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Medal of Freedom 8/9/00 Daniel Patrick Moynihan

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Daniel Patrick Moynihan

An academic, diplomat, public servant, and champion of the underprivileged, Daniel Patrick Moynihan has worked for social and economic justice throughout his extraordinary career. The only American to serve as a high-level advisor to four successive Presidents, he focused a national spotlight on poverty and urban blight. As U.S. Ambassador to India and the United Nations, he steadfastly defended democracy, freedom, and America's interests. During his four Senate terms, he has demonstrated unparalleled vision in crafting laws that have improved the lives of millions. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's wisdom, wit, and compassion have brightened our Nation's public life, and we salute him for his distinguished service.

August 4, 2000

- Debt reductions
- Clashes w/ Clinton
- Navy
- PA Ave.

MEMORANDUM FOR JEFF SHESOL

FROM: ADAM FRANKEL AND JEREMY KANE

SUBJECT: MEDAL OF FREEDOM: SENATOR DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

at home in Hell's kitchen

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan experienced poverty first-hand. He saw it on the docks of New York City, experienced it from the vantage point of a shoe-shiner's box in Times Square, studied it at the London School of Economics and battled it from the historic halls of Congress. These diverse experiences have impelled Moynihan to work tirelessly for both the poor and those on welfare, the disenfranchised and the needy. He has used these experiences to produce a distinguished career in four presidential administrations and 24 years of service in the Senate. Yet because of the breadth of his service and achievements, it is nearly impossible to focus on one accomplishment or one characteristic of the man whom John Kenneth Galbraith (also a medal recipient) once called, "quite possibly the most diversely interesting and influential political figure in our time."

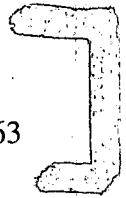
As a young man, Moynihan's intellectual pursuits led him from New York City to Tufts University where he received his undergraduate degree (1948). After returning from a year in London where he studied at the London School of Economics on a Fulbright Scholarship, Moynihan returned to Tufts and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy where he received an M.A. and Ph.D.

Since Averall Harriman's Gubernatorial campaign in 1954, Moynihan has been relentless in his public work. He spent four years on Harriman's staff until Harriman was defeated in 1958. Then, in 1960, he served as a Kennedy Delegate at the Democratic Convention. From 1961-1965, he worked in the Department of Labor as assistant to Secretary Goldberg and later as Assistant Secretary of Labor for Policy Planning and Research. While at the Department of Labor, Moynihan immersed himself in issues of poverty, helping to create the Manpower Development and Training Act. He was also a member of the working group that conceived the War on Poverty. From 1966-1969 he served as the director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies. Under Richard Nixon, Moynihan served as an urban affairs expert. In 1973-1975, he served as Ambassador to India. From 1975-1976 Moynihan was the Ambassador to the United Nations. He used that position to condemn a UN resolution that called Zionism a form of racism.

In 1976, Moynihan began a distinguished Senate career with a close win; he was elected to four more terms - all of which were won with more than 60% of the vote. During his tenure, Moynihan never lost his fascination with America's diverse ethnic make-up, a subject on which he has written extensively (including his book *Beyond the Melting Pot*). The "Intellectual" Senator has always concerned himself with the poor and the underprivileged; and there has always been a certain morality underlying his arguments in the Senate. "Senator Moynihan is always a moral voice, the voice of our collective conscience," said the Reverend Leo J. O'Donovan, President of Georgetown University. "Throughout his accomplished career ... the Senator has challenged himself and, indeed, all of us to recognize our obligations to one another in the human community, to be careful and reflective in our decisions as we meet those obligations, to do not what is easy, not what is popular, but what is right."

In 1993, Moynihan became the first New Yorker in 150 years to serve as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. Losing that seat a year later did not detract from his efforts to reform the welfare state. Presently, Moynihan serves as the ranking Democrat on the Finance Committee.

NOTE: Senator Moynihan helped create the concept of the Presidential Medal of Freedom that President Kennedy had announced on Washington's birthday in 1963. President Johnson presided over the first ceremony on December 6, 1963



DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN
NEW YORKUnited States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3201

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FROM:

Tony Bullock, Chief of Staff
Office of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan

DATE:

Number of pages including cover sheet:

3

Jeff.

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(see Amazon.com) Hodgson.

Biography

March 2000

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

Daniel Patrick Moynihan is the senior United States Senator from New York. First elected in 1976, Sen. Moynihan was re-elected in 1982, 1988, and 1994.

Sen. Moynihan is the Ranking Minority Member of the Senate Committee on Finance, having earlier served as Chairman. He is on the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works of which he was also formerly Chairman, and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. He is a member of the Joint Committee on Taxation and the Joint Committee on the Library.

A member of the Cabinet or sub-Cabinet of Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Ford, Sen. Moynihan is the only person in American history to serve in four successive administrations. He was U.S. Ambassador to India from 1973 to 1975 and U.S. Representative to the United Nations from 1975 to 1976. In February 1976 he represented the United States as President of the United Nations Security Council.

Sen. Moynihan was born March 16, 1927. He attended public and parochial schools in New York City and graduated from Benjamin Franklin High School in East Harlem. He attended the City College of New York for one year before enlisting in the United States Navy. He served on active duty from 1944 to 1947, latterly as Gunnery Officer of the U.S.S. Quirinus. In 1966, he completed twenty years in the Naval Reserve and was retired. He earned his bachelor's degree (*cum laude*) from Tufts University, studied at the London School of Economics as a Fulbright Scholar, and received his M.A. and Ph.D. from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Sen. Moynihan was a member of Averell Harriman's New York gubernatorial campaign in 1954, and thereafter served for four years on the Governor's staff, in positions including Acting Secretary to the Governor. He was a Kennedy delegate at the 1960 Democratic Convention. From 1961 to 1965, he served in the U.S. Department of Labor as assistant to the Secretary, Arthur J. Goldberg, and later as Assistant Secretary of Labor for Policy Planning and Research.

In 1966, Sen. Moynihan became Director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He was a Professor of Government at Harvard, having earlier been an Assistant Professor of Government at Syracuse University, and a fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies at Wesleyan University. He has received 62 honorary degrees.

Sen. Moynihan is the author or editor of 18 books. His most recent work, Secrecy: The American Experience, was published by Yale in the fall of 1998. The study expands on the report of the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy, of which he was Chairman.

Since 1976, Sen. Moynihan has published an annual accounting of the flow of funds between the Federal Government and the State of New York. In 1992, the analysis became a joint publication

(over)

with the Taubman Center for State and Local Government at the John F. Kennedy School at Harvard and began including all fifty states.

Sen. Moynihan is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). He was Chairman of the AAAS's section on Social, Economic and Political Science (1971-72) and a member of the Board of Directors (1972-73). He served as a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee (1971-73). He was Vice Chairman (1971-76) of the Board of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

He was Founding Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden (1971-85) and serves as a Regent of the Smithsonian Institution. In 1985, the Smithsonian awarded him its Joseph Henry Medal.

In 1965, Sen. Moynihan received the Arthur S. Flemming Award for his work as "an architect of the Nation's program to eradicate poverty." He has also received the International League of Human Rights Award (1975) and the John LaFarge Award for Interracial Justice (1980). In 1983, he was the first recipient of the American Political Science Association's Hubert H. Humphrey Award for "notable public service by a political scientist." In 1984, Sen. Moynihan received the State University of New York at Albany's Medallion of the University in recognition of his "extraordinary public service and leadership in the field of education." In 1986, he received the Agency Seal Medallion of the Central Intelligence Agency in "recognition of his outstanding accomplishments as a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, . . . serving with full knowledge that his achievements would never receive public recognition."

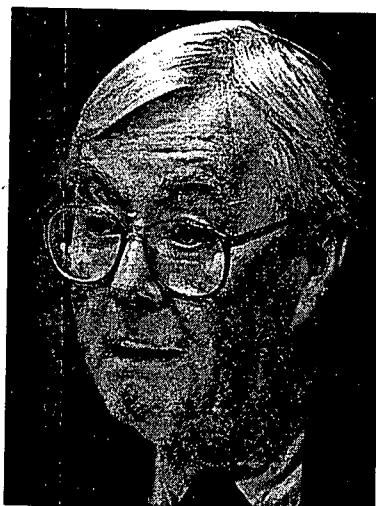
He has also received the Laetare Medal of the University of Notre Dame (1992); the Thomas Jefferson Award for Public Architecture from the American Institute of Architects (1992); and the Thomas Jefferson Medal for Distinguished Achievement in the Arts or Humanities from the American Philosophical Society (1993). In 1994, he received the Gold Medal Award "honoring services to humanity" from the National Institute of Social Sciences. In 1997, the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University awarded Sen. Moynihan the Cartwright Prize. He was the 1998 recipient of the Heinz Award in Public Policy for "having been a distinct and unique voice in this century -- independent in his convictions, a scholar, teacher, statesman and politician, skilled in the art of the possible."

Elizabeth Brennan Moynihan, his wife of 44 years, is an architectural historian with a special interest in 16th century Mughal architecture in India. She is the author of Paradise as a Garden: In Persia and Mughal India (1979) and numerous articles. Mrs. Moynihan is a former Chairman of the Board of the American Schools of Oriental Research. She served as a member of the Indo-U.S. Subcommission on Education and Culture, and is currently on the visiting committee of the Freer Gallery of Art at the Smithsonian Institution. She is Vice Chair of the Board of the National Building Museum and serves on the Trustees Council of the Preservation League of New York State.

There are three Moynihan children: Timothy Patrick, Maura Russell, and John McCloskey; along with (so far!) two grandchildren: Michael Patrick and Zora Olea.

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B10S



Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D)

Elected 1976; 4th term

In Washington: The 106th Congress will be Moynihan's last; shortly after the November 1998 election, he announced that he would retire when his term expires in January 2001. "You're in your 70s, and you don't want to press that too long, do you?" he said. Still, that gives Moynihan, easily one of the sharpest intellects in the Senate, two more years to befuddle not only his political opponents but his allies as well.

Listening to the senator, who often speaks in fits and starts, is both an education and a treat. He has interrupted routine debate with a personal discourse on the impossibility of free trade with a country, such as Mexico, that lacks an independent judiciary.

While discussing an algebraic formula for determining national income, he has explained in comprehensible terms how it works. He is a prolific author. And his regular meetings with the Washington-based reporters who cover him for New York newspapers are more academic lecture than press conference; one former aide dubbed them "tutorials."

The proof of how unpredictable the white-haired, bow-tied former college professor is can be seen in the two framed magazine covers dotting one wall of his office in the Russell Senate Office Building. One is a 1979 issue of *The Nation*, titled "Moynihan: The conscience of a neo-conservative." The other is a 1981 issue of *The New Republic*. Its headline: "Pat Moynihan, neo-liberal."

A strong supporter of Social Security, Moynihan nevertheless has endorsed efforts to allow some of the money to be invested privately. And while he generally supports abortion rights, Moynihan has voted to ban a procedure opponents call "partial birth" abortion.

Though they both are Democrats, Moynihan and President Clinton have clashed on a number of issues. Moynihan was on the winning side in 1998 when the Supreme Court threw out Clinton's line-item veto. A longtime opponent of the short-lived law, which allowed the president to veto individual items in spending bills, the senator was one of those who took the case to the nation's highest court.

Besides his belief that the line-item veto was unconstitutional, Moynihan also had a parochial reason to challenge the president; in August 1997, Clinton's first exercise of his new power was to kill a provision that would have resolved in New York state's favor a dispute with the federal government over Medicaid funding. The issue was worth about \$200 million a year to the Empire State.

Moynihan also took to the Senate floor in August 1998 in support of Democratic Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut, who had delivered a scathing criticism of Clinton following the president's admission of an "inappropriate" relationship with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

A seer on welfare — which many years ago led to his being branded a racist — Moynihan was a lonely voice in opposition while Clinton and the Republicans who controlled Congress pushed through welfare overhaul legislation in the 104th Congress. Moynihan was one of the 21 senators who voted against the final version. He bristled at Clinton's decision to sign it, having urged the president to veto any bill that eliminated a poor family's entitlement to cash assistance. "If this administration wishes to go down in

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COMMITTEES
Environment & Public Works (Superfund, Waste Control & Risk Assessment; Transportation & Infrastructure); Finance - ranking member (International Trade - ranking member; Social Security & Family Policy; Taxation & IRS Oversight); Rules & Administration; Year 2000 Technology Problem; Joint Library; Joint Taxation - ranking member

HOMETOWN
Pindars Corners

BORN
March 16, 1927, Tulsa, Okla.

RELIGION
Roman Catholic

FAMILY
Wife, Elizabeth Brennan; three children

EDUCATION
City U. of New York, City College, attended 1943; Tufts U., B.N.S. 1946, B.A. 1948; Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, M.A. 1949; London School of Economics, attended 1950-51; Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Ph.D. 1961

MILITARY SERVICE
Navy, 1944-47; Naval Reserve, 1947-66

CAREER
Professor; writer

POLITICAL HIGHLIGHTS
Sought Democratic nomination for N.Y. City Council president, 1965

ELECTION RESULTS

1994 GENERAL
Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D, L) 2,646,541 55.2%
Bernadette Castro (R, C, TCN) 1,988,308 41.5%
Henry F. Hewes (RTL) 95,954 2.0%

1994 PRIMARY
Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D) 526,766 74.7%
Al Sharpton (D) 178,231 25.3%

PREVIOUS WINNING PERCENTAGES
1988 (67%); 1982 (65%); 1976 (54%)

history as one that abandoned, eagerly abandoned, the national commitment to dependent children, so be it," Moynihan said. "I would not want to be associated with such an enterprise."

It was striking that Moynihan stood among the dissenters. After all, he had been the chief architect of the previous welfare overhaul, in 1988. He also had been the intellectual father of President Richard M. Nixon's unsuccessful 1969 plan to overhaul the system.

Moynihan had foreseen the growth in single-parent families in inner cities. Writing in his 1965 report, "The Negro Family," he contended that this trend would deepen poverty and intensify anti-social behavior. At the time, Moynihan was vilified as a racist, and his social views created a gulf between him and some minority-group leaders. In the end, Moynihan was sadly vindicated. "To be as candid as can be," he told the Syracuse Herald American shortly before being renominated in 1994, "I wish it had turned out I was wrong. We have such awful problems about all kinds of families."

Moynihan's tenure as Finance Committee chairman during the 103rd Congress was noteworthy as much for the fits it gave the new Clinton administration as for its legislative actions — enactment of a \$500-billion deficit-reduction bill and two massive trade measures: the North American Free Trade Agreement (which Moynihan opposed) and the reauthorization of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (which he supported).

Moynihan had big shoes to fill in following Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, who gave up the chairmanship of Finance to serve as Treasury secretary for Clinton. With its narrow 11-9 party split and jurisdiction over trade, taxes, health and welfare programs, it had a huge say in the outcome of the president's agenda.

