 1972-1977, NATO 1963-1966.
- Box 5. Nuclear Disarmament and other subheadings under Nuclear, Overseas Private Investment Corps (OPIC) 1973-1977, Radical Right 1962-1965, Church Recall Attempt 1967, Rockefeller Mission 1969-1970 and 1975, Elmo Roper 1961-1971.
- Box 6. Contains Elmo Roper and Roper Public Opinion Research Center files, Russia 1958-1973, and Speeches. All speeches have been copied and added to the Speech Files.
- Box 7. More speeches plus articles, Stanford University 1959-1976, United Nations 1963-1971 and material compiled for Church's service as a delegate to the U.N. 21st General Assembly.
- Box 8. Vietnam 1963-1973, Western Hemisphere Affairs 1964-1977, and Young Democrats 1957-1972.

10.7 Boxes 1-7.

Post-Senate. In 1981, Senator Church entered the Washington, D.C., firm of Whitman and Ransom to practice international law. These are his personal files from the period with Whitman & Ransom. This series also contains a substantial quantity of letters from friends and admirers after Church lost the 1980 election and his non-legal correspondence for 1981-1984.

10.8 Boxes 1-4.

Get Well and Sympathy Messages. After the public announcement that Church was seriously ill he received a veritable flood of get-well cards and letters. Also in this series are the expressions of sympathy received by Mrs. Church when the Senator died.



11. *The Frank Church Audio-Visual Collection*

The Frank Church audio-visual collection includes more than 750 audio recordings, more than 400 separate films and video recordings with a viewing time of 45 hours and about 1,500 photographs.

11.1

The Video Collection. Films and videos in this collection range in viewing length from 10 seconds to more than an hour. There are 13 hours of footage on video tape. The remainder of the footage is on 16 mm film. The films/videos have been indexed by speakers, those spoken about, bills discussed, government agencies named and specific historic events. Keywords have also been applied to give the user the broadest possible access to the Collection. An abstract has been prepared for each piece.

The Video Collection has been processed into four categories:

1. **Campaigns.** This series contains mostly 30-second and one minute campaign advertisements. There are a few longer *Face the Nation*, *Meet the Press* and comparable Idaho programs. Many such appearances were only recorded on audio tape and can be found in the Audio Collection.
2. **Public Relations.** These consist of public service announcements made for charitable organizations, films of Church discussing the status of current legislative efforts to bring economic development to Idaho and his appearances at public functions.
3. **News Programs.** Appearances on *Face the Nation*, *Meet the Press*

Photo: Meeting the press.

and comparable Idaho programs. Many such appearances were only recorded on audio tape and can be found in the Audio Collection.

4. **Biographical.** Films and videos produced after Church's death by national and local television media.

11.2

The Audio Collection. As with the Video Collection, the Audio Collection has been indexed by speakers, those spoken about, bills discussed, government agencies named and specific historic events. Keywords have also been applied to give the user the broadest possible access to the Collection. A brief description has been prepared for each sound recording.

The Audio Collection has been processed into five categories:

1. **Campaigns.** The campaign recordings contain sound tracks for campaign commercials, news interviews and speeches both by Church and his supporters and Church's opponents and critics.
2. **Public Relations.** This section contains tapes on important issues sent by Church to Idaho radio stations. Such reporting to Idaho constituents ceased when the Fairness Doctrine was imposed on the media by the FCC. Also in this category are speeches by Church at dedications, graduation ceremonies and to local and civic groups.
3. **News Programs.** Church was a frequent guest on both local and national radio and television programs. It appears that the Senator was often provided with a complimentary sound copy of his TV appearance rather than a video tape. Some recordings appear to have been made on home cassette recorders.
4. **Committees.** There are only a small number of recordings which concern Church's actual committee work. Some recordings in this category are Church discussing his committee work on news shows and at press conferences.
5. **Press Conferences.** Church called press conferences often to announce passage of a major piece of legislation. The collection is especially rich in recordings of his interviews during the presidential campaign of 1976.

