

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)
 DCI Host Luncheon to Present ASM to Daniel Moynihan
 Thursday, 11 September 1986, 12:00 p.m., DCI Dining Room

FROM:
 David D. Gries
 Director of Congressional Affairs

EXTENSION

NO.

DATE

10 September 1986

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

OFFICER'S INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

RECEIVED

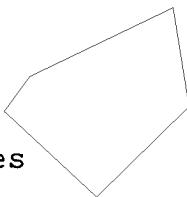
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cc: ADDO
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9 September 1986

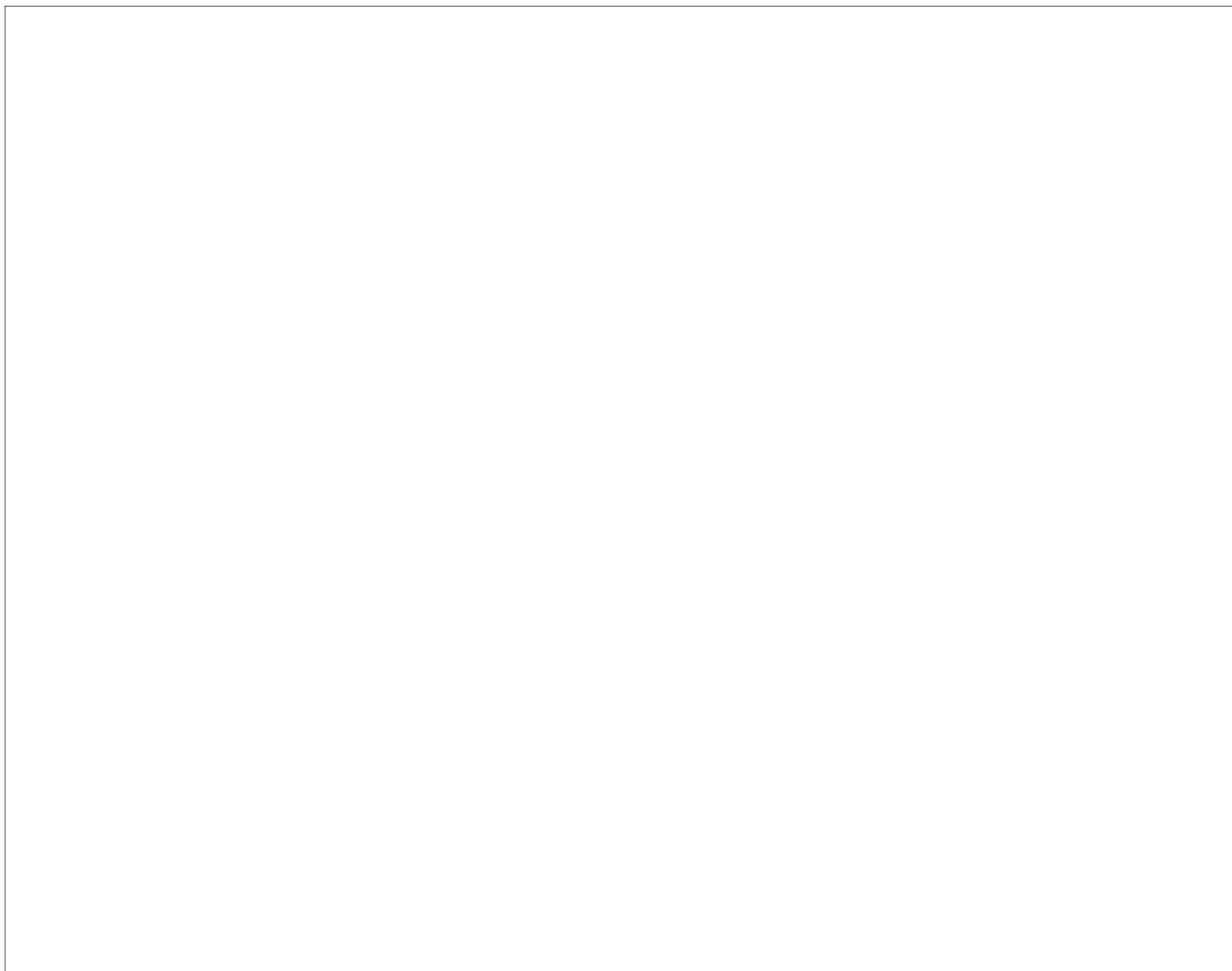
MEMORANDUM FOR: DCI
FROM: Dave Gries
SUBJECT: Luncheon for Senator Moynihan



STAT

You are scheduled to host lunch for Senator Moynihan (D., NY) on Thursday, 11 September at 12:00. The purpose of the lunch is to present Senator Moynihan with the Agency Seal Medallion in honor of his prior service as Vice Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Also to be presented are the citation, photo album and an Agency seal (the seals are being given to former chairmen and vice chairmen only).