Strange, then, that at times Clinton seemed to ignore Moynihan. The senator had made it clear to New Yorkers that his top priority in any health care bill was to change the federal reimbursement formula for Medicaid, which paid half of New York's costs but paid a higher percentage of the costs incurred by many other states. Clinton's proposed health care bill did not change the formula. Moreover, it contained another provision that, in seeking to increase the supply of general practitioners in comparison with specialists, would have hurt New York's many teaching hospitals.

Moynihan struck back. During a discussion of health care reform, he proclaimed, "We don't have a health care crisis. We DO have a welfare crisis." Still, Moynihan came through for the president on the budget bill — no easy task, as it involved holding together all 11 of the committee's often-fractious Democrats. And while Clinton later told a group of Texas supporters that the bill raised taxes too much, Moynihan was unrepentant. "The president may in retrospect think that he made a mistake," Moynihan said. "I think we did the right thing."

Moynihan is not above some parochial legislating as well. He tried to get a provision in the 1998 year-end catchall spending bill to exempt from federal taxes the \$1 million reward that David Kaczynski, a New York state resident, received for turning in his brother, Theodore, the Unabomber. David Kaczynski wanted to divide the money among the families of the victims, but taxes would have reduced the amount by \$355,000. The House, however, refused to go along with the proposal.

For any who thought Moynihan's decision to retire meant that he had lost his interest in legislating, the early days of the 106th Congress dispelled that notion: On the first day that bills were introduced, Moynihan filed a full 20 percent of the total, on issues that included Social Security, education, health care, government secrecy, the status of Puerto Rico, the "year 2000" computer problem and boxing safety.

KEY VOTES

1999

- N Remove President Clinton for grand jury perjury
- N Remove President Clinton for obstruction of justice

1998

- N Pass omnibus spending bill
- Y Override veto of bill to ban "partial birth" abortions
- Y Allow vote on bill to increase restrictions on tobacco industry and raise tobacco taxes
- Y Restrict future NATO expansion
- Y Allow vote on campaign finance overhaul

1997

- Y Allow vote on bill to give president fast-track trade negotiating authority
- N Allow vote on bill to let companies offer comp time instead of overtime pay

INTEREST GROUPS

	AFL-CIO	ADA	CCUS	ACU
1998	n/a	95%	44%	8%
1997	29%	60%	50%	12%
1996	100%	90%	31%	10%
1995	100%	90%	22%	0%
1994	88%	100%	20%	0%
1993	91%	90%	27%	4%
1992	83%	100%	10%	0%
1991	92%	95%	10%	0%
1990	78%	94%	17%	4%

CQ VOTE STUDIES

	PARTY UNITY		PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT	
	Support	Oppose	Support	Oppose
1998	83%	10%	71%	19%
1997	77%	22%	81%	17%
1996	87%	10%	78%	19%
1995	84%	12%	75%	16%
1994	92%	8%	84%	16%
1993	95%	5%	93%	7%
1992	90%	10%	35%	65%
1991	92%	7%	35%	65%
1990	89%	9%	31%	69%

VOTING PARTICIPATION

1998	93%
1997	99%
1996	97%
1995	96%
1994	99%
1993	100%
1992	100%
1990	98%

At Home: Moynihan rose from Manhattan's ethnic, blue-collar precincts to the heights of academia and government. His father, a hard-drinking journalist, walked out on the family when Daniel was 6; his mother ran a saloon near Times Square.

Moynihan walked into the entrance exam for City College with a long-shoreman's loading hook in his back pocket. After establishing himself as an academic — he taught his personal combination of economics, sociology and urban studies at Harvard and at the Joint Center for Urban Studies — Moynihan turned to government service in the 1960s and, according to his office, is the only person ever to serve at the Cabinet or sub-Cabinet level in four successive presidential administrations.

He worked in the Labor Department for Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, and as an urban affairs expert for Nixon. He was ambassador to India and to the United Nations under Nixon and President Gerald R. Ford. Moynihan's service at the United Nations clearly helped his political prospects in New York, although he downplayed any connection. His feisty defense of Israel in 1975 attracted the attention of the television cameras and earned him support among New York's sizable Jewish constituency. Because of his media exposure, he began the 1976 campaign as a celebrity, rather than just an articulate Harvard professor.

Three well-known figures of the Democratic left split the primary vote: Rep. Bella Abzug, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and New York City Council President Paul O'Dwyer. Clark and O'Dwyer took a combined 19 percent, enough to sink Abzug, who finished 10,000 votes behind Moynihan. Moynihan sailed to victory over Conservative-Republican Sen. James Buckley in November by a half-million votes, polling 54 percent.

Though he usually disdains the poetry of campaigning for the prose of governing, Moynihan has been one of New York's most successful vote-getters.

After ousting Buckley in 1976, Moynihan never was seriously challenged again. In his first run for re-election, in 1982, the Republicans were unable to attract any first-tier candidates. Moynihan won 65 percent of the vote against little-known state Rep. Florence Sullivan. In 1988, he defeated Republican lawyer Robert R. McMillan with 67 percent — breaking his own state record for Senate election vote percentage.

Even in 1994, as the powerful GOP tide ousted Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo, Moynihan had little trouble winning again. His opponent, first-time candidate Bernadette Castro, a former sofa-bed company executive and now state parks commissioner, was outspent more than 3-to-1. Moynihan did feel the tug of the year's big GOP vote: His 55 percent tally was his lowest-ever re-election score. Still, he beat Castro by 13 percentage points.

Moynihan's decision to retire set off a scramble among both Democrats and Republicans to succeed him, as several prominent officials in the two major political parties considered running for the first open Senate seat in New York in decades.

Moynihan himself generally has shied away from partisan politics, though he gave a rare endorsement in the 1998 Democratic gubernatorial primary to New York City Council President Peter Vallone, and then he campaigned with Rep. Charles E. Schumer during his successful Senate campaign.

Even when Cuomo's 1994 defeat left the Democrats rudderless, Moynihan showed no interest in steering the party ship. Indeed, during the state Democratic convention in May 1998, Moynihan scrapped a planned speech designed to rally the troops and instead delivered a 20-minute lecture on the threat of nuclear war following India's and Pakistan's detonations of nuclear weapons. "Every man, woman and child lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles hanging by the slenderest of threads," he said.

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AP Candidate Bios

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LENGTH: 977 words**NAME:** Daniel Patrick Moynihan**ELECTION-YEAR:** 1998**STATE:** New York**OFFICE-SOUGHT:** United States Senate (2000)**PARTY:** Democrat**OCCUPATION:** U.S. Senator**BIRTHDATE:** March 16, 1927**GENDER:** Male**RACE:** White**BIOGRAPHY:**

Daniel Patrick Moynihan was born in Tulsa, Okla., and resides in Pindars Corners, N.Y. He received bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees from Tufts University. Moynihan was a Fulbright fellow at the London School of Economics and Political Science, 1950-51. He served in the Navy, 1944-47, and in the Naval Reserves until 1966. He was an aide to then-New York Gov. Averell Harriman, 1955-58. He held various high-level government posts in the administrations of Presidents John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford, including assistant secretary of labor, 1963-65. He was director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies operated by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, 1966-69. He was an urban affairs adviser and counselor to Nixon. He was U.S. ambassador to India, 1973-75, and U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, 1975-76. He taught government at Russell Sage College, Cornell University, Syracuse University and Harvard University. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1976 and was re-elected in 1982, 1988 and 1994. Moynihan began Senate service Jan. 3, 1977. He and his wife, Elizabeth, have three children.

PROFILE:

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, perhaps the most intellectual member of the U.S. Senate, is also one of the Senate's most independent-minded Democrats. In 1993, he advised the White House to make reforming welfare, not health care, the top priority. Had President Clinton heeded the lawmaker's counsel, Moynihan might still head the Finance Committee and the direction of the Clinton administration might have been altered. Moynihan, who in 1993 became the first New

Yorker to serve as chairman of the Finance Committee in more than 150 years, was bumped out of the chair just a year later when the GOP trounced the Democrats and took control of Congress. In the 104th Congress, Moynihan continued to push for overhauling welfare and led the fight against Republican welfare reform, which for the first time would eliminate entitlements to children in favor of block grants to the states. "Through 11 presidents and 31 Congresses we have sought to aid children in poverty. We have not always succeeded. But never, until now, have we undertaken to do harm," he said. The GOP's legislation, Moynihan said, was welfare repeal not welfare reform and he urged the president to veto it. The scholarly, partisan Democrat and architect of America's social programs spent years bouncing between government and campus. In February 1976, he told President Ford he was resigning as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations to return to teaching at Harvard. Moynihan, who earlier had worked as a government official, presidential adviser, and ambassador to India, then told reporters at the United Nations: "I assume I'll be back in government one way or other someday." Moynihan's U.N. diplomatic career was short and snappy, and packed with controversy, as he talked back to critics of the United States with scorn or wit that often outraged Third World diplomats, dismayed some Western Europeans and delighted many Americans. In June 1976, Moynihan announced he was running for the U.S. Senate seat held by New York Conservative-Republican James L. Buckley. Moynihan -- with tremendous name recognition -- won the Democratic primary in September 1976, beating then-Rep. Bella Abzug; Ramsey Clark, a former U.S. attorney general; Paul O'Dwyer, president of the New York City Council; and businessman Abraham Hirschfeld. During the campaign, debating Buckley, Moynihan said: "I am for using the federal government to help New York. Sen. Buckley is always voting against anything dealing with the national government." Moynihan received 3,422,594 votes to Buckley's 2,836,633. Six years later, seeking a second term and saying polls indicated he was "the most approved-of public figure in the state of New York," Moynihan was a political giant. He swept to re-election, smashing Republican Florence Sullivan, a state assemblywoman. She backed President Reagan on virtually all issues. Moynihan received 3,232,146 votes to 1,696,766 for Mrs. Sullivan. In 1988, Moynihan faced political unknown Robert McMillan, a Long Island lawyer. Moynihan waltzed to victory with 67 percent of the vote, to McMillan's 34 percent -- a record for a New York Senate race. Moynihan carried all but one county and won more votes -- 4,048,649 -- than any other senator in American history except Pete Wilson and Alan Cranston of California. In 1994, the Republicans put up another political unknown, furniture heiress Bernadette Castro. Moynihan won handily, 55 percent to 42 percent, but this time his vote count was way down even though he outspent Castro \$6.7 million to \$1.6 million. Moynihan received 2,646,541 votes. Moynihan serves as the ranking Democrat on the Finance Committee, which has jurisdiction over tax policy, international trade, welfare policy, Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid. He also serves on the Senate Environment & Public Works; Rules and Administration; and Joint Taxation committees. He also serves on the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress. The liberal Americans for Democratic Action gave Moynihan's 1997 voting record a score of 60 out of a possible 100 points; the American Conservative Union gave him 12 points.

PRIOR-CAMPAIGNS:

Daniel Patrick Moynihan was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1976, with 51 percent of the vote, defeating incumbent Conservative-Republican Sen. James L. Buckley. Moynihan was re-elected in 1982, with 65 percent of the vote, beating Republican Florence Sullivan, a state assemblywoman. Moynihan was elected to a third term in 1988, with 67 percent of the vote. He beat Robert McMillan, a Long Island lawyer, who was the candidate of the Republican and Conservative Parties. In 1994, he defeated Republican Bernadette Castro with 55 percent of the vote.

TELEPHONE: To reach **Daniel Patrick Moynihan** or his aides in Washington, call (202) 224-4451; or in New York, call (212) 661-5150.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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Terms: [headline \(patrick moynihan\)](#) ([Edit Search](#))*Publishers Weekly June 26, 2000*Copyright 2000 Information Access Company,
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June 26, 2000

SECTION: No. 26, Vol. 247; Pg. 58 ; ISSN: 0000-0019**IAC-ACC-NO:** 63652654**LENGTH:** 291 words**HEADLINE:** THE GENTLEMAN FROM NEW YORK: Daniel **Patrick Moynihan**, a Biography; Review;
book review**BODY:**

GODFREY HODGSON. Houghton Mifflin, \$ 35 (464p) ISBN 0-395-86042-3

Though it may not rank as the definitive Moynihan biography, this informative study brings clarity to the Democratic senator's 24-year career as a legislator and his even longer career as a political thinker. Moynihan has called his career a series of "chance encounters, random walks"; Hodgson (*The World Turned Right Side Up*), an Oxford-based historian and a friend of Moynihan's since 1962, manages to lend that random walk a narrative coherence. Giving a colorful if not always balanced account of the senator's extraordinary journey from the sidewalks of New York to the chairmanship of the U.S. Senate Finance Committee, Hodgson, who had access to the senator's political papers and personal letters, peppers his account liberally with charming anecdotes and vivid biographical details. He portrays, for example, a young Pat, back in New York City after three formative years at the London School of Economics, devouring cheese and onion sandwiches between beers at McSorley's Ale House. He also gives a nicely detail ed account of Moynihan's momentous 1975 speech as delegate to the U.N., where he denounced anti-Semitism amid a furious debate over a resolution declaring Zionism a form of racism. And he follows the legislator as he went on to become, in the words of the New York Times, an "aggressive debater, outrageous flatterer, shrewd adviser--indeed manipulator--of Presidents, accomplished diplomat and heartfelt friend of the poor." Hodgson's summary of the senator's legislative record is uncritical, and his prose gets cumbersome in places. But as an eyewitness account of Moynihan's colorful career, this biography is a welcome achievement. (Aug.)

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Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Daniel Patrick Moynihan is the senior United States Senator from New York. First elected in 1976, Sen. Moynihan was re-elected in 1982, 1988, and 1994.

Sen. Moynihan is the Ranking Minority Member of the Senate Committee on Finance, having earlier served as Chairman. He is on the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works of which he was also formerly Chairman, and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. He is a member of the Joint Committee on Taxation and the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress.



A member of the Cabinet or sub-Cabinet of Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Ford, Sen. Moynihan is the only person in American history to serve in four successive administrations. He was U.S. Ambassador to India from 1973 to 1975 and U.S. Representative to the United Nations from 1975 to 1976. In February 1976 he represented the United States as President of the United Nations Security Council.

Sen. Moynihan was born March 16, 1927. He attended public and parochial schools in New York City and graduated from Benjamin Franklin High School in East Harlem. He attended the City College of New York for one year before enlisting in the United States Navy. He served on active duty from 1944 to 1947, latterly as Gunnery Officer of the U.S.S. Quirinus. In 1966, he completed twenty years in the Naval Reserve and was retired. He earned his bachelor's degree (*cum laude*) from Tufts University, studied at the London School of Economics as a Fulbright Scholar, and received his M.A. and Ph.D. from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Sen. Moynihan was a member of Averell Harriman's New York gubernatorial campaign in 1954, and thereafter served for four years on the Governor's staff, in positions including Acting Secretary to the Governor. He was a Kennedy delegate at the 1960 Democratic Convention. From 1961 to 1965, he served in the U.S. Department of Labor as assistant to the Secretary, Arthur J. Goldberg, and later as Assistant Secretary of Labor for Policy Planning and Research.