11.3

The Photograph Collection. The Frank Church photograph collection consists of approximately 1,500 photographs, slides, and negatives. The photographs are various sizes in black/white and color.

The collection is arranged in eight major categories:

1. **Campaigns**
2. **Committees**
3. **Family (includes early F.C. photos)**
4. **Portraits**
5. **Public Relations**
6. **Trips**
7. **Miscellaneous**
8. **Oversize**



Bethine C. Church Papers

As processing of the Church Papers proceeded, it became evident that some of the files were related to Mrs. Church's social and charitable activities rather than the Senator's affairs. These were set aside for later processing. Late in 1987, Mrs. Church forwarded additional records for the collection, some of which represented her activities as well as those of Senator Church. The Bethine Church collection contains general correspondence, trip files, speaking engagement files and designated files for her charitable and political endeavors. Among the latter are files pertaining to the Democratic Congressional Wives Forum and the Women's National Democratic Club. Mrs. Church's charitable activities are centered around handicapped children and named files are United Cerebral Palsy and Children's Hospital National Medical Center in Washington, D.C.

Photo: Bethine Church.



Carl Burke Papers, 1949-80

3 Boxes

Carl Burke and Frank Church were boyhood friends. While the two were in high school, Burke engineered a successful campaign to elect underdog Frank Church to the office of student body president. Later both studied law at Stanford University and established law practices in Boise. While Church turned to politics as a career, Burke remained with law except when he was again called upon to manage Church's campaigns for the U.S. Senate and the unsuccessful 1976 bid for the Democratic presidential nomination. Most of this collection pertains to the elections of 1962, 1968, 1974, 1976 and 1980. The later elections are the most complete. The election files comprise materials relating to fund-raising, receipts and expenditures, travel itineraries, staff memos, and voter surveys. There is also some Burke correspondence with other Idaho and national political figures 1952-1971.

Photo: Carl Burke and his boyhood friend.

Frank Church Chronology

By R. Gwenn Stearn

- 1924** Born July 25 in Boise, Idaho.
- 1939** As junior high student writes letter to Boise City newspaper in response to foreign relations article by Senator William Borah, Church's hero. Letter appears on front page.
- 1941** Wins American Legion National Oratorical Contest. Speech: "The American Way of Life."
- 1942** Serves as Boise High Student Body President. Enrolls at Stanford University. Enlists in Army Reserves.
- 1943** Called to active duty.
- 1944-45** Serves as 2nd lieutenant in military intelligence — China-Burma-India theatre. Decorated Bronze Star.
- 1946** Discharged, July. Returns to Stanford.
- 1947** Graduates Stanford — Phi Beta Kappa. Marries Bethine Clark, daughter of Judge Chase A. Clark, former Idaho governor. Enrolls in Harvard Law School.
- 1948** Transfers to Stanford. Cancer diagnosis and treatment.
- 1950** Graduates Stanford Law School. Works in Boise for Federal Price Control Agency, 1950-1951.
- 1951** Begins law practice in Boise.
- 1952** Loses bid for seat in Idaho Legislature. Elected chairman Young Democrats of Idaho, 1952-1954.
- 1954** State chairman Crusade for Freedom, 1954-1955.
- 1956** Defeats former Senator Glen Taylor and four other candidates by 170 votes in the Democratic primary. Defeats incumbent Republican Herman Welker by 14 percent in general election. Becomes fifth youngest member of U.S. Senate at age 32.
- 1957** Assigned to Interior and Insular Affairs, Post Office and Civil Service committees. Gives maiden speech backing federal construction of Hell's Canyon Dam, June 19. Passes Senate, fails House. Delegate to the Economic Conference of the Organization of American States, Buenos Aires. Floor manager for compromise on the jury trial amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1957; a key amendment which enables passage of first Civil Rights law since reconstruction. Chosen 1 of 10 Outstanding Young Men by the National Junior Chamber of Commerce.
- 1958** Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson appointment to John L. McClellan's Rackets Committee to investigate improprieties in labor