STAT



Attachment

Page Denied

New York - Senior Senator

Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D)

Of Pindars Corners — Elected 1976

Born: March 16, 1927, Tulsa, Okla.

Education: Tufts U., B.N.S. 1946, B.A. 1948; Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, M.A. 1949, Ph.D. 1961.

Military Career: Navy, 1944-47.

Occupation: Government professor; writer.

Family: Wife, Elizabeth Brennan; three children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Sought Democratic nomination, N.Y. City Council president, 1965.

Capitol Office: 464 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-4451.



In Washington: Moynihan's career in the Senate has been marked by a slow but steady shift toward conventional Democratic liberalism and away from the neo-conservative doctrine for which he was once a leading spokesman.

Moynihan retains his well-known rhetorical skill, and his penchant for flashy displays of intellectual virtuosity. But the tenor and direction of his legislative efforts have been far different from what one might have expected when he arrived in the Senate.

Moynihan's changing perspective has been especially visible in recent years on issues of foreign policy. Known when he was ambassador to the United Nations as a militant anti-communist and the scourge of radical Third World regimes, Moynihan has figured prominently in recent years as a supporter of arms control and critic of the Reagan administration's campaign against the leftist government of Nicaragua.

Moynihan's much-publicized change of mind on Nicaragua reflected his flair for the dramatic gesture as well as his new political stance. As vice-chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Moynihan initially supported the administration's program of covert aid to anti-government "contra" guerrillas in Nicaragua. Gradually, however, he began to have doubts, pressing President Reagan for assurances that the aid was directed at halting alleged Nicaraguan arms shipments to leftists in El Salvador, rather than at overthrowing the Nicaraguan regime.

But the disclosure in early 1984 that the CIA had been involved in the mining of Nicaraguan harbors was too much for Moynihan. Bitterly attacking the CIA for failing to inform the Intelligence Committee about the operation, he announced his resignation as panel vice chairman. Eventually, after CIA Director

William J. Casey apologized, Moynihan withdrew his resignation. But he continued to oppose aid to the Nicaraguan contras.

On the domestic side, Moynihan has shed his reputation as a dispassionate critic of government social service programs and lined up emotionally with liberal Democrats in support of preserving the New Deal and Great Society. He is one of the Reagan administration's most militant foes, a relentless opponent of its efforts to reduce social spending and environmental regulations.

Along with defending existing social programs, Moynihan has had some modest success in recent years in setting up new ones. He has been a leading sponsor of legislation to establish a New Deal-style American Conservation Corps of unemployed young people to work on federal lands. The proposal cleared easily in 1984, but was pocket-vetoed by Reagan after the end of the 98th Congress. The same year Moynihan also pushed through a new program helping school districts desegregate, replacing an earlier program abolished in 1981.

Moynihan's ringing declarations of support for traditional Democratic Party ideas strike some colleagues as cynical political rhetoric, since they remember when he was identified as a critic of those ideas. But Moynihan has made the transition with great success in New York and without terrible cost in the Senate.

At times, colleagues clearly find his erudition fascinating — he is apt to interrupt routine debate with a scholarly discourse on the role of the London School of Economics, say, or the decline of private charity in Europe. In the course of his maiden speech in the Senate, he spoke one grammatically flawless sentence that took up half a column in the *Congressional Record*.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y.

There may be a few other members of Congress who could introduce an amendment establishing an algebraic formula for determining national income and know in detail what it meant. But surely no other living senator has ever used "fisc" — a rare word meaning royal or state treasury — in the title of a report to his constituents.

Still, it is not Moynihan the scholar that has made the greatest impression on colleagues over eight years in the Senate. It has been Moynihan the New York politician, maneuvering to bring an extra slice of the federal budget pie to the state he represents. If there is a criticism of him that goes beyond ideology, it is that he has spent much of his effort in behalf of routine political tasks a less gifted man could perform just as well.

In his choice of a committee assignment at the very start, Moynihan made clear his intention to bring home the goods to New York. Eschewing the Foreign Relations Committee, a natural post given his service as United Nations ambassador, he picked the Finance Committee, on which no New Yorker had sat for half a century.