In 1966, Sen. Moynihan became Director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He was a Professor of Government at Harvard, having earlier been an Assistant Professor of Government at Syracuse University, and a fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies at Wesleyan University. He has received 62 honorary degrees.

Sen. Moynihan is the author or editor of 18 books. His most recent work, *Secrecy: The American Experience*, was published by Yale in the fall of 1998. The study expands on the report of the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy, of which he was Chairman.

Since 1976, Sen. Moynihan has published an annual accounting of the flow of funds between the Federal Government and the State of New York. In 1992, the analysis became a joint publication with the Taubman Center for State and Local Government at the John F. Kennedy School at Harvard and began including all fifty states.

Sen. Moynihan is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). He was Chairman of the AAAS's section on Social, Economic and Political Science (1971-72) and a member of the Board of Directors (1972-73). He served as a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee (1971-73). He was Vice Chairman (1971-76) of the Board of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

He was Founding Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden (1971-85) and serves as a Regent of the Smithsonian Institution. In 1985, the Smithsonian awarded him its Joseph Henry Medal.

In 1965, Sen. Moynihan received the Arthur S. Flemming Award for his work as "an architect of the Nation's program to eradicate poverty." He has also received the International League of Human Rights Award (1975) and the John LaFarge Award for Interracial Justice (1980). In 1983, he was the first recipient of the American Political Science Association's Hubert H. Humphrey Award for "notable public service by a political scientist." In 1984, Sen. Moynihan received the State University of New York at Albany's Medallion of the University in recognition of his "extraordinary public service and leadership in the field of education." In 1986, he received the Agency Seal Medallion of the Central Intelligence Agency in "recognition of his outstanding accomplishments as a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, . . . serving with full knowledge that his achievements would never receive public recognition."

He has also received the Laetare Medal of the University of Notre Dame (1992); the Thomas Jefferson Award for Public Architecture from the American Institute of Architects (1992); and the Thomas Jefferson Medal for Distinguished Achievement in the Arts or Humanities from the American Philosophical Society (1993). In 1994, he received the Gold Medal Award "honoring services to humanity" from the National Institute of Social Sciences. In 1997, the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University awarded Sen. Moynihan the Cartwright Prize. He was the 1998 recipient of the Heinz Award in Public Policy for "having been a distinct and unique voice in this century -- independent in his convictions, a scholar, teacher, statesman and politician, skilled in the art of the possible."

Elizabeth Brennan Moynihan, his wife of 44 years, is an architectural historian with a special interest in 16th century Mughal architecture in India. She is the author of *Paradise as a Garden: In Persia and Mughal India* (1979) and numerous articles. Mrs. Moynihan is a former Chairman of the Board of the American Schools of Oriental Research. She served as a member of the Indo-U.S. Subcommission on Education and Culture, and is currently on the visiting committee of the Freer Gallery of Art at the Smithsonian Institution. She is Vice Chair of the Board of the National Building Museum and serves on the Trustees Council of the Preservation League of New York State.

There are three Moynihan children: Timothy Patrick, Maura Russell, and John McCloskey; along with (so far!) two grandchildren: Michael Patrick and Zora Olea.

BOOKS WRITTEN BY SEN. MOYNIHAN

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- Miles to Go, Harvard University Press, 1996.
- Pandaemonium, Oxford University Press, 1993.
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- Came the Revolution: Argument in the Reagan Era, HB&J, 1988.
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HEADLINE: Daniel Patrick Moynihan: the federal executive; achievements

BYLINE: Hess, Stephen

BODY:

From time to time a professional intellectual wanders into high elective office in the United States; there also have been politicians who take late-life flyers at intellectual pursuits. Rarely, however, are they intellectuals and politicians at the same time. They seem almost to have an internal on-off switch that allow them to be one or the other. Take the case of the senior Henry Cabot Lodge, a Ph.D. in political science, the first granted by Harvard, editor of one of the most serious journals of his day, author of a prodigious amount of creditable historical writing, who traded scholarship for polemics once he entered the Congress.

The special case we honor today, however, manages to be United States senator from New York, seventeenth most senior in that chamber, while writing a book a year on such subjects as international law or the Establishment Clause of the Constitution.

My assignment in relating the saga of Daniel Patrick Moynihan is his Washington career in the executive branch, first in the Labor Department during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations (1961-65), and then on the White House staff of President Nixon (1969-70).

Being an assistant to a secretary of labor (under Arthur Goldberg) and then the department's first assistant secretary for policy planning (under Willard Wirtz) was not necessarily grim work or heavy lifting. The agency is old enough, as are the tenets of federal labor law, that its essential duties are routinely handled by the permanent employees. This has had two contradictory consequences on the political level. Presidents can use the cabinet slot as a reward for past services without having to worry that the appointee will do too much harm, hence the numerous oil paintings of forgettable leaders that grace the department's walls. Or the position of labor secretary can be a grand opportunity for a creative and ambitious person to roam well beyond the department's mandate. The latter, of course, is the Goldberg variation.

It was political scientist Louis Koenig who noted that the great presidents



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always interpreted their constitutional powers "with maximum liberality." And it was Moynihan's habit, learned at the elbow of Arthur Goldberg, to do the same.

Following are two examples from Moynihan's days at Labor. The first relates to something that in theory only a bureaucrat could love, by title, Report to the President by the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space, "For release Friday A.M., June 1, 1962." The committee consisted of the secretaries of Labor and Commerce, the budget director, the head of the General Services Administration (GSA), and a White House assistant.

As the 1960s commenced, Moynihan later explained, there had been almost no public construction in Washington since the Depression brought work to a stop on the Federal Triangle. Goldberg wanted a new building for his department and would use the Ad Hoc Committee to promote this enterprise. Young Moynihan was assigned to draft the report. The report was only 16 pages. It set forth the problem, proposed priorities, and outlined the role of the GSA. In the final four pages, however, Moynihan interpreted his duties "with maximum liberality." Page 13 stated "Guiding Principles for Federal Architecture." Remember, the committee's assignment was "office space," not "architectural policy" (a subject of greater interest to Moynihan). With one sweep of the pen, the report declared, "The belief that good design is optional, or in some way separate from the question of the provision of office space itself, does not bear scrutiny...." (Given the history of federal buildings, Moynihan's assumption did not bear scrutiny, but was the perfect segue into what he wanted to propose.) Among the recommendations: There should be no "official style" ("Design must flow from the architectural profession to the Government, and not vice versa"), design must reflect the regional traditions of where buildings are located and should emphasize the work of living American artists. With hardly anyone noticing at the time, Moynihan had written what has been the United States Government's policy on the architecture of federal buildings for 35 years!

Pages 14-16 of the office space report gave Moynihan another creative opportunity: to propose the redevelopment of Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue, transforming "a vast, unformed, cluttered expanse" into a great thoroughfare linking Article I of the Constitution (The Capitol) and Article II (The White House). President Kennedy liked the idea and Moynihan put together a "President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue," a totally informal group without official standing, which drew up the plan. Almost the last thing the president did before leaving for Dallas was to ask whether a meeting was arranged with Congressional leaders when he got back to show them the plan. Today the Pennsylvania Avenue Redevelopment is just about finished. And when Liz and Pat Moynihan are in Washington they reside in an eleventh-floor apartment looking down on the splendid avenue whose restoration he more than any other living American is responsible for.

Example number two of what might be called Moynihan's creative engineering: The Presidential Medal of Freedom, which Kennedy announced on Washington's Birthday, 1963, and which was then described by Tom Wicker in the New York Times as "similar to the annual honors list of the British monarch."

This was a project that Goldberg assigned to Pat after a conversation with Kennedy. There had been previous efforts, notably under President Eisenhower, to establish an honors system. Leonard Carmichael, secretary of the Smithsonian, headed a commission that came out with an elaborate proposal for legislation



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which almost passed until Senator Wayne Morse decided it smacked of monarchy. Moynihan concluded that such would be the fate of a Kennedy effort as well. Surely there must be some scheme that would not have to go through the nattering legislature.

Moynihan took his cue from British history. Disraeli wanted an award to give to his new Civil Service and hit upon something called the Order of St. Michael and St. George, which had been struck on the occasion of the British occupation of the Ionian Islands in 1818, handed about to a few admirals, then forgotten. On being suddenly resurrected by the prime minister, the medal became the symbol of the higher Civil Service.

In the U.S. there was a "Medal of Freedom," produced after World War II for spies who had not been in uniform. As Moynihan remembers, "We simply announced to a still very trusting press that the Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civil honor, would henceforth be known as the Presidential Medal of Freedom and conferred once a year. No one asked when was the last time it had been conferred. I had the wit to provide that the announcement should be on July 4th, but the President could make the actual presentation whenever he found it convenient. He was going to do so when he got back from Dallas." President Lyndon Johnson presided over the first awards ceremony on December 6, 1963. Recipients included Pablo Casals, Edwin Land, George Meany, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Thornton Wilder, Ralph Bunche, Felix Frankfurter, and posthumously John F. Kennedy. The rest is history or as President Clinton said on September 9, 1996, at the White House, "We're here to award the highest honor our nation can bestow on a citizen, the Presidential Medal of Freedom."

Moynihan's broad-ranging mandate at Labor also gave him an opportunity to explore questions of auto safety - an interest that predated Ralph Nader's - and through a new interest in the Negro family introduced him to a subject that thereafter was to dominate his political life: Welfare.

The Negro Family: The Case for National Action was released by the Johnson White House shortly after the Watts riot in 1965. Also known as the Moynihan Report, the author's analysis was based on a strange change in AFDC statistics. From the end of World War II until the early 1960s, whenever black male unemployment rose so too did new welfare cases. Then suddenly unemployment went down and welfare cases went up. Did this reflect a new urban underclass, which if it continued to grow might lead to a whole range of social conflict? Moynihan saw his report as a brief for a national income strategy. But his conclusions were deeply threatening to the black leadership and the Johnson administration dissociated itself from Moynihan's position.

Most remarkable then was Moynihan's next incarnation as a federal executive. For it was as an adviser to Richard Nixon, who had opposed the negative income tax during the 1968 campaign, that a president would become the champion of an income strategy. "If what the poor lacked was money," Moynihan wrote, "giving it to them directly was, on the face of it, a reasonable response: direct, efficient, and immediate." And for awhile at least he convinced Nixon of the logic.

The tortuous path of the Nixon Administration's Family Assistance Plan, from development in the agencies and the White House, through adoption by the president, til death at the hands of the Senate Finance Committee, has been



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brilliantly told by Moynihan in *The Politics of A Guaranteed Income* (Random House, 1973). As an objective case study of how ideas and politics interact in Washington, the book is unsurpassed in my judgment, all the more remarkable in that the author was one of the key actors in this drama.

Rather than summarize what Moynihan laid out in over 500 pages, I shall try to recall the specialness of his role at the White House of 1969. For I was there as deputy assistant to the president, essentially Moynihan's chief of staff.

When Moynihan was surprisingly (one might say audaciously) asked by President-elect Nixon to be his assistant for urban affairs, he had a temporary home and office waiting in Washington. By night there was the Georgetown house of his old boss, Averell Harriman, complete with staff and wine cellar; by day he settled in at the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission, where he was now vice chairman. The aides he chose for his White House staff appeared to be on average a year or two removed from undergraduate days at Harvard. The youngest, Christopher DeMuth, was 22. This was to be a Moynihan habit (nicely explained in a July 1996 article in *The Washingtonian* on the "savvy mentor.") There always would be an eager young person prepared to stay up all night to get "the data" to him. An obvious point, perhaps, but one that gave Moynihan an edge over less well-serviced adversaries. More exceptional is that most of his young assistants proved to be cool and calculating, while deferential and well-mannered to their elders. For instance, one of the smaller pieces of Moynihan's White House portfolio was the District of Columbia in those days before Home Rule. He assigned oversight to Richard Blumenthal, who operated with skill and tact. What residents of Washington did not know was that their shadow mayor was 23-years-old. (Today Blumenthal is attorney general of Connecticut; DeMuth is president of the American Enterprise Institute.)

There is no reason to believe that Nixon as president favored a staff system of creative tension, an operating style most associated with Franklin Roosevelt and Democrats. In 1969, however, it happened that way. Arthur F. Burns, the distinguished Columbia economist and a close associate of Nixon's during the Eisenhower presidency, was going to be appointed chairman of the Federal Reserve when the position became available in 1970. The president, in the meantime, gave Burns cabinet rank, the title of counselor, and responsibility for domestic policy. If Burns and Moynihan were inadvertently placed on a collision course, the advantages were with Burns, insider-conservative, who had higher status and a broader mandate. That Moynihan, outsider-liberal, ultimately "won" (at least on the issue of greatest importance) speaks in part to his understanding of how presidents (all presidents) operate. There is, for example, the law of propinquity, otherwise known as "nearness to the throne." Burns had chosen an elegant suite of offices across West Executive Street from the White House, where his staff could be efficiently consolidated; Moynihan had chosen two small offices (for himself and me) in the west basement of the White House, even though it meant that our staff would be housed somewhere else. This was, as he noted, "an intangible but unmistakable advantage." Indeed, at a later point in our story Moynihan realized that it was crucial for Burns to have a "victory" as well.

Neither Moynihan nor Burns operated as so-called "honest brokers," a staff role dearly loved by a school of public administration. Rather, they were advocates. Each had a philosophy of domestic government. (Strangely, given his



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long political career, Nixon did not, which is why a struggle for his mind was possible.) Notable was that Burns and Moynihan were scholars (Ivy League professors to boot!) and the resulting argumentation was exceptional by Washington standards. At one point, for instance, their competing memos to the president were about the history of the Speenhamland system, a late 18th-century British scheme of poor relief. (Our side, by the way, had historical advice from Gertrude Himmelfarb and Cambridge University's J. H. Plumb.)

It is necessary here to make one quick yet important aside, given the ultimate fate of Richard Nixon's presidency. Nixon kept staff functions in airtight compartments. The policy people discussed policy with the president, period, often on a remarkably elevated level, while, at the same time, Nixon was plotting with his political handlers in language that was subsequently labeled "expletive deleted." (In hundreds of hours of conversation with Nixon, I cannot recall his cursing: I was a policy person.) No members of the Moynihan or Burns staffs, science advisers or economists, were implicated in Watergate.