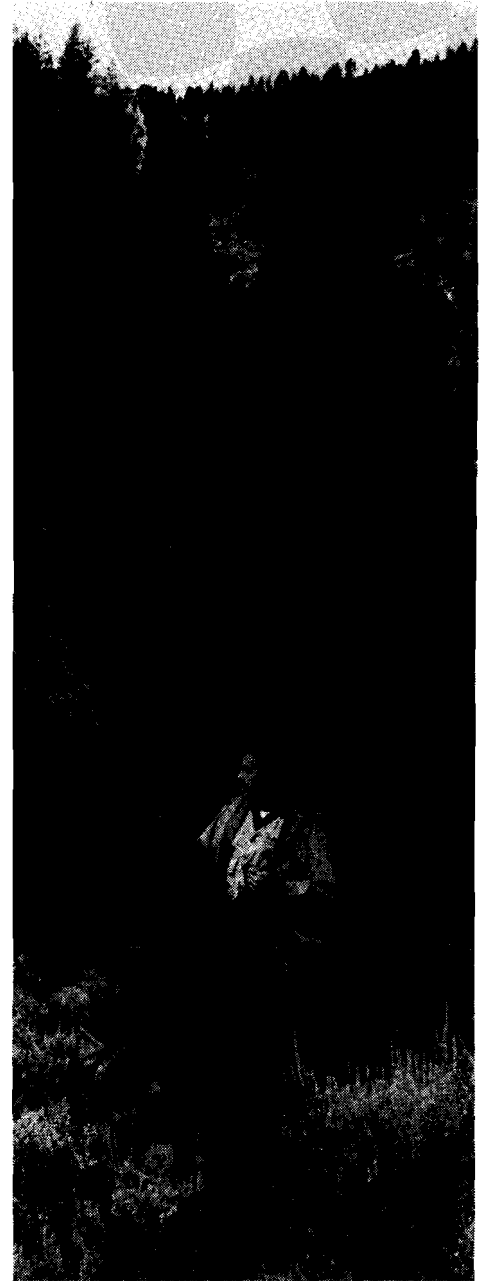


"Sometimes it is necessary to take the unpopular positions. I have to live with my conscience a lot longer than I'll have to live with my job."

and management.

Serves on the Committee on Public Works.