He was the chief Senate spokesman for attempts in 1978 to include private elementary and secondary school students in a bill providing tax credits for college tuition. New York had some half a million students in private, mostly Catholic, schools — far more than any other state. Moynihan later attributed the defeat of the proposal in part to anti-Catholic bias among American opinion leaders.

Moynihan also has sought additional federal help for New York's crushing welfare burden. While the Finance panel never got a chance to act on President Carter's two major welfare bills, Moynihan did persuade the administration to include an increase in the federal share of state welfare costs among its proposals.

But Moynihan's most prominent Finance Committee issue in recent years has been Social Security. He was the most outspoken Democratic opponent of the Reagan administration's proposals to cut back Social Security in 1981, and was instrumental in working out the compromise that led to the Social Security reform legislation of 1983.

In leading the 1981 fight against Social Security changes, Moynihan argued that the system was basically solvent and could meet any short-term problems through relatively minor adjustments. By the next year, however, he had changed his mind. Working with Finance Committee Chairman Robert Dole, he developed the last-minute agreement that allowed

the National Commission on Social Security Reform to issue a set of recommendations for saving the system with a combination of tax increases and benefit restraint.

Moynihan has been active in other Finance work as well, sponsoring a number of revenue-raising provisions in the tax part of the 1981 deficit-reduction bill. But he failed in his efforts in committee to gain additional revenue by clamping down on real estate tax shelters and maintaining a high tax on cigarettes.

Moynihan believes that New York has been consistently shortchanged in the distribution of federal funds for a variety of programs. One area in which he has fought to correct the imbalance is in water policy, a subject he has involved in as member and former chairman of the Environment Committee's Water Resources Subcommittee.

Arguing that water projects have been disproportionately concentrated in Southern and Western states, he has pushed to give New York more authority in determining where projects will be located. New York State has a deteriorating water distribution system that needs billions of dollars for repairs. In 1982, Moynihan sponsored a \$6 billion public works bill that included \$1 billion for sewer repairs.

Although foreign policy questions no longer preoccupy Moynihan the way they did when he was U.N. ambassador, he has kept his hand in a variety of foreign policy issues beyond Central America.

Known at the United Nations for his outspoken defense of Israel, he has been equally militant in the Senate. He sponsored a resolution, unanimously adopted by the Senate, threatening to pull the United States out of the United Nations if Israel was expelled. He has been a leading advocate of moving the U.S. embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem — a controversial move opposed by the Reagan administration.

Moynihan has become increasingly involved with nuclear arms control. He is knowledgeable about the subject, but hard to bring down. He has tried to find a midpoint between President Reagan's position and backing a nuclear freeze and the SALT II treaty.

In 1979 Moynihan published a long article in the *New Yorker* magazine arguing that the U.S. had been consistently taken advantage of in arms negotiations with the Soviets. But he did not immediately oppose the SALT II treaty. Instead, he used his potential vote as a bargaining point to change what he considered a serious defect — the fact that the treaty allowed both countries to add new

New York - Senior Senator

tegic weapons, rather than forcing reductions. Moynihan prepared an amendment that would have voided the treaty if U.S. and Soviet negotiators did not agree on real reductions in arms levels by the end of 1981.

Later, Moynihan announced that he favored adoption of the SALT II treaty as an interim executive agreement. Under his plan, negotiators could work out mutual reductions while the treaty was in effect; SALT II would expire if the subsequent treaty did not reduce arms levels.

In the 98th Congress, Moynihan focused much of his arms-control energy on the MX missile. One of the most vigorous critics of the Reagan-backed weapon, he offered an amendment in 1983 to bar the MX in favor of development of a new small, mobile missile. His amendment was rejected 57-42, although a related proposal he offered the next year along with Florida Democrat Lawton Chiles came within one vote of victory.

At Home: Moynihan has gradually accommodated himself to the liberal New York Democrats who could not accept his neo-conservative outlook when he first ran in 1976.

For the first few years of his Senate career, it seemed likely that he would be challenged from the left when he ran for renomination in 1982. But by the time of the primary, his belligerent and unexpected defense of traditional Democratic policies had had their effect. New York's Democratic left was pacified, and the National Conservative Political Action Committee helped Moynihan out by airing television ads calling him "the most liberal United States senator." Even the Liberal Party, which had been upset by his support of tuition tax credits for non-public schools, backed Moynihan in 1982 for his second term.