Burns and Moynihan were attached to different advisory systems, which were reflected in the weight awarded to their respective proposals within the White House. Burns was given a group of task forces, made up of busy people from outside government. In a sense, this amounted to capturing ideas on the cheap, Moynihan, on the other hand, was given a cabinet committee, called the Urban Affairs Council, whose tasks were thrashed out by those who would be most immediately responsible for their success (or failure) and with departmental staff appropriate to the job at hand. Increasingly Burns was put on the defensive, responding to the UAC's initiatives. Moreover, the system assured Moynihan of three cracks at the President per week - setting the agenda, Council meeting, post-meeting debriefing. Just as long as Moynihan could make the meetings interesting, the president would attend, and Moynihan could retain this subtle advantage.

Moynihan raised creating an agenda to an art form. At one meeting he brought before the Urban Affairs Council the question of where to locate a building that was to be constructed in Fresno, California. This is the sort of matter that presidents need not be bothered with. The amount of money is modest by federal budget standards. Yet Moynihan saw the issue as an intellectual puzzle that would intrigue Nixon. The building was to be used by the Internal Revenue Service to process tax returns. IRS wanted it in a "good" neighborhood because during tax collection time the need was for a lot of temporary workers, housewives and students, and (according to IRS's brief) the agency "can effectively utilize this labor pool only if employees encounter little or no travel problems and find favorable environmental conditions." In short, put the building where it can best help accomplish the agency's mission. But the General Services Administration had other interests and another proposed site. GSA wanted to put the building in a "bad" neighborhood so that the construction would contribute to Fresno's urban renewal and (according to GSA's brief) help "efforts directed toward the reduction in the number of our citizens who are unemployed or tied to public welfare." Thus it came to pass that in December 1969 the director of the IRS and the director of the GSA debated this issue before the president of the United States in the White House Cabinet Room. As Moynihan expected, Nixon was delighted with the exchange.

Who won? Moynihan now recalls, "The IRS Service Center (today) is on a site in a relatively nice middle-income neighborhood, but is surrounded by poorer



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neighborhoods that are heavily black, Hispanic, and Asian."

On another occasion (September 29, 1969), Moynihan gathered the president and the domestic cabinet to hear about "the demography of American youth" and "the patterns of youth unrest" from two students who had been summer interns and a young staffer. Instead of the usual anecdotes and speculations that defined most of what was in the popular press during the Vietnam era, the three presenters had meticulously charted the institutional characteristics of major campus protests: 6.2 percent of colleges and universities had experienced at least one incident of "violent" protest during the past academic year; 22.4 percent had experienced "disruptive" protest; protests were twice as likely to occur at private institutions than at public institutions, three to four times more likely in nonsectarian institutions than in church-related schools, least likely to occur at two-year colleges, and so forth. It was an electric performance. The intern presenters were Franklin D. Raines, 20, Harvard College, and Martin M. Fischbein, 20, Antioch College; the staffer was Chester E. Finn, Jr., 25, a former student of Moynihan's. (For the record: Raines is today the U.S. Budget Director; Finn is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and a former assistant secretary of the U.S. Department of Education; Fischbein, along with his fiancée, TV personality Jessica Savitch, died tragically in a freak car accident.)

What soon became clear was that Moynihan was charming Nixon with his wit and words. Only a Moynihan when challenged by an adversary at an Urban Affairs Council meeting with "Let us call a spade a spade," would reply with Oscar Wilde's adage. "Anyone who would call a spade a spade should be compelled to use one." Only a Moynihan could describe the expected "peace dividend," revenues that might come from ending the Vietnam War, as "evanescent like the morning clouds around San Clemente." Memos Moynihan sent the president were so engaging that Nixon often passed them around the higher reaches of government, causing Moynihan some embarrassment when they found their way into the press. Even a Nixon needed relief from the grayness of his Haldeman-created staff. As the president said when Moynihan returned to Harvard, "I disagreed with a lot of what he said - but he certainly did light up the place!"

Finally, on August 8 the President addressed the nation and the winners and losers were announced. The welfare system was "a colossal failure," Nixon said, and in its place he was proposing "that the federal government build a foundation under the income of every American family with dependent children that cannot care for itself.... Thus, for the first time, the government would recognize that it had no less an obligation to the working poor than to the nonworking poor." He also announced a proposal for revenue sharing, a transfer of resources from the federal government to states and municipalities, an idea that Burns very much favored.

The Family Assistance Plan was passed by the House of Representatives, but ultimately failed in the Senate Finance Committee. What would be the state of poverty today if it had become law? The senator does not want to speculate. As Adam Yarmolinsky has recently written, "For a major political figure, Moynihan is refreshingly aware of how much he - and we - don't know."

The story of Moynihan's influence in the conversion of a Republican president might be explained solely in terms of processes and staff and charm and such, but, in Nixonian parlance, that would be wrong. What really made the difference



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could be called "The Disraeli Thing." Moynihan had introduced the president to Robert Blake's biography of the British prime minister and then encouraged the notion (as Nixon put it) that "Tory men and Liberal policies are what have changed the world." Moynihan appealed to Nixon's place in history; great presidents dream and act grandly. You can have vision and not be a great president, but you cannot be a great president without vision. Pat Moynihan proposed the Family Assistance Plan. Arthur Burns proposed caution. Burns was a wise man and his analysis may well have been correct. His prescription, however, was not for greatness; Moynihan's was, or so he convinced the president.

August 8, 1969, concluded the Moynihan/Burns period at the Nixon White House. The president wanted no more intellectual squabbling. Policy was now declared and would be turned over to the implementors.

John Ehrlichman took over as domestic czar. Moynihan's staff was scattered. (I became the national chairman of the White House Conference on Children and Youth.) Moynihan was elevated to cabinet rank, but without a formal portfolio. This was okay with him. He always had planned to return to Harvard when his two-year leave was over. And Moynihan never lacked for interesting things to do, especially if a White House address could help to get them done. Some of his energy moved into the international sphere. On the fortieth anniversary of NATO in April the President had proposed creating a NATO Committee on the Challenges of Modern Life, a sort of Urban Affairs Council for Europe. Each nation was to sponsor projects to solve technological problems. Moynihan assumed a lead role in this effort.

"Moynihan: The Federal Executive" has never been an executive in the sense of running an enterprise. We are a nation with no shortage of managers. Rather, Moynihan is the political man of ideas. Some are his own, some he borrows, some are cosmic, others more modest: Our generation's greatest spotter of ideas that might make our society somehow better. This is a remarkable talent. But what turns it into a national treasure is a finely attuned antenna for knowing when an idea is ready for the public arena, the skill to be in positions to make his ideas matter, and the flair to make others notice. It is a harnessing of intellectual energy and political smarts that is so rare that when such a person is also blessed with long life we must create opportunities to celebrate.

Stephen Hess has been a senior fellow in governmental studies at the Brookings Institution since 1972. Among his many books are Live from Capitol Hill! Studies of Congress and the Media; The Presidential Campaign; Organizing the Presidency; The Washington Reporters; The Government/Press Connection; and The Ultimate Insiders: U.S. Senators in the National Media.

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SECTION: Vol. 208 ; No. 23 ; Pg. 20; ISSN: 0028-6583**LENGTH:** 2182 words**HEADLINE:** Moynihan; Sen. Daniel **Patrick Moynihan;** The Rebels I; Cover Story**BYLINE:** Weisberg, Jacob**BODY:**

Visit the Senate Finance Committee any day hearings are held, and you're likely to see Daniel Patrick Moynihan making the president's life difficult. I went on May 4, when the committee considered increasing the taxation of Social Security benefits for the more affluent, something Moynihan supports. But before the witnesses could open their mouths to defend the plan, the chairman was protesting, in his familiar staccato, that the president had not yet appointed a new head of the Social Security Administration. "For this senator, it is difficult to understand," he lectured. He then proceeded to haze Randolph Hurst Hardock, a Treasury official sent to testify. Hardock presented the case of a hypothetical couple with an income over \$ 75,000. Moynihan interjected that benefits are taxable for couples at \$ 32,000. "This committee does not welcome that sort of evasion.... That is not forthright, sir, and I'm going to have to say to you that I'm disappointed." Hardock said he would be glad to provide the numbers Moynihan wanted. "You surely will," the senator snapped, "if you want us to take it up at all."

As the new chairman of the Finance Committee, the august post he inherited when Lloyd Bentsen became treasury secretary, Moynihan finally has been cast in a role worthy of his thespian talent. Already he has turned what was under Bentsen a venue for solemn tax wonkery into the Senate's liveliest theater. But more than c-span ratings are at stake. Along with Dan Rostenkowski, the chairman of the House Ways & Means Committee, Moynihan is now the legislator with the heaviest responsibility for whether--and in what form-- Clinton's economic and health care programs become law. Moynihan is fervent in his professions of support for the president. But every few days there's a blowup that casts his fidelity into doubt. Moynihan wants to help the president. But sometimes, it seems, he just can't help himself.

Moynihan's importance is based on math. Democrats hold an 11-9 majority in the Finance Committee, through which all tax, trade, welfare and health care legislation must pass. In the old days, three liberal Republicans--Bob Packwood, David Durenberger and John Chafee--would often vote with the Democrats, providing a buffer when conservative Democrats such as David Boren and John Breau, who are currently grouching about the energy tax, went awol. But Packwood and Durenberger are hanging on by dental floss thanks to ethical problems and are hostages to Bob Dole. Both say they won't back Clinton's tax bill, as has Chafee. So Moynihan cannot lose a single Democratic vote.

But as the Senate's best-known maverick and party-jumper, Moynihan is hardly one to enforce an

iron discipline on his colleagues. Indeed, the chairman himself has grouched about elements of the plan, such as the investment tax credit for businesses, a proposal that is now considered dead. Relations between chairman and president have experienced spells of testiness and mutual suspicion. In the Democratic primary, Moynihan was Bob Kerrey's staunchest supporter. And since the election, the chairman has kicked up dust on a regular basis--upbraiding emissaries in public, delaying nominations and sniping at administration proposals.

The sniffiness began during the transition, when Bentsen was nominated secretary of the treasury. According to aides, Moynihan was unhappy that Clinton didn't call to congratulate him on ascending to the chairmanship of the committee so important to his plans. Combined with the failure of Moynihan proteges Rob Shapiro and Paul Offner to land administration jobs and the appointment of Donna Shalala (whom Moynihan doesn't count as an ally in the cause of welfare reform) to head Health and Human Services, it set the stage for much unease. "Pat Moynihan doesn't care about protocol for its own sake," says one adviser. "He cares a lot about it if he sees it as a sign of something more." When Time reported that an administration official said the White House was ready to "roll right over him if we have to," the senator reacted angrily, and Clinton was forced to apologize while denying the quote's validity. "Where there are frustrations, it's often where things appear attributed to the administration that don't reflect its point of view," says Mandy Grunwald, a Clinton adviser who is also close to Moynihan.

A more significant conflict flared in January during Shalala's confirmation hearing. Despite the president's pledge "to end welfare as we know it," Shalala barely alluded to the subject in her opening statement. Moynihan said he heard "the clatter of campaign promises being tossed out the window." This episode can't be attributed to mere crankiness. Welfare reform is the issue Moynihan knows and cares most about, and he has reason to be disturbed by Shalala's soft-pedaling. Despite Clinton's repeated assertions of support, welfare reform may require a third tax increase, after Congress votes \$ 250 billion for deficit reduction and who knows how much for health care later this year. Bruce Reed of the White House domestic policy office considers the pressure completely friendly. "On welfare reform, he wants to help the president keep his campaign promises," he says.

In other cases, too, Moynihan's explosions have been about matters close to his heart. He was quick to shoot down a freeze in Social Security cost of living adjustments when the administration floated it in January. This too was probably in the president's own interest. Unlike increasing the taxation of benefits for higher-income retirees, a cola freeze would mean an across-the-board reduction and a clear violation of Clinton's campaign promise not to cut Social Security. "Moynihan wasn't bashing the president, he was saving the president," said one Finance Committee staffer.

Since these early conflicts, Clinton has courted Moynihan carefully. Before he unveiled his economic plan in February, Clinton made sure Moynihan was on board, inviting him to the White House to talk about it. He got Moynihan's advance consent to his noninclusion of \$ 4 billion for welfare reform funding in the budget, convincing him it would be better to handle it as a stand-alone issue later on. Moynihan has been further soothed by visits from members of Clinton's welfare reform task force--Reed, David Ellwood and Mary Jo Bane of hhs. At a recent meeting about Clinton's "empowerment zones" initiative, Moynihan regaled the group with a lecture on the history of urban policy, explaining that enterprise zones were actually a Fabian idea.

Lately Moynihan has been one of the most regular visitors to the White House. In April he and his wife, Elizabeth, had dinner chez Clinton, and Moynihan lunched with the president twice during the first week in May. People around Moynihan say he truly likes both Bill and Hillary. At one recent meeting Moynihan told the first lady about the economist William Baumol and his theory of "cost disease," which he thought might be useful to the health care task force. Moynihan was impressed when Hillary called Baumol, a professor at nyu. When Mrs. Clinton came to the Senate to speak to members of the Finance Committee about health care reform, Moynihan phoned Packwood to make sure that a rumor he had heard about Republicans boycotting the meeting wasn't true.

But more important than the senator's personal feelings about the Clintons is his stake in

delivering eleven votes by his deadline of June 18. Moynihan, who is 66, is up for re-election in 1994. His term as finance chairman lasts eight years, after which he is likely to retire. The opportunity to work with a Democratic president may not come again. Moreover, "Moynihan believes in supporting presidents," according to Shapiro, a former staffer now at the Progressive Policy Institute. "Unless the president goes way off base, proposes policies that have no sound basis as Reagan and Bush did, he's on board because he believes in the presidency."

These sentiments far outweigh Moynihan's private belief that spending cuts should go deeper, according to one colleague, and his objections to some elements of Clinton's economic package. Moynihan, for instance, says he's unhappy over the removal of the cap on contributions to the Hospital Insurance portion of Medicare, arguing that it destroys the system's basis as a contributory scheme. "Never before have we increased the fica tax for the simple purpose of raising revenue," he says. And the reduction in the tax deductibility of business meals from 80 percent to 50 percent is especially painful to him, since \$ 3 billion of the \$ 15 billion it is supposed to raise will come from Manhattan. But picking apart the plan is not a luxury he can currently afford. "He has indicated that while he would have written a different bill, recognizing how high the stakes are he is inclined to support it ... because the president needs this so badly," says Tom Daschle, a South Dakota Democrat on the Finance Committee. "But he doesn't expect that all senators are going to be as generous in their willingness to support the president." In some respects, Moynihan hopes to emulate the highly successful Bentsen, but he has a different style. Bentsen, says Packwood, "played close to the vest." No one knew what he thought about anything beyond the arcana of tax policy. And Bentsen was an enforcer when he had to be, making clear the consequences for deviant behavior. Moynihan, by contrast, is not known for coercing support. And he has expressed his views on every subject under the sun. "Pat Moynihan is extremely inclusive," says Daschle. "He invites participation and advice, making everyone feel a part of the process." According to Daschle, Moynihan has been meeting with individual senators to try to accommodate their objections to Clinton's bill. At the same time, he makes it known that he is going to be chairman for a long time and has a good memory.