- 1959 LBJ appointment to Foreign Relations Committee 1959-1980. First Idaho Senator since Borah to serve.
With LBJ contributes to passage of Senate Filibuster Rule.
Co-sponsors bill for reservoir on Upper Snake River.
Senate delegate to the International Parliamentary Union at Warsaw.
Member delegate to Canadian-American Parliamentary Conferences, 1959-1960.
Proposes feasibility study for Sawtooth National Park. Seeks opinion by postal poll of Idaho citizens and receives overwhelming support for the concept.
- 1960 Delivers keynote speech at Democratic National Convention.
Co-sponsor of 1960 Civil Rights Act prohibiting use of poll tax and land ownership as voting prerequisites. As a member of liberal block had offered amendment to empower Attorney General to enter private suits for school desegregation, defeated.
Five week fact-finding tour of Africa. Favors independent, not European, approach to relations with Africa.
Named to Senate Democratic Campaign Committee.
Interior Committee representative to the International Joint Commission-U.S. & Canada.
Offers first of several bills designed to protect Sawtooth Mountain area of Idaho.
- 1961 Sponsors and manages floor debate of Endangered Wilderness Act.
Backs Redevelopment bill.
Votes for Aid to Education.
Blames bad advice to President by CIA and Defense Department for Cuban invasion failure.
- 1962 Continues as floor manager of National Wilderness Act. Defeated in House. Results in friction with mining, cattle, and lumber interests in Idaho.
Wins re-election by 2,450 votes over Jack Hawley, a Boise attorney.
First Democratic Senator in Idaho elected to serve two consecutive terms.
Fact-finding tour to the Far East.
- 1963 Co-sponsors Senate resolution banning all nuclear tests that contaminate atmosphere or oceans.
Leads fight for speedy passage of Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.
Proposes phase-out of grants to economically-developed countries in Western Europe and to Japan.
Introduces resolution opposing aid to regime of Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam.
- 1964 Begins voluntarily making public his personal accounts of income and assets—one of the first elected officials to do so.
Endangered Wilderness Act passes.
Becomes Chair of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs.
Plays pivotal role in passage of 1964 Civil Rights Act to strengthen voting rights and fair employment standards.
Appoints Verda Barnes as Chief Administrative Assistant. One of the first Senators to have a woman in this post.
Votes for Gulf of Tonkin Resolution with reservations—does so for Democratic cohesion in coming presidential election.
Offers two amendments and assists floor debate for Land & Water Conservation Fund Act—will build parks and recreation facilities with monies from federal mineral and oil royalties.
Interviews in *Ramparts* and *N.Y. Times*, speaks out for neutrality in S.E. Asia, opposes expansion of war into North Vietnam, and calls U.S. intervention in 1954 after French defeat a mistake.
- 1965 Speaks out against Vietnam War in February 17, Senate floor speech, "Our Overinvolvement in Africa and Asia." Urges President Johnson to seek negotiated settlement.
Becomes chairman of Subcommittee on Public Lands.
Votes for Supplemental Arms Appropriation Bill — justification to "give American boys every protection."
Calls for scaling down of U.S. war effort, free elections in South Viet-



"I never knew a man who felt self-important in the morning after spending the night in the open on an Idaho mountainside under a star-studded sky. Save some time for the outdoors, where you can be a witness to the wonder of God."

nam, and direct negotiations with National Liberation Front.
Voted Conservationist of the Year by the Idaho Wildlife Federation.

- 1966** Tours Western Europe on fact-finding tour and attends 18-nation Geneva Disarmament Conference.
Writes letter to LBJ with 15 Democratic Senators urging the continued suspension of air strikes against North Vietnam.
Advocates amendment to cut \$100 million from military aid to Indochina.
Supports legislation to bar aid to regimes in Latin America that came to power by unconstitutional means.
Confirmed as delegate to the U.N. 21st General Assembly.
Receives National Conservation Legislative Award from the National Wildlife Federation.
- 1967** Introduces legislation to establish the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System.
Drafts letter of warning to North Vietnam — signed by 16 anti-war senators.
Conservatives in Idaho begin recall move; but backlash creates popular sympathy.
Serves on Special Committee on Aging, 1967-1980.
Plays important role in retaining Open Housing Amendment in Civil Rights Act.
- 1968** Votes against gun control.
Resumes "Courthouse Campaign" to visit all 44 counties in Idaho.
On Interior Committee, blocks measure to divert Snake and Columbia River water from Idaho to the Southwest with 10-year ban on federal aid for such projects.
Wild and Scenic Rivers Act passes.
Votes against \$17.4 million army project in Germany.
Wins re-election bid against 2nd District Rep. George Hansen by 60 percent.
- 1969** Becomes chairman of the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs.
Sponsors the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969.
Supports student protests against Vietnam War.
Sponsors amendment with John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) to prohibit use of U.S. ground troops in Laos and Thailand; reduces defense monies for Indochina to 1968 levels.
- 1970** Second Cooper-Church Amendment prohibits President Nixon from sending troops or advisors to Cambodia without consent of Congress. After 7-week filibuster and 6-month debate in Senate, passes 58-37, but House rejects. A watered-down version passes attached to defense appropriations bill. Cooper-Church Amendment first limitation on presidential power during a war situation.
Becomes Chairman of the Subcommittee on the Genocide Convention.
- 1971** Advocates 50,000-man cut in U.S. forces of 310,000 in Europe.
Strong supporter of aid to Israel.
Opposes Foreign Aid Authorization bill.
Becomes Chairman of the Special Committee on Aging, 1971-1980.
- 1972** With Clifford Case (R-N.J.) proposes amendment to appropriations bill to cut off funds for all combat operations in Indochina after December 31, subject to agreement for release of POWs. Watered-down version passes.
Church-sponsored Social Security Act takes effect providing for cost of living adjustments.
Denounces mining of Haiphong Harbor by President Nixon.
Urges scrapping SEATO alliance.
Sawtooth National Recreation Area bill passes protecting 754,000 acres.
Supports George McGovern for Democratic presidential nomination.
Sees to new 10-year extension of 1968 ban on water diversion projects from Idaho.
Helps enact measure to peg grazing fees on federal lands to beef prices.
Sponsors legislation to create the Gospel-Hump Wilderness area—passes.