It was a far different campaign from the one in 1976, which was dominated by discussion of Moynihan's hard-line foreign policy.

Running for the Democratic Senate nomination in 1976 on his neo-conservative credentials, Moynihan probably could not have commanded a majority of the primary vote in any field. But with three major candidates to the left of him, his 36 percent share was enough for a first-place finish, 10,000 votes ahead of Rep. Bella Abzug. Once nominated, he clung to the party's working-class tradition and managed enough unity to unseat Republican James L. Buckley in the fall.

None of it would have been possible, however, without Moynihan's controversial year as American ambassador to the United Nations, where the New York media covered him in detail. His feisty defense of Israel was crucial in

giving him enough Jewish support to survive the primary, but beyond that his televised militance at the United Nations in 1975 allowed him to begin the campaign as a celebrity, rather than just an articulate Harvard professor. "He spoke up for America," one campaign advertisement said, "He'd speak up for New York."

Moynihan's new-found reputation also enabled him to survive his weaknesses among blacks and Hispanics. As a policy adviser in the Nixon administration, he had caused himself considerable trouble when he counseled a policy of "benign neglect" toward minorities. Moynihan insisted he had been misunderstood, but the dispute only revived an issue that first surfaced in 1965, when his book *Beyond the Melting Pot* attributed social problems among blacks to unstable family structure.

Moynihan's own father, a hard-drinking journalist, walked out on the family when the senator was six, and the senator's mother ran a saloon near Times Square. Moynihan walked into the entrance examination for City College with a longshoreman's loading hook sticking out of his back pocket.

A life in academia followed, interspersed with periods of government service. He worked in the Labor Department in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, as an urban affairs expert for Richard M. Nixon, and as ambassador to India under Nixon and Gerald R. Ford. He was the architect of the ill-fated Nixon "family assistance" welfare proposal, whose history he detailed in a book. In between, he taught his personal combination of economics, sociology and urban studies at Harvard and at the Joint Center for Urban Studies.

In the last year of his ambassadorship in New Delhi, Moynihan began to attract increasing attention for his articles criticizing a lack of firmness in U.S. foreign policy, especially toward the Third World. His reputation made him a logical choice in 1975 for the U.N. post, whose most recent appointees had been relatively inconspicuous. His service at the United Nations clearly helped his political prospects in New York, although he denied any connection.

When he left the United Nations to run for the Senate, he found himself challenged not only by the equally flamboyant Abzug, but also by two other well-known figures of the Democratic left: former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and New York City Council President Paul O'Dwyer.

Moynihan's chief political sponsor was Joseph Crangle, the influential Erie County (Buffalo) party chairman. Crangle pushed the state Democratic convention to guarantee ballot

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y.

spots for all three liberals.

Abzug depicted Moynihan as a Buckley in Democratic clothing and quickly emerged as his main rival. But Clark and O'Dwyer took a combined 19 percent, just enough to sink her. Moynihan split most of the New York suburbs with Abzug, won the upstate counties and captured every city borough except Manhattan.

Buckley had won the seat six years earlier as the Conservative Party candidate, taking advantage of a three-way contest involving liberal Republican incumbent Charles Goodell and liberal Democratic challenger Richard L. Ottinger. He had no such advantage in 1976.

Moynihan started with a strong lead over Buckley in the polls, and he neither said nor did anything in the fall to fracture his tenuous party harmony. He spent much of his time in Massachusetts, teaching at Harvard to protect his tenure. When he did speak out, he called Buckley a right-wing extremist out of step with the state's politics — citing Buckley's initial

opposition in 1975 to federal loan guarantees for New York City.

Moynihan won all the suburban counties except Suffolk on Long Island and rolled in large margins in the city to defeat Buckley by half-million votes.

Former U.S. Rep. Bruce Caputo wanted the Republican nomination in 1982, and he might have made an attractive GOP candidate. But he was forced to withdraw early in the year following the disclosure that he had misstated his military background. Caputo falsely claimed he had served as an Army lieutenant.

With Moynihan consolidating his support within the Democratic Party, no other major Republican felt a campaign against him was worth waging. Two moderates split the GOP primary vote and allowed state Assemblywoman Florence Sullivan, a conservative, to win the nomination. Moynihan defeated her handily in November, carrying everything but 16 rural counties.

Committees

Budget (8th of 10 Democrats)

Environment and Public Works (4th of 7 Democrats)

Water Resources (ranking); Environmental Pollution; Nuclear Regulation.