"He has spoken to each member of the committee very explicitly in terms of what this bill means to this presidency," says Lawrence O'Donnell, the committee chief of staff. "He knows exactly where everybody is. It's very clear to the chairman how to get eleven votes. He knows how to do it." In practice, this means that a compromise with Breaux, Boren and Kent Conrad of North Dakota on the energy tax is in the works. Moynihan is trying, however, to avoid being a soft touch by conceding too much, especially to those who make a point of holding out until the eleventh hour. "You want somehow to discourage that," he says. "The reward should be for cooperativeness."

Moynihan's annoyance at the president is likely to recur. It's not just a question of whether adept schmoozing by the White House will keep his irascibility under control; Moynihan is emblematic of a whole class of people who supported Clinton as a New Democrat during the campaign and now suspect he may not really be one of them after all. The members of this group are, by and large, willing to compromise, and they don't want to judge the president too harshly or too soon. They want to help him do what he said he was going to do. Just the same, they're worried. Moynihan, the most mercurial of them all, may be the first to decide Clinton no longer deserves the benefit of the doubt.

Rebelliousness remains in his blood. In his 1979 biography, Pat, Moynihan's pollster Doug Schoen writes that Moynihan's father, John Moynihan, was "a constant source of pride and concern to his father because of his powerful intellect and his almost total lack of responsibility." John Moynihan abandoned his family, leaving his wife to raise three children by running a tavern in Hell's Kitchen. Moynihan, too, is prone to wander off, lose his focus and hop from issue to issue. He has a habit of frustrating his allies. On April 15 he appeared before the Association for a Better New York, where he was supposed to give a ringing re-election endorsement to David Dinkins, who was standing nearby. Instead, Moynihan drew on his acerbic recent article "Defining Deviancy Down" in decrying the city's declining quality of life and the inefficiency of its government.

Observers assume that so cantankerous a character cannot be a genuine supporter of the president's. But that's just Moynihan-- easily peeved, legendarily difficult to work for and genuinely annoyed when people do things like get numbers wrong. Few other senators, after all, can spot a statistical fallacy, and Moynihan wants to make sure his acumen is recognized. The problem is that a series of nitpicks can undermine a larger goal. In 1953, when he left graduate school in London, Moynihan analyzed himself as well as anyone has. He wrote to a friend that he had "almost first-class critical intelligence" but "second-class abilities." He seems to understand that he is the reverse of fdr, whom Oliver Wendell Holmes famously called "a second-class mind but a first-class temperament." The trick now is to keep the intelligence intact while holding his temperament in check.

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Irish America

November 30, 1999

SECTION: Pg. 73**LENGTH:** 391 words**HEADLINE:** Daniel **Patrick Moynihan:** The Intellectual**BODY:**

Daniel Patrick Moynihan: The Intellectual

In his 23 years of service to the U.S. Senate, Daniel Patrick Moynihan has distinguished himself with an intellectual integrity that is increasingly rare in today's poll-driven politics. The outspoken champion of social welfare, it was Moynihan who, during the Reagan era, provided eloquent if unwelcome reminders of the people who Reaganomics had left behind.

Moynihan is widely regarded as the nation's leading expert on social welfare, which may seem surprising given his rather patrician bearing. But his bow-tie and suspenders belie his upbringing.

The grandson of a Kerryman, Moynihan was born in Tulsa, Oklahoma and raised in Hell's Kitchen on Manhattan's West Side, spending vacations in the Irish American enclave of Rockaway Beach, Queens. He was educated at Benjamin Franklin High School in East Harlem and in New York's public college system. After serving in the Navy during World War II, he earned a B.A. from Tufts University in 1948. He was a Fulbright Scholar at the London School of Economics and was awarded a Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

He has since taught government at Harvard and served under the Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford administrations. But it is his continued involvement in social issues that reveals his loyalty to his roots. Moynihan's background helps explain his fascination with this country's multi-ethnic makeup, a topic about which he has written extensively, in publications including his book *Beyond the Melting Pot*.

After serving as Ambassador to the United Nations, Moynihan was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1976. He is scheduled to retire in 2000, leaving a void in national politics that will be hard to fill.

Not without his detractors, Moynihan is unusual in his ability to remain unswayed by them, continuing to work for what he genuinely believes is right. An ally of constitutional nationalism in Northern Ireland, he is completely intolerant of paramilitary violence, a fact that has earned him some criticism among Irish Americans. Still the Irish consulate in New York has hailed him as "exceptionally helpful on every aspect of Irish-related issues in the Congress. He has had a profound and significant impact."

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DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

Daniel Patrick Moynihan is the senior United States Senator from New York. First elected in 1976, Sen. Moynihan was re-elected in 1982, 1988, and 1994.

Sen. Moynihan is the Ranking Minority Member of the Senate Committee on Finance. He serves on the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. He also is a member of the Joint Committee on Taxation and the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress.

A member of the Cabinet or sub-Cabinet of Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford, Sen. Moynihan is the only person in American history to serve in four successive administrations. He was U.S. Ambassador to India from 1973 to 1975 and U.S. Representative to the United Nations from 1975 to 1976. In February 1976 he represented the United States as President of the United Nations Security Council.

Sen. Moynihan was born on March 16, 1927. He attended public and parochial schools in New York City and graduated from Benjamin Franklin High School in East Harlem. He went on to attend the City College of New York for one year before enlisting in the United States Navy. He served on active duty from 1944 to 1947. In 1966, he completed twenty years in the Naval Reserve and was retired. Sen. Moynihan earned his bachelor's degree (*cum laude*) from Tufts University, studied at the London School of Economics as a Fulbright Scholar, and received his M.A. and Ph.D. from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Sen. Moynihan was a member of Averell Harriman's gubernatorial campaign staff in 1954 and then served on Gov. Harriman's staff in Albany until 1958. He was an alternate Kennedy delegate at the 1960 Democratic Convention. Beginning in 1961, he served in the U.S. Department of Labor as an assistant to the Secretary, and later as Assistant Secretary of Labor for Policy Planning and Research.

In 1966, Sen. Moynihan became Director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He has been a Professor of Government at Harvard University, Assistant Professor of Government at Syracuse University, a fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies at Wesleyan University, and has taught in the extension programs of Russell Sage College and the Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations. Sen. Moynihan is the recipient of 62 honorary degrees.

Sen. Moynihan is the author or editor of 18 books. His most recent work is Secrecy: The American Experience, published in the fall of 1998, an expansion of the report by the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy. Sen. Moynihan, as Chairman of the Commission, led the first comprehensive review in forty years of the Federal Government's system of classifying and declassifying information and granting security clearances.

Since 1976 Sen. Moynihan has published an analysis of the flow of funds between the Federal

Government and New York State. In 1992 the analysis became a joint publication with the Taubman Center for State and Local Government at Harvard University, and includes all fifty states.

Sen. Moynihan is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). He was Chairman of the AAAS's section on Social, Economic and Political Science (1971-72) and a member of the Board of Directors (1972-73). He also served as a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee (1971-73). Sen. Moynihan was Vice Chairman (1971-76) of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. He served on the National Commission on Social Security Reform (1982-83) whose recommendations formed the basis of legislation to assure the system's fiscal stability.

He was the founding Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden (1971-85) and serves as a Regent of the Smithsonian Institution, having been appointed in 1987 and again in 1995. In 1985, the Smithsonian awarded him its Joseph Henry Medal.

In 1965, Sen. Moynihan received the Arthur S. Flemming Award, which recognizes outstanding young Federal employees, for his work as "an architect of the Nation's program to eradicate poverty." He has also received the International League of Human Rights Award (1975) and the John LaFarge Award for Interracial Justice (1980). In 1983, he was the first recipient of the American Political Science Association's Hubert H. Humphrey Award for "notable public service by a political scientist." In 1984, Sen. Moynihan received the State University of New York at Albany's Medallion of the University in recognition of his "extraordinary public service and leadership in the field of education." In 1986, he received the Seal Medallion of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Britannica Medal for the Dissemination of Learning.

He has also received the Laetare Medal of the University of Notre Dame (1992); the Thomas Jefferson Award for Public Architecture from the American Institute of Architects (1992); and the Thomas Jefferson Medal for Distinguished Achievement in the Arts or Humanities from the American Philosophical Society (1993). In 1994, he received the Gold Medal Award "honoring services to humanity" from the National Institute of Social Sciences. In 1997, the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University awarded Sen. Moynihan the Cartwright Prize. He was the 1998 recipient of the Heinz Award in Public Policy "for having been a distinct and unique voice in this century -- independent in his convictions; a scholar, teacher, statesman and politician, skilled in the art of the possible."

Elizabeth Brennan Moynihan, his wife of 44 years, is an architectural historian with a special interest in 16th century Mughal architecture in India. She is the author of Paradise as a Garden: In Persia and Mughal India (1979) and numerous articles. Mrs. Moynihan is a former Chairman of the Board of the American Schools of Oriental Research. She serves as a member of the Indo-U.S. Subcommission on Education and Culture, and the visiting committee of the Freer Gallery of Art at the Smithsonian Institution. She is Vice Chair of the Board of the National Building Museum, and on the Trustees Council of the Preservation League of New York State.

PERSONAL

Born March 16, 1927, Tulsa, OK.

Three children: Timothy Patrick, Maura Russell, and John McCloskey; two grandchildren.

Reside in Washington, D.C. on Pennsylvania Avenue and near Pindars Corners in Delaware County, Davenport, NY.

PUBLIC SERVICE

Office of the Governor of the State of New York, W. Averell Harriman, Albany, NY, 1955-58
Speech writer, Assistant to Secretary Jonathan Bingham;
Assistant Secretary for Reports, 1956; Acting Secretary, 1958

Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor, Washington, DC, 1961-62

Executive Assistant to the Secretary of Labor, Washington, DC, 1962-63

Assistant Secretary of Labor for Policy Planning and Research, Washington, DC, 1963-65

Assistant to the President for Urban Affairs, Washington, DC, 1969-70

Counselor to the President, Washington, DC, 1969-70

Consultant to the President, Washington, DC, 1971-73

Member, United States delegation to the Twenty-Sixth General Assembly of the United Nations, United Nations, 1971

U.S. Ambassador to India, New Delhi, India, 1973-75

Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York, NY, 1975-76

ELECTED OFFICE

Candidate for New York City Council President, 1965

U.S. Senator from New York, 1977-
Chairman, Committee on Finance, 1993-1994

Chairman, Committee on Environment and Public Works, 1992

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEES

Committee on Finance, Ranking Minority Member

Subcommittees:

International Trade
Social Security and Family Policy
Taxation and IRS Oversight

Committee on Environment and Public Works, second ranking minority member

Subcommittees:

Superfund, Waste Control, and Risk Assessment
Transportation and Infrastructure

Committee on Rules and Administration

Joint Committee on the Library

Joint Committee on Taxation

Committee on Foreign Relations, 1987-95

Committee on the Budget, 1977, 1979-86

Committee on Commerce, 1977

Select Committee on Intelligence 1977-85, Vice Chairman, 1981-85

LEGISLATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS

West Valley Demonstration Project Act of 1980

Sponsor. Authorized U.S. Department of Energy to clean up and remove 600,000 gallons of nuclear wastes stored at West Valley, NY. Commits Federal government to convert liquid wastes into a solid glass-like logs to be transported to a permanent and secure Federal repository.

The Acid Precipitation Act (Became Title VII of the Energy Security Act of 1980)

First federal legislation addressing the problem of acid rain. Established a ten year program for research on the causes and effects of acid rain and possible control strategies. Ultimately the Federal government's largest scientific study outside NASA.

Clean Air Act Reauthorization of 1982

Mandated an eight million ton reduction in annual sulfur dioxide emission in the eastern U.S. by January 1, 1995.

Social Security Act Amendments of 1983 (Greenspan Commission)

Chief Democratic sponsor of amendments guaranteeing solvency of the Social Security system well into the 21st century.

Water Resources Development Act of 1986

Authorized \$1.1 billion for 33 New York water projects. Obtained funding for the Erie Canal, Olcott Harbor, and Coney Island.

Superfund Reauthorization Act of 1985

Principal cosponsor. Provided \$8.5 billion over five years to clean up toxic waste.

Tax Reform Act of 1986

One of the law's six principal drafters. Successfully opposed attempts to eliminate the deduction for state and local income and property taxes. Took millions of working poor off tax rolls, lowered tax rates and closed tax shelters and other loopholes.

Family Support Act of 1988

Author. Began process of transforming the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program from an income security program to one which helps individuals secure employment.

Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990

Original cosponsor. First revision of the Clean Air Act since 1977. The acid rain control provisions built upon the first Federal legislation on acid rain: Moynihan's Acid Precipitation Act of 1980 (see above).

Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (ISTEA)

Chief author and sponsor of landmark legislation, known commonly as ISTEA, which redirected Federal surface transportation policy to include more spending for non

highway- related projects. Greatly increased the amount of Federal Highway Trust Fund money to New York State which received \$12 billion in highway and transit funds over six years and will be reimbursed \$5 billion for the New York State Thruway over 15 years.

Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993

Led efforts to get the first Clinton budget through the Finance Committee and the full Senate resulting in historic deficit reduction and uninterrupted economic growth.

Social Security Domestic Employment Act of 1993 ("Nanny Tax")

Simplified requirements regarding the payment of Social Security taxes due on wages paid to domestic employees.

Social Security Administration as an Independent Agency (1994)

Author of bill to make the Social Security Administration independent from the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) to restore public confidence, improve accountability and insulate the SSA from undue political pressure.

Pennsylvania Station Redevelopment

Leader of the redevelopment of Penn Station in Manhattan in the James A. Farley Postal Building. Secured \$315 million in Federal, State, and private funds; established the Pennsylvania Station Redevelopment Corp. to oversee completion.

1994 Crime Bill -- Ban on "Cop-Killer" bullets

Introduced and received Senate passage of legislation to protect police officers from a new class of armor-piercing ammunition. The bill extends the 1986 Law Enforcement Officers Protection Act, also sponsored by Sen. Moynihan, to prohibit this new type of "cop-killer" bullet.

Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995

Principal sponsor with Senator Robert J. Dole of bill to recognize Jerusalem as the Capital of the State of Israel and to require the U.S. Embassy move from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem by 1999.

Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center Act of 1995

Sponsor. Named the newest (and last) Federal Triangle building after the former President. The Federal Triangle's completion marks the end of the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue, a personal goal since the Kennedy Administration.

Taxpayers Relief Act of 1997

Repealed the cap on issuance of section 501 (c)(3) bonds for universities, colleges, and non-hospital health facilities.

Government Secrecy Act of 1997

Introduced with Senator Jesse Helms legislation recommended by the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy (of which Senator Moynihan chaired) to establish principles on which Federal classification and declassification programs are to be based.