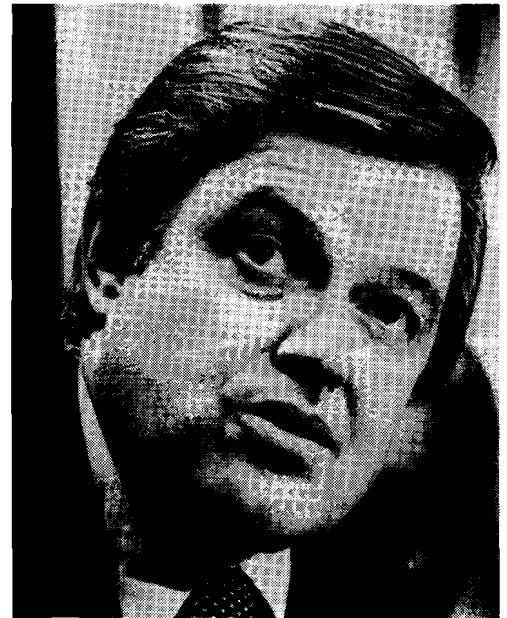


"Every citizen who loves this country, its freedom and good life; every parent whose children yearn for their day in the sun; every American who believes our national heritage still represents the last, best hope on earth, must become earnestly engaged in the quest for peace."

Law allowing 18-year-olds to vote goes into effect — co-sponsored by Church.

Named Chairman of the Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations—investigates relationships between U.S. oil companies and Middle East producing nations, ITT plans to influence elections in Chile, and complicity between U.S. companies and other foreign countries, 1973-1976.