Finance (4th of 9 Democrats)

Social Security and Income Maintenance Programs (ranking); International Trade; Taxation and Debt Management.

Elections

1982 General

Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D)	3,232,146	(65%)
Florence Sullivan (R)	1,696,766	(34%)

1982 Primary

Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D)	922,059	(85%)
Melvin Klenetsky (D)	161,012	(15%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1976 (54%)

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Moynihan (D)	\$2,479,867	\$366,221 (15%)		\$2,708,660
Sullivan (R)	\$121,893	\$25,200 (21%)		\$117,875

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1984	36	53	68	25	21	66

1983	46	51	74	21	16
1982	28	71	86	11	14
1981	41	47	71	14	8
1980	74	16	79	14	12
1979	80	12	79	13	15
1978	75	16	82	10	18
1977	75	17	79	13	19

S = Support O = Opposition

Key Votes

- Overturn Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion (1983)
- Allow chemical weapons production (1983)
- Create Martin Luther King Jr. holiday (1983)
- Bar funding for MX missile (1983)
- Permit school prayer (1984)
- Cut military aid to El Salvador (1984)
- Keep tax indexing (1984)
- Retain funds for "Star Wars" defense research (1984)
- Authorize procurement of 21 MX missiles (1985)

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS
1984	85	32	80	39	
1983	80	0	82	26	
1982	95	25	96	22	
1981	75	28	94	33	
1980	72	8	100	33	
1979	47	15	100	0	
1978	60	4	89	35	
1977	70	17	84	11	

DINING ROOM EVENTS

TIME/DAY/DATE: 1200-Thursday, 11 September 1986

BREAKFAST _____ LUNCHEON _____ XX _____ DINNER _____

HOST: DCI _____ XX _____ DDCI _____ EXDIR _____ OTHER _____

PLACE: DCI D. R. _____ XX _____ EDR _____ OTHER _____

GUEST LIST: Mr. William J. Casey, host
Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, guest of honor
Mr. R. E. Hineman, DDS&T
* Mr. Richard Kerr, DDI
Mr. Daniel Childs, COMPT

_____ ADDO
_____ OCA/DCI
~~Mr. David Gries, OCA/DCI~~

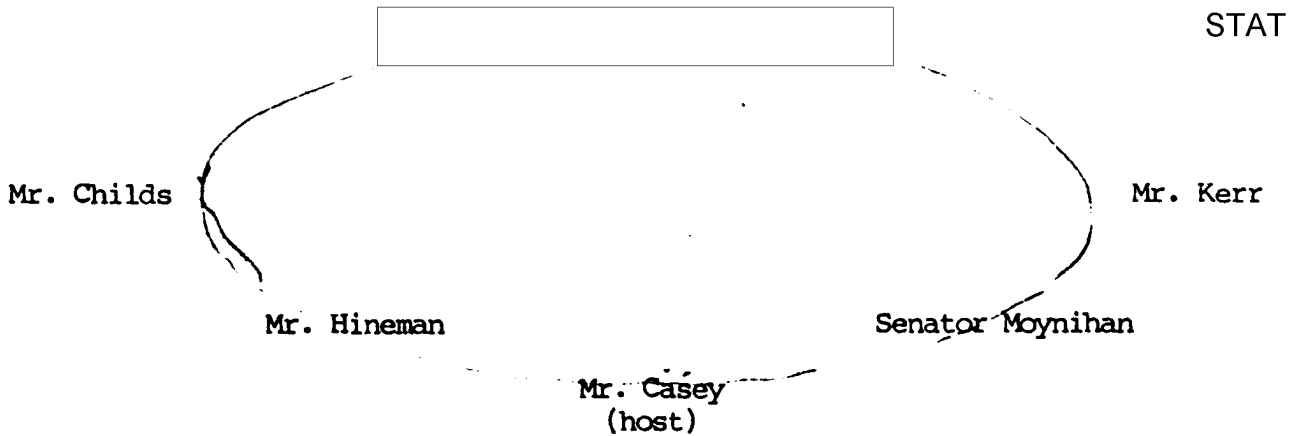
STAT

TOTAL: 7

AGENCY SEAL MEDALLION TO BE PRESENTED TO SENATOR MOYNIHAN

MENU: Sauteed Foie Gras with Arugala and Walnut Salad
Salad
Rack of Lamb with Mustard and Breadcrumbs
Vegetables
Red Wine with Meal
Barquettes with White Chocolate
Coffee/Tea

SEATING ARRANGEMENT: (ATTACHED)



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