Social Security Solvency Act of 1998

Introduced with Senator J. Robert Kerrey legislation to save Social Security by reducing payroll taxes by almost \$800 billion and returning to a pay-as-you go system. Also requires benefit increases to accurately reflect the cost of living and gradually phase in an increase in the retirement age. Beginning in 2001 the bill would permit voluntary personal savings accounts, which workers could finance with the proceeds of the 2% cut in the payroll tax. And beginning in 2003, retirees could continue to collect benefits regardless of how much they earn.

TEACHING AND ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Assistant in Government, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, MA, 1949-50

Lecturer, Russell Sage College, Troy, NY, 1957-58

Lecturer, NYS School of Industrial Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, 1959
Assistant Professor of Political Science, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, 1960-61

Fellow, Center for Advanced Studies, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT, 1965-66

Director, Joint Center for Urban Studies, MIT and Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 1966-1969

Professor of Education and Urban Politics, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 1969-73

Professor of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 1973-77

COURSES TAUGHT

Harvard University

1971-72

Administration and Social Policy x-154. Social Science and Social Policy

A review of the rise of social science influence in the formulation of social policy with respect to predominantly non-economic issues. Changing perceptions of the political orientation of social science findings. Class work concentrated on case studies drawn from recent American experience.

Administration and Social Policy x-227. Federal Policy Toward Higher Education

This seminar considered the emergence of Federal policy toward higher education in the context of historical programs and the social policies which they reflect, in order to define the choices implicit in the adoption of a formal national policy.

Administration and Social Policy x-256. Social Science and Educational Policy

An exploration of recent and prospective influences on educational policies of social science theory and research. Included consideration of the policy making processes within the educational system and various modes of response to social science findings.

1972-73

Government 251. Ethnicity in American Politics

An historical inquiry into the role of ethnic group identity as an organizing factor in American politics.

1976-77

Social Science 115. Social Science and Social Policy

An examination of the influence of various social science disciplines on the formulation of social policy.

1976-77

Government 216. Ethnicity in Politics

An historical and theoretical enquiry into the role of ethnicity as an organizing principle in modern politics.

FELLOWSHIPS

1969	Honorary Fellow, London School of Economics and Political Science
1971	Fellow, American Association for the Advancement of Science
1976	Chubb Fellow, Yale University

LECTURESHIPS

1985	Feingold Lecturer, Columbia University, New York, NY
1985	Feinstone Lecturer, U.S. Military Academy, West Point, NY
1986	Godkin Lecturer, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
1986	Marnold Lecturer, New York University, New York, NY
1987	Gannon Lecturer, Fordham University, Bronx, NY
1991	Cyril Foster Lecturer, Oxford University, Oxford, England

HONORARY DEGREES

LL.D.	LaSalle College, 1966
LL.D.	Seton Hall College, 1966
D.P.A.	Providence College, 1967
D.H.L.	University of Akron, 1967
LL.D.	Catholic University, 1968
D.S.W.	Dusquesne University, 1968

D.H.L. Hamilton College, 1968
 LL.D. Illinois Institute of Technology, 1968
 LL.D. New School for Social Research, 1968
 LL.D. St. Louis University, 1968
 LL.D. Tufts University, 1968
 D.S.S. Villanova University, 1968
 LL.D. University of California, 1969
 LL.D. University of Notre Dame, 1969
 LL.D. Fordham University, 1970
 H.H.D. Bridgewater State College, 1972
 D.S. Michigan Technological University, 1972
 L.L.D. St. Bonaventure University, 1972
 LL.D. Indiana University, 1975
 LL.D. Boston College, 1976
 Ph.D. Hebrew University, 1976
 LL.D. Hofstra University, 1976
 LL.D. Ohio State University, 1976
 LL.D. St. Anselm's College, 1976
 D.H.L. Baruch College, 1977
 LL.D. Canisius College, 1977
 D.C.L. Colgate University, 1977
 LL.D. LeMoyne College, 1977
 LL.D. New York Law School, 1977
 LL.D. Salem College, 1977
 LL.D. Hartwick College, 1978
 LL.D. Ithaca College, 1978
 D.H.L. Rabinnical College of America, 1978
 LL.D. Skidmore College, 1978
 LL.D. College of St. Rose, 1978
 LL.D. Yeshiva University, 1978
 LL.D. Brooklyn Law School, 1978
 D.H.L. Marist College, 1979
 LL.D. Pace University Law School, 1979
 LL.D. St. John Fisher College, 1980
 LL.D. Dowling College, 1981
 LL.D. Bar-Ilan University, 1982
 LL.D. New York Medical College, 1982
 LL.D. Pratt Institute, 1982
 LL.D. Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1983
 D.C.L. Union College, 1983
 D.S.I. Defense Intelligence College, 1984
 D.H.L. New York University, 1984
 LL.D. Syracuse University School of Law
 D.H.L. Bard College, 1985

D.H.L. Hebrew Union College, 1986
LL.D. Marymount Manhattan College, 1986
LL.D. Columbia University, 1987
LL.D. Touro College, 1991
D.H.L. Hobart and William Smith College, 1992
D.H.L. University of San Francisco, 1992
D.C.L. St. Francis College, 1993
LL.D. University of Rochester, 1994
LL.D. Union College, 1995
LL.D. Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 1997
D.H.L. Texas A&M University, 1998

OTHER POSITIONS

Budget Assistant, U.S. Air Force base, Ruislip, England, 1951-53

Director of Public Relations, International Rescue Committee (IRC), New York, NY
1954

Human Rights Organization, assisted refugees forced to leave their own countries
through persecution.

Director, New York State Government Research Project, Syracuse University, Syracuse,
NY, 1959-61

COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES

Member, New York State Tenure Commission, 1958-60

Member, President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1962

Vice-Chairman, President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1965-74

Member, Advisory Committee on Traffic Safety, Department of HEW, 1966-68

Member, President's Science Advisory Committee, 1971-73

EDUCATION

Diploma, Benjamin Franklin High School, New York, NY, 1943

City College of New York (1943-44), New York, NY, followed by naval service

B.N.S., Tufts University, Medford, MA, 1946

B.A. (*cum laude*), Tufts University, Medford, MA, 1948

M.A., Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, MA, 1949

Fulbright Scholarship, London School of Economics, London, England, 1950

Ph.D., Doctor of Philosophy, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, MA, 1961; thesis: *The U.S. and the I.L.O., 1889-1934*

DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

Volunteer, New York City Mayoral campaign of Robert F. Wagner, 1953

Secretary, Public Affairs Committee of the New York State Democratic Party, 1958-60

Member, New York State delegation to the Democratic National Convention, 1960, 1976
Authored position papers for presidential campaign of Sen. John F. Kennedy, 1960

NAVAL SERVICE

1944-45	V-12 Naval Officer training program, Middlebury, VT
1945	ROTC Tufts University/B.N.S., 1946
1947	Communications, Gunnery Officer, U.S.S. <i>Quirinus</i>

MEDALS

The American Campaign Medal. Given to those in service between 1941 and 1946. Recipient must have served outside the United States for 30 days or within the United States for one year.

The Naval Reserve Medal. For ten years of honorable service in the Naval Reserve.

World War II Victory Medal. For service in the U.S. Armed Forces, 1941-1946.

BOOKS

Beyond the Melting Pot (with Nathan Glazer), The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 1963.

Study of ethnic life in American society and politics. Questioned contemporary conception of America as homogenous society and in which group differences were disappearing. (Winner of the Ansfield-Wolf Award in Race Relations)

The Defenses of Freedom: The Public Papers of Arthur J. Goldberg, ed., Harper & Roe, New York, NY, 1966.

Papers of the Supreme Court Justice and American Ambassador to the United Nations.

Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, The Free Press, New York, NY, 1969.

On the role of community action in the war on poverty and why the Johnson Administration's poverty program failed to fulfill expectations.

On Understanding Poverty, ed., Basic Books Inc., New York, NY, 1969.

A collection of essays by leading academics and experts in the field of poverty studies.

Toward a National Urban Policy, ed., Basic Books Inc., New York, NY, 1970.

Essays by academics and urban experts on a range of subjects related to urban affairs, including housing, urban planning, transportation, crime, health, education, and race.

On Equality of Educational Opportunity, ed. (with Frederick Mosteller), Random House, New York, NY, 1972.

Papers from the Harvard University Faculty Seminar on the Coleman Report "Equality of Educational Opportunity." The Report demonstrated that minority schools were not especially unequal in their facilities and that neither teacher-pupil ratios nor per-pupil expenditures were directly related to academic achievement.

The Politics of A Guaranteed Income, Random House, New York, NY, 1973.

An explanation of the Family Assistance Plan (FAP) which guaranteed minimum income to families with children and why the proposal was defeated.

Coping: On the Practice of Government, Random House, New York, NY, 1973.

Essays on a range of subjects encountered during government service: welfare, political reform, race relations, traffic safety, education, urban affairs. Discusses how the trained social scientist can contribute to the practice of government.

Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, ed. (with Nathan Glazer), Harvard University

Press, Cambridge, MA, 1975.

A collection of essays by academics and social commentators on the meaning and significance of ethnicity in modern society.

A Dangerous Place (with Suzanne Weaver), Little, Brown & Company, Boston, MA, 1978.

A testimonial from term as Ambassador to the United Nations. Recounts battle against Arab sponsored and Soviet inspired U.N. resolution equating Zionism with racism

Counting our Blessings, Little, Brown & Company, Boston, MA, 1980.

A collection of essays on foreign policy, the judicial system, domestic and regional economic policy, arms control and other issues. Argues, among other things for public aid to nonpublic schools and that the Nation stress human rights as a priority in international relations.

Loyalties, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, NY, 1984.

On the history and meaning of the arms race, respect for international law, and the Communist theory of racism applied to those who opposed Soviet totalitarianism. The book argues for loyalty to principals of law, rights and humanity.

Family and Nation, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, NY, 1986.

On the disintegration of the American family. Argues for the establishment of a national policy to support and enhance the viability of families.

Came the Revolution: Argument in the Reagan Era, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, NY, 1988.

A collection of speeches, essays and other writings from 1981-1986.

On the Law of Nations, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1990.

An examination of international law and the history of American internationalism in the twentieth century.

Pandaemonium: Ethnicity in International Politics, Oxford University Press Inc., New York, NY, 1993.

An account of ethnicity as an elemental force in international politics. How the power of ethnicity defied both the liberal myth of the melting pot and the Marxist prediction of proletarian internationalism.

Miles to Go: A Personal History of Social Policy, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1996.

A personal analysis of the changing welfare state and the nation's social strategies over the last half-century. Topics include welfare, family disintegration, health care, social deviance, addiction, and broader views on civil rights and capitalism.

Secrecy: The American Experience, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 1998.

A history of government secrecy in America since World War I. Based on findings as Chairman of the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy (1995-1997). Secrecy is a mode of government regulation, indeed, "it is the ultimate mode for the citizen does not even know that he or she is being regulated."

HONORS AND AWARDS

Meritorious Service Award of the U.S. Department of Labor (1963)

For exceptional service as Staff Director of the President's Task Force on Employee-Management Relations and for outstanding contributions to development of the policy of Employee-Management Cooperation in the Federal Service.

Arthur S. Fleming Award as an "Architect of the Nation's War on Poverty" (1965)

Awarded to the ten most outstanding young men and women in the Federal service. Selected by an independent panel of judges.

International League of Human Rights Award (1975)

For extraordinary commitment to international human rights. Oldest human rights award in the nation.

John LaFarge Award for Interracial Justice (1980)

Given by the Catholic Interracial Council (NY) for commitment and leadership in fighting racism and discrimination.

American Political Science Association's Hubert H. Humphrey Award (1983)

First recipient of the award for "notable public service by a political scientist."

Medallion of the University, State University of New York at Albany (1984)

For extraordinary service to the University and to education. The highest award for distinguished service the university bestows.

Henry Medal of the Smithsonian Institution (1985)

Presented by the Board of Regents for outstanding service to the Smithsonian Institution.

Seal Medallion of the Central Intelligence Agency (1986)

Select In recognition of outstanding accomplishment as vice-chairman of the Senate Committee on Intelligence from February 1977 to January 1985.

Britannica Medal for the Dissemination of Learning and the Enrichment of Life (1986)

Presented by Encyclopedia Britannica. The award's first recipient.

Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center Medal (1986)

For distinguished service and outstanding achievement in the cancer field.

Gold Medal, American-Irish Historical Society (1986)

In appreciation of significant service rendered to the cause of Ireland.

Natan Sharansky Humanitarian Award, Rockland Committee for Soviet Jewry (1987)

For distinguished achievement on behalf of human rights and noble efforts in support of Soviet Jewry and the Jewish people throughout the world.

Honor Award, National Building Museum (1989)

For fostering excellence in the built environment. Received for championing the resurrection of Pennsylvania Avenue, for promoting quality in federal building programs, and for leading efforts to rebuild the nation's deteriorating infrastructure.

Wolfgang Friedmann Award, Columbia University School of Law (1991)

For outstanding contributions to the field of international law. Given by the Columbia School of Law's *Journal of Transnational Law*.

President's Medal, Municipal Art Society of New York (1992)

Presented to an individual whose accomplishments have made an enduring contribution to urban life in America and especially to the City of New York.

Thomas Jefferson Award for Public Architecture, American Institute of Architects (1992)

For advocacy furthering the public's awareness and/or appreciation of design excellence.

Laetare Medal, University of Notre Dame (1992)

The University's highest honor. Given to those who have "ennobled the arts and sciences, illustrated the ideals of the Church, and enriched the heritage of humanity." Regarded as the most significant annual award conferred upon Catholics in the United States. Selected by a committee headed by the president of Notre Dame.

Thomas Jefferson Medal, American Philosophical Society (1993)

The society's most prestigious medal in recognition of distinguished achievement in the arts, humanities, or social sciences.

Distinguished Leadership Award, American Ireland Fund (1994)

In recognition of the Senator's long-time interest in and concern for Irish causes.

The Gold Medal Award for Distinguished Service to Humanity (1994)

Presented by the National Institute of Social Sciences.

United Jerusalem Award, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations (1994)

Awarded to "the single most consistent, thoughtful, and articulate champion of a united Jerusalem in the United States Congress."

Profiles in Courage Award, American Jewish Congress (1996)

For significant and courageous contributions to the cause of democracy and human freedom at home and abroad.

Award for Public Service Excellence (1996)

Presented by the Association of American Medical Colleges. For "visionary leadership in the U.S. Senate as a champion for the education, research, and patient care missions of our nation's medical schools and teaching hospitals."

Cartwright Prize, Columbia University (1997)

Presented by the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University for "outstanding contributions to medicine." The first non-physician to be honored.