- 1973 Becomes Chairman of Subcommittee on Water and Power Resources. Senate approves Church amendment to Campaign Reform bill requiring financial disclosure by members of Congress and those running for election. Secures Senate authorization of bill to replace American Falls Dam. Second Case-Church amendment ends bombing of Cambodia. Named Co-Chair of the Special Committee on National Emergencies and Delegated Emergency Powers—to study presidential emergency powers built up over 40-year period. Introduces legislation to establish Hells Canyon National Recreation Area covering parts of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington. War Powers act passes over veto of President Nixon.
- 1974 Leads fight in Senate to reject pay raise for Congress and top officials. Proposes \$5 billion ceiling on new foreign aid for 1975. Criticizes Nixon pardon by President Ford. Wins re-election by 36,000 votes over Robert L. Smith.
- 1975 Becomes ranking Democrat on Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Sponsors Hells Canyon National Recreation Area Act — designates portions as wilderness, and sections of Snake and Rapid rivers as Wild & Scenic — passes. Urges antitrust investigation of U.S. oil companies. Named Chairman of Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities — investigates alleged abuse of power by CIA and FBI. Reveals CIA involvement in plots to assassinate world leaders, coup against Chile's Marxist President Salvador Allende, covert operations against radical groups as defined by J. Edgar Hoover, including Martin Luther King Jr., Adlai Stevenson and Justice William O. Douglas. Committee makes 100 recommendations including curbing illegal wire taps, mail opening, break-ins, surveillance, harassment of political dissidents, assassination plots against foreign leaders, and campaigns to smear Civil Rights activists. 1975-1976. Becomes Chairman of Subcommittee on Energy Research and Water Resources, formerly Interior and Insular Affairs Subcommittee.
- 1976 Announces candidacy for President of United States in Idaho City, Idaho, March 19. Enters presidential primaries—wins Nebraska, Idaho, Oregon, and Montana. Withdraws before Democratic National Convention. Urges appointment of special prosecutor to investigate findings of Committee on Intelligence. Backs Humphrey-Hawkins Jobs bill.
- 1977 Becomes chairman of Subcommittee on Energy Research and Development and Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy. Becomes ranking Democrat on Foreign Relations Committee. Introduces Endangered American Wilderness Act. Amtrak passenger service to Southern Idaho resumes after a six-year hiatus because of Church's intervention. Mission of goodwill to Cuba for President Carter. While on Energy and Natural Resources Committee opposes Carter plan to develop plutonium as power reactor fuel. Demands Panama Canal Treaty clarification.
- 1978 Tries to kill Overseas Private Investment Corporation—federal insurance for companies with investments in politically unstable areas. Acts as floor leader for ratification of Panama Canal Treaty.



“The United States must not adopt the tactics of the enemy. Means are as important as ends. Crisis makes it tempting to ignore the wise restraints that make men free; but each time we do so, each time the means we use are wrong, our inner strength, the strength which makes us free, is lessened.”

- Casts deciding vote in Foreign Relations Committee against Carter proposal to sell F-15 jets to Saudi Arabia.
Sponsors amendment to Panama Canal Treaty to provide for U.S. defense rights.
- 1979 Takes over Chair of Foreign Relations Committee—fulfills a lifelong dream.
Conducts hearings on Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty.
Demands immediate withdrawal of Soviet combat troops from Cuba before allowing Senate vote on ratification of SALT II.
Pushes resolution to assure U.S. will defend Taiwan.
Leads debate for ratification of Panama Canal Treaty.
- 1980 Church's central Idaho Wilderness Act passes, including River of No Return Wilderness Area (2.2 million acres), and parts of the Salmon River as wild & scenic.
Assures China during spring visit that Taiwan resolution poses no threat to U.S.-China Relations.
Defeated by Congressman Steve Symms by 4,262 votes—less than 1 percent.
- 1981 Leaves Senate. Practices international law with Washington, D.C., firm of Whitman and Ransom.
- 1982 Writes, travels widely, and practices law.
- 1983 Lectures on international affairs.
Trustee for N.Y. based Fund for Peace.
Board Member for Democrats for the '80s.
Last public appearance as keynote speaker at BSU Russian Awareness Week, October 21.
- 1984 Hospitalized for pancreatic tumor, January 12.
Senator James McClure (R-Idaho) introduces legislation and President Reagan signs into law the renaming of the River of No Return Wilderness Area to the Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness Area.
Frank Church dies at home in Bethesda, MD, at the age of 59, April 7.

*Statesman, yet friend to truth,
Of soul sincere,
In action faithful and in honor clear,
Who broke no promise, serves no
private end,
Who gained no title and lost no friend.*

Alexander Pope

'He goes free of the earth'

*In his life, my father was
a bit like the day star,
rising early to
prominence, brilliant in
the dusk and against the
darkness, showing other
stars the way.*

*When it came time for
him to go, when his
precious flame flickered,
he was ready.*

*Peacefully, naturally,
with serenity and grace,
he returned his light unto
the eternal horizon.*

*Like the day star, my
father went out with the
dawn.*

—From a eulogy of
Sen. Frank Church
delivered by his son,
the Rev. Forrest Church,
April 12, 1984, in Boise

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