John Heinz Award (1999)

CURRENT MEMBERSHIPS

Aleph Society, New York, NY

American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge, MA

American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, DC

American Heritage Dictionary, Usage Panel

American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA
Bedford-Stuyvesant Development and Service Corporation, New York, NY
Century Association, New York, NY
Committee on the Constitutional System, Washington, DC
Corporation for Maintaining Editorial Diversity in America, Washington, DC
Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (Board of Trustees), Medford, MA
Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, Hyde Park, NY
Harvard Club, New York, NY
Irish Georgian Society, New York, NY
Jacob K. Javits Foundation, Inc. (Board of Trustees), New York, NY
Jerome Levy Economic Institute at Bard College (Board of Trustees),
Annandale-on-Hudson, NY
The Maxwell School (Board of Trustees), Syracuse, NY
National Academy of Social Insurance, Washington, NY
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, NY
New York Landmarks Conservancy, New York, NY
Project on Ethnic Relations, Princeton, NJ
The Public Interest/National Affairs, Inc., Washington, DC
Regent, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (Appointed 1987 and 1995)
The Harry S Truman Research for the Advancement of Peace, New York, NY

PRIOR MEMBERSHIPS

President's Science Advisory Committee (1971-73)
American Association for Advancement of Science
Council, 1971
Member, Board of Directors, 1972-73;
Chairman, Social, Economic and Political Science Section, 1971-72
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
Vice Chairman (1971-76), Board of Trustees (1969-76)
Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden Founding Chairman
Board of Trustees (1971-85)

REPORTS AND GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

Executive Order 10988, "Employee-Management Cooperation in the Federal Service." Approved by President John F. Kennedy January 17, 1962. Permitted Federal government employees to join unions or other employee organizations.

"Report to the President by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Federal Office Space," Committee on Public Works, U.S. House of Representatives, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, June 1, 1962. Includes reports on the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue and architectural guidelines for Federal office buildings.

"One Third of a Nation," report of the Task Force on Manpower Conservation, submitted to President Lyndon B. Johnson January 1, 1964 (Task Force included the Director of the Selective Service System and the Secretaries of Defense, Health, Education, and Welfare, and Labor). Concluded that one-third of draft-age men were unfit for military service and called for manpower conservation program to give physical training and medical attention as necessary to meet national standards.

"The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," Office of Policy Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor, March 1965.

Report on Traffic Safety, Secretary's Advisory Committee on Traffic Safety, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, February 29, 1968 (commonly known as The Moynihan Report on Traffic Safety).

"Toward a More Accurate Measure of the Cost of Living," report to the U.S. Senate Finance Committee from the Advisory Commission to Study the Consumer Price Index (Boskin Commission), December 4, 1996. Concluded that using the CPI as cost of living index -- which it is not -- creates enormous costs to the Federal government in increased outlays and decreased revenues. The present upward bias is 1.1 percentage points per year over the next decade, an overstatement of roughly one-third. The Commission states: "The bias alone would be the fourth largest Federal program."

"Secrecy" Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy, Chairman. Appendix: "Secrecy: A Brief History of the American Experience," March 4, 1997.

"Memorandum of Points and Authorities of Senator Robert C. Byrd, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and Carl Levin as *Amici Curiae* in Support of Plaintiff's Motions to Declare Line Item Veto Act Unconstitutional," November 26, 1997. Brief filed in the case The City of New York v. Clinton, the lawsuit brought by New York City challenging the constitutionality of the Line Item Veto Act of 1996. In a 6-3 decision on June 25, 1998 the Supreme Court ruled the Line Item Veto Act unconstitutional. Perhaps the most important case on legislative-executive relations in the history of the Court.

INTRODUCTIONS/FOREWORDS

Children, Poverty, and Family Allowances, by James C. Vatican, 1968. Foreword.

Will They Ever Finish Bruckner Boulevard? by Ada Louise Huxtable, 1970. Preface.

"The Injury Industry and the Remedy of No-Fault Insurance," 1971. Foreword.

That Most Distressful Nation: The Taming of the American Irish, by Andrew M. Greeley, 1972. Foreword.

"Ending Insult to Injury: No-Fault Insurance for Products and Services," 1975. Foreword.

A Cartoon History of U.S. Foreign Policy, 1975. Foreword.

A Cartoon History of United States Foreign Policy, 1776-1976, by the editors of the Foreign Policy Association, 1975. Introduction.

Drawings, by David Levine, March 4, 1976. Introduction.

The Catskills: Land in the Sky, by John G. Mitchell, 1977. Preface.

Education and the Presidency, by Chester E. Finn, Jr., 1977. Foreword.

Encounters with Kennan: The Great Debate, by George Kennan *et al.*, 1979. Introduction.

Best Editorial Cartoons, 1980. Introduction.

"Do They Tell You What to Draw?" A Decade of Political Cartoons by Hy Rosen, October 1980. Introduction.

"So How Come You Stay in Albany?" A Decade of Cartoons, 1980. Introduction.

No Margin for Error: America in the Eighties, by Sen. Howard H. Baker, Jr., 1980. Introduction.

"Another Opinion: A Labor Viewpoint," 1980. Introduction.

A Portrait of the Irish in America, by William D. Griffin, 1981. Introduction.

Strategies for the 1980s: Lessons of Cuba, Vietnam, and Afghanistan, by Philip van Slack, 1981. Foreword.

There You Go Again, by G. Fisher, 1987. Foreword.

Government by Choice: Inventing the United States Constitution, by Elizabeth P. McCaughey, 1987. Foreword.

Caste and Class in a Southern Town, by John Dollard, 1988. Introduction.

Government By Choice, 1989. Foreword.

Disraeli, A Picture of the Victorian Age, by Andre Maurois, 1989. Foreword.

A Blue Moonray in My Kitchen, by Gabriel Aubouin, September 1991. Foreword.

Autobiography of Robert J. Myers, 1992. Foreword.

India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, by Dennis Kux, 1992.
Introduction

DANA: The President's Man, by Douglass Cater, 1995. Preface.

The Tyranny of Numbers, by Nicholas Eberstadt, 1995. Foreword.

The Torment of Secrecy, by Edward A. Shils, 1996. Introduction.

Great American Railroad Stations, 1996. Foreword

Welfare: Indicators of Dependency, by Paul E. Barton, 1998. Foreword.

Between Friends: Perspectives on J. K. Galbraith, "Galbraith as Neighbor," 1998.
Contributor.

A Passion for Truth: The Selected Writings of Eric Breindel, ed. By John Podhoretz, 1998.

THE FEDERAL BUDGET AND THE STATES

An annual report since 1976 on the balance of payments between New York State and

the Federal government. "The Fisc" compares the amount of taxes New York sends to Washington each fiscal year with the amount of all forms of Federal outlays received (social security, welfare, defense spending, Federal contracts, etc.). "The Fisc" has expanded to include all 50 states and is now published jointly with the Taubman Center for State and Local Government at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

Publications

The Federal Government and the Economy of New York State, Fiscal Year 1976

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1977

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1978

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1979

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1980

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1981

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1982 -- "Is Anybody Listening?"

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1983 -- "A Further Report on Manufactures"

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1984 -- "A disposition to be just . . . to all parts of the country"

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1985 -- "The Deficit Becomes Structural"

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1986 -- "Second Decade Thoughts"

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1987 -- "Useful Knowledge"

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1988 -- "Reality Sets In"

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1989 -- "Deficit by Default"

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1990 -- "Reflections at Fifteen"

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1991 -- "Who Cheated NY out of \$136 Billion?"

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1992 -- "Baumol's Disease"

The Federal Budget and the States, 1993 -- "Outside the Paradigm"

With Monica E. Friar and Herman B. Leonard. Published jointly with the Taubman Center for State and Local Government, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

The Federal Budget and the States, 1994 -- "Reagan's Revenge"

With Monica E. Friar and Herman B. Leonard

The Federal Budget and the States, 1995 -- "A Culture of Waste"

With Monica E. Friar, Herman B. Leonard and Jay H. Walder

The Federal Budget and the States, 1996 -- "Routinely Shortchanged"

With Herman B. Leonard and Jay H. Walder

The Federal Budget and the States, 1997 -- "Work in Progress"

With Herman B. Leonard and Jay H. Walder

The Federal Budget and the States, 1998 -- "A Grand Compromise?"

With Herman B. Leonard and Jay H. Walder

ARTICLES

"Epidemic on the Highways." *The Reporter*, April 30, 1959

"New Roads and Urban Chaos." *The Reporter*, April 14, 1960

"Changing Governors and Police." *Public Administration*, Autumn 1960

"Passenger Car Design and Highway Safety." *West Point Conference on Vehicle Safety and Design*, 1961

"How Catholics Feel About Federal School Aid." *The Reporter*, April 25, 1961

"When the Irish Ran New York." *The Reporter*, June 8, 1961

"Bosses and Reformers: A Profile on New York Democrats." *Commentary*, June 1961

"The Question of the States." *Commonweal*, October 12, 1962

"Politics in a Pluralist Democracy: Studies of Voting in 1960 Elections."
Commentary, October 1964

"Draft Rejectees: Nipping Trouble in the Bud." *The Reporter*, February 13, 1964

"Patronage in New York State." *The American Political Science Review*, June 1964

"United States Traffic Accident Statistics Useless." *American Trial Lawyers*, June/July
1965

"Breakthrough of Ljubljana." *The National Jewish Monthly*, September 1965

"Behind Los Angeles: Jobless Negroes and the Boom." *The Reporter*,
September 9, 1965

"A Family Policy." *Daedalus -- Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Fall 1965

"Employment, Income, and the Ordeal of the Negro." *Daedalus*, Fall 1965

"The Professionalization of Reform." *The Public Interest*, Fall 1965

"The War Against the Automobile." *The Public Interest*, Spring 1966

- "The Negro Family in the U.S." *Commonweal*, April 1966
(Review of book by E. Franklin Frazier)
- "Who Gets in the Army?" *The New Republic*, November 5, 1966
- "The President and the Negro: The Moment Lost." *Commentary*, February, 1967
- "Social Goals and Indicators for American Society." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, May, 1967
- "Next: A New Auto Insurance Policy." *The New York Times Magazine*,
August 27, 1967
- "Sources of Resistance to the Coleman Report." *Harvard Educational Review*, 1968
- "Toward a National Urban Policy." *The Public Interest*, Fall 1969
- "Politics as the Art of the Impossible." *The American Scholar*, Autumn 1969
- "What's Wrong with Welfare -- Answers from Nixon's Adviser." *U.S. News & World Report*, June 15, 1970
- "Policy vs. Program in the 70s." *The Public Interest*, Summer 1970
- "The Need to Move Beyond Programs to Policy in the Federal System." *State Government*, Autumn 1970
- "The Presidency and the Press." *Commentary*, March, 1971
- "Social Welfare: Government vs. Private Efforts." *Foundation News*,
March-April 1972
- "Back to Earth." *Cry California*, Spring 1972
- "The Schism in Black America." *The Public Interest*, Spring 1972
- "How the President Sees His Second Term." *Life*, September 1, 1972
- "Equalizing Education: In Whose Benefit?" *The Public Interest*, Fall 1972
- "Address to the Entering Class of Harvard." *Commentary*, December 1972
- "Income by Right." *The New Yorker*, January 13, 1973

- "'Peace' -- Some Thoughts on the 1960s and 1970s." *The Public Interest*, Summer 1973
- "A Country in Need of Praise." *Saturday Review/World*, September 11, 1973
- "Was Woodrow Wilson Right? Morality and American Foreign Policy." *Commentary*, May 1974
- "Why Ethnicity?" *Commentary*, October 1974 (with Nathan Glazer)
- "India -- No Margin for Error." *Reader's Digest*, November 1974
- "Burma." *Holiday*, January 1975
- "The Politics of Higher Education." *Daedalus*, Winter 1975
- "The U.S. in Opposition." *Commentary*, March 1975
- "George A. Wiley: A Memoir." *The Crisis*, April 1975
- "Presenting the American Case." *The American Scholar*, Fall 1975
- "A Diplomat's Rhetoric." *Harpers*, January 1976
- "The Totalitarian Terrorists." *New York*, July 26, 1976
- "Abiotrophy in Turtle Bay: the United Nations in 1975." *Harvard International Law Journal*, Summer 1976
- "On U.S. Support for the World Bank Loan to Chile." *The New York Times*, January 4, 1977
- "The State, the Church, and the Family." *The Urban and Social Change Review*, Winter 1977
- "The Liberal's Dilemma." *The New Republic*, January 22, 1977
- "Party and International Politics." *Commentary*, February 1977
- "Meeting the Ideological Challenge." *The Washington Post*, March 19, 1977
- "As Our Third Century Begins -- The Quality of Life." *Across the Board*, May 1977

"The Most Important Decision-Making Process." *Policy Review*, Summer 1977

"The Challenge to Liberalism." *The New Leader*, June 6, 1977

"Defenders and Invaders." *The Washington Post*, June 13, 1977 (Excerpt from address at the Capitol Page School commencement)

"Freedom, Communism, and Poverty." *The Chicago Tribune*, June 24, 1977 (Excerpts from June 9, 1977 Baruch College Commencement address)

"The Soviets Do Tap Our Phones." *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 17, 1977

"Forum: Professors, Politicians and Public Policy." *AEI Forums*, July 29, 1977

"The Politics of Human Rights." *Commentary*, August 1977

"Can Private Universities Maintain Excellence." *Change*, August 1977

"Creative Proposals Will Come -- Slowly." *Phi Delta Kappan*, September 1977

"Aid for Parochial Schools." *Catholic Mind*, September 1977

"Book Review: A Passion for Equality." *The New Republic*, November 5, 1977

"The Politics of Human Rights." *Reader's Digest*, December 1977

"Carter Welfare Plan Disappointing." *The Advocate*, February 1978

"Avoiding the Next War Between the States." *Newsday*, February 6, 1978

"The Aging of America: Implications for Secondary Education." *Andover Bulletin*, March 1978

"Why Private Schools Merit Public Aid." *The Washington Post*, March 5, 1978

"Government and the Ruin of Private Education." *Harpers*, April 1978

"New York, New York: What Next, What Next." *Daily News*, April 6, 1978

"Welfare Reform and Congress." *Journal of the Institute for Socio-Economic Studies*, Spring 1978

"The Politics and Economics of Regional Growth." *The Public Interest*, Spring 1978

- "The Roots of Success." *Family Circle*, April 24, 1978
- "Is there a Crisis of Spirit in the West?" *Public Opinion*, May/June 1978
- "Imperial Government." *Commentary*, June 1978
- "On America and the Dissidents." *Daily News*, July 16, 1978
- "Saying it Their Way." *Daily News*, July 27, 1978
- "Capitalism Faces Tough Test in World Arena." *Commitment*, Summer 1978
- "Should Federal Aid Be Given to Private Schools?" *Instructor*, September 1978
- "Words and Foreign Policy." *Policy Review*, Fall 1978
- "Distortions of Political Language." *The Washington Post*, November 21, 1978
- "Editor's Focus." *Public Welfare*, Winter 1978
- "Volunteerism Needs to Survive." *Community Focus*, December 1978
- "The Case for Tuition Tax Credits." *Phi Delta Kappan*, December 1978
- "Some Negative Evidence Against the Negative Income Tax." *Fortune*, December 4, 1978
- "Social Science and the Courts." *The Public Interest*, Winter 1979
- "The U.S. Cannot Abandon World Press Freedom." *The Reporter Dispatch* (White Plains, NY), March 22, 1979
- "UNESCO and Freedom of the Press." *Syracuse Herald Journal*, April 9, 1979
- "A Subtle Change." *Syracuse Herald Journal*, April 10, 1979
- "Patterns of Ethnic Succession: Blacks and Hispanics in New York City." *Political Science Quarterly*, Spring 1979
- "Private Schools and the First Amendment." *The National Review*, August 3, 1979
- "What Do You Do When the Supreme Court is Wrong?" *The Public Interest*, Fall 1979

- "Government Aid to Non-government Schools." *Catholic Mind*, September 1979
- "Exporting Anti-Semitism." *The New Leader*, November 5, 1979
- "Will Russia Blow Up?" *Newsweek*, November 1979
- "Reflections: The SALT Process." *The New Yorker*, November 19, 1979
- "On the Subject of the First Amendment." *Thought*, December 1979
- "Social Science and the Courts." *The Public Interest*, Winter 1979
- "Technology and Human Freedom." *Syracuse Scholar*, Winter 1979/80
- "Anti-Semitic Plague from Moscow." *Jewish Digest*, January 1980
- "Russians Play Politics So Put'em in Penalty Box." *Daily News*, January 20, 1980
- "What Will They Do for New York?" *The New York Times Magazine*,
January 27, 1980
- "And This, Then, Is Our Moment of Maximum National Peril." *Boston Herald
American*, January 29, 1980
- "The Issue: Will We Bear the Cost of Defending Liberty?" *Boston Herald American*,
January 30, 1980
- "A New American Foreign Policy." *The New Republic*, February 9, 1980
- "From the Third Reich to the Third via Moscow." *The American Zionist*,
February/March 1980
- "The Great Game the Russians Won." *Parade* (with Liz Moynihan), May 11, 1980
- "On the Hostaging of Westway to the EPA." *Daily News*, May 15, 1980
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"On a Democratic Foreign Policy For a Totalitarian Age." U.S. Naval Academy,
Annapolis, MD, March 22, 1979

"Human Rights in American Foreign Policy." Brooklyn College Commencement, Brooklyn, NY, June 10, 1981

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SECTION: Vol. 173 ; No. 1 ; Pg. 4; ISSN: 0002-7049**LENGTH:** 914 words**HEADLINE:** Life in the 90's.Sen. Daniel **Patrick Moynihan**, rare defender of the poor in Congress;
Column**BODY:**

If you are among those who believe that the poor have burdens enough and need not be forced to carry the blame for national decline, then you no doubt have found debate in Washington even less edifying than usual in recent months. Not long ago, though, there was a precious moment in what has been a dreadful exercise. Remarkably enough, it took place during one of those Sunday morning talk shows, where participants generally glop so much varnish on their words that sharp edges disappear.

A man who would be President, Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, was expounding in his generous way about the plight of the poor in this country. Mr. Gramm likes to use a homey, just-folks metaphor to describe the condition of American society today: There are, he says, people who pull the wagon and people who are along for the ride. You can feel his lips curl as he contemplates the latter.

In the course of deploring government assistance for those idlers who aren't pulling their weight, the Senator found a way to work in a plug for the defense dollars that mean so much to his state. "We've spent more money on the welfare program since 1968 than we spent on fighting all the wars in this century," he said on "Meet the Press." He continued with this remarkable finding: "People are poorer" as a result of government spending.

At that point, there came an unexpected interruption. "Oh, Phil Gramm, stop that!" growled a voice off-camera. It was not the ambitious Texan's conscience talking. Presumably, that bedraggled spirit has offered similar sentiments on such occasions, but, thus far in vain.

No, the voice belonged to another guest on the show, one Daniel Patrick Moynihan, senior Senator from New York. Not for the first time, Moynihan found a fine phrase to fit the moment: "Oh, Phil Gramm, stop that!" How many millions of Sunday morning channel surfers were thinking the same thing.

As good fortune would have it, Pat Moynihan was not quite finished with his stern Republican colleague, who didn't have the sense to heed the New Yorker's advice. When Gramm put forward the notion that welfare encourages women to have more children and thus collect more government money, while the God-fearing among us keep pulling that wagon, Moynihan replied by calling the argument a "fantasy." Then, displaying himself to be a tad more generous than at least one viewer at home, Moynihan told Gramm that his argument "does not become you." Ah, the demands of senatorial courtesy.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan's fourth term began in January, at a moment when he might well have thought that everything he believes in was about to be relegated to history's dustbin, after having been successfully distorted, reviled and demonized during the campaign of 1994. During the new Congress's first 100 days, Moynihan seemed uncharacteristically quiet. But now that attention turns from the House, full of noise and thunder, to the more contemplative Senate, it is clear that Moynihan will be silent no longer.

Senator Moynihan was the author of Washington's last welfare reform law, the highly praised Family Support Act of 1988. Only a few days after putting Phil Gramm in his place, Moynihan introduced a new welfare reform bill. He is in the minority in the Senate now, so the question remains just how far his bill will be allowed to progress. But in introducing the legislation, Moynihan made it clear what he thought of those who would use welfare policy to punish children.

"It is beyond belief that in the middle of the Great Depression in the 1930's we provided for children a minimum benefit to keep them alive, and in the middle of the successful 1990's, with a \$ 7 trillion economy, we're going to take that away," the Senator thundered.

His new bill will increase Federal support for job-training programs, job placement and child care for welfare recipients. The emphasis, he said, is on helping dependent families become independent. "There can be no higher purpose of domestic social policy," he said. To add a bit of mischief to his bill, Moynihan proposes to pay for it in part by closing loopholes that allow patriotic American entrepreneurs to declare themselves citizens of various tax havens scattered across the globe.

It is astonishing to find anybody in government who will talk of higher purposes these days, never mind one who would pay for welfare with the money of our far-sighted global capitalists. Save for Moynihan, old-fashioned believers in the salubrious impact of government seem to have been stricken dumb by the so-called Republican Revolution of last November.

Moynihan is like a basketball team that does its best work when the other team has the ball, knocking around a few bodies under the boards and looking for an opening to make a few dramatic points. During the 1980's, Moynihan presented the best Democratic critique of the Reagan Revolution, one that ought to be re-read now that Reagan's heirs are in charge. It was Moynihan who insisted, when all about him thought him mad, that Reagan's deficit spending spree was no accident; indeed, it was planned to the last cent as a means of crippling the Federal Government.

Moynihan was right about the 1980's, and he is right about the 1990's, too. The arguments marshaled against the poor and defenseless do not become those who would take us into the next century. There comes a time when somebody has to say, simply: Stop that! Fortunately, we have Pat Moynihan.

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SECTION: FEATURE; Pg. 18**LENGTH:** 4047 words**HEADLINE:** THE MOYNIHAN ENIGMA;

Why the Senate's intellectual giant is a strangely ineffective lawmaker.

BYLINE: JACOB HEILBRUNN**BODY:**

Daniel Patrick Moynihan was in an apocalyptic mood. As a late winter rainstorm lashed the windows of his darkened Senate office, Moynihan read scornfully from a column by the *Washington Post's* William Raspberry quoting the departing secretary of housing, Henry Cisneros: "Signing the welfare bill pushes the cities, and for that matter, the federal government to the wall. If jobs are not created to take up the people who are coming off of welfare, social chaos is the result. That's unacceptable. Therefore, there's no alternative but to address the problems of jobs in the cities."

"No alternative?" Moynihan sputtered. "There's chaos already. Things could get vastly worse." The senior senator from New York, now in his fourth term, has never been diffident about expressing his ever-shifting views. A few decades ago, he might have been heard inveighing with equal fervor against the same social programs that he now defends. In foreign policy, Moynihan went from hawkish nemesis of the New Left to critic of Reaganite anti-Soviet excess. Framed magazine covers from the *Nation* in 1979 and the *New Republic* in 1981 hang in his office. The first is titled "Moynihan: the Conscience of a Neoconservative"; the second, "Pat Moynihan, Neo-liberal."

But Moynihan insists he has been utterly consistent throughout his career, tacking left or right, as necessary, against the prevailing winds. And he has a point. While his political stands may have fluctuated, Moynihan's temperament has not. In his various posts, Moynihan has been consistent in his inconsistency. He is, first and foremost, a critic -- an oppositionist who revels in puncturing received truths. In his Senate career, Moynihan has often defined himself in opposition to the incumbent president, from Carter to Reagan, from Bush to Clinton.

As a product of World War II, Moynihan is one of the first American versions of what the British historian A.J.P. Taylor called the new phenomenon of the mass-intellectual. The mass-intellectual tries to combine the roles of scholar and politician, but has trouble actually exercising power. By the time Moynihan entered the Senate in 1977, he had written ten books, including such influential works as *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding* (on LBJ's War on Poverty) and *Beyond the Melting Pot*, co-authored with Nathan Glazer. He appeared regularly in such journals as *Commentary*, the *New Yorker*, *Harper's*, and the *Atlantic*. But like his hero Woodrow Wilson, who went from Princeton intellectual to politician, Moynihan seems doomed to disappoint his most ardent admirers.

Though future historians will doubtless place Moynihan among the notable members of the

twentieth-century Senate, his career has been less marked by legislation than brilliant signal flares shot up to rouse the citizenry. Moynihan has been at the leading edge of important shifts in political and policy thinking, from the second thoughts about the War on Poverty to the resurgence of muscular foreign policy liberalism after Vietnam. As a centrist Democrat and critic of Great Society welfarism long before the Democratic Leadership Council patented the idea, Moynihan was seemingly positioned to play a crucial bridging role between a New Democrat White House and a more conservative Congress, especially when he succeeded Lloyd Bentsen as Finance Committee chairman in 1993. Yet his impatience with compromise, his love of the soapbox, and his disdain for lesser intellects has caused him to come up short as a senator again and again, even on his own cherished issues. Edward Kennedy, from the left edge of the Senate, can boast far more legislative accomplishments.

Born on March 16, 1927, in Tulsa, Oklahoma, Moynihan experienced poverty firsthand. Shortly after Daniel Patrick's birth, his father, John, moved the family to Ridgefield, New Jersey, where he squandered his wages on booze and gambling. By 1937, the family was in Manhattan's rugged Hell's Kitchen section, where Moynihan attended high school between shining shoes and delivering newspapers.

After working as a stevedore on the New York docks, Moynihan entered City College of New York in 1943, then switched to the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy as part of his naval officer's training program. Moynihan, who imbibed the school's Wilsonian gospel, represented the school at the Student League for World Government. In 1950, after earning a B.A. and M.A. from Fletcher, Moynihan landed a Fulbright scholarship to study at the London School of Economics. There Moynihan reinvented himself. He exchanged the image of an Irish tough for an English gentleman, adopting a monocle and wearing custommade shoes and bowler hats.

Upon returning to the United States in 1953, Moynihan plunged into politics. Following a stint on Robert Wagner's successful campaign for mayor of New York, Moynihan worked for the anticommunist International Rescue Committee before serving as an assistant to New York Governor W. Averell Harriman for four years. In 1958, after Harriman was defeated for re-election, Moynihan secured a teaching post at Syracuse University.

Academia became the launching pad for his own political career. Moynihan began writing articles criticizing the Eisenhower administration for the Cold War liberal magazine, the *Reporter*. His editor was Irving Kristol.

Moynihan joined the Kennedy administration in the newly created post of assistant secretary of labor for policy and research. He increasingly defined himself as a Kennedy-esque blend of tough anticommunist and domestic liberal. He helped create the Manpower Development and Training Act, and he was a member of the working group that conceived the War on Poverty.

Moynihan came to national attention with his famous 1965 report entitled "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action." In it, he wrote that blacks could only achieve equality with the "establishment of a stable Negro family structure." Citing statistics about rising welfare dependency, illegitimate births, and divorce, Moynihan pointed to a "tangle of pathology." He characterized black family structure as "highly unstable" and "approaching complete breakdown." He concluded the report with this final flourish: "The policy of the United States is to bring the Negro American to full and equal sharing in the responsibilities and rewards of citizenship. To this end, the programs of the Federal government bearing on this objective shall be designed to have the effect, directly or indirectly, of enhancing the stability and resources of the Negro American family."

Civil rights leaders denounced Moynihan for blaming the victim. Harvard psychologist William Ryan, writing in the *Nation*, accused Moynihan of espousing a "new ideology" that depicted blacks as "savages."

Worse was to come. In March 1970, the *New York Times* released a memo in which Moynihan, now working for the Nixon administration, called for a policy of "benign neglect" on race. In fact, he had urged the administration to focus on jobs programs rather than race. In this respect, he was an early

proponent of what would be touted by people to his left as a "class, not race" strategy on poverty. But the attention his memo drew was anything but benign. In a sense, Moynihan was a victim of an early version of political correctness.

Since then, Moynihan has been substantially vindicated both by the intractable pathologies of the ghetto and by the political limits of racial remedy. But at the time, the denunciations of him had a chilling effect on white liberals. Douglas Massey, in an essay in the November 1995 *American Journal of Sociology*, writes that the obloquy heaped on Moynihan intimidated sociologists from studying important issues related to race and intelligence. Those who did, says Massey, "generally encountered resistance and ostracism." The field was substantially ceded to the likes of Charles Murray, who had respect neither for offended sensibilities nor for data.

A RIGHT TURN

To Moynihan, these episodes of racial correctness were personally wounding and politically alienating. He began to turn against liberalism, at least the liberalism mediated by the New Left in the Democratic Party. Writing in *Commentary* in February 1967, Moynihan declared that "the reaction of the liberal Left to the issue of the Negro family was decisive. . . . The liberal Left can be as rigid and destructive as any force in American life." Moynihan was becoming a neoconservative.

It was not long afterward that he went to work for Nixon. But soon after the benign neglect affair, Nixon shunted him aside as a domestic adviser, and dispatched him as ambassador to India, the same post to which Kennedy had exiled John Kenneth Galbraith. There, Moynihan gained a supple understanding of foreign cultures and nationalist aspirations. Traveling around India and Southeast Asia brought home to him, he says, the fact that "all empires are bound to crash," including, by extension, the Soviet empire. Moynihan became a scathing critic of Third World kleptocracies and their soft-headed American apologists.

For Moynihan, neoconservative foreign policy amounted to old-fashioned liberal internationalism -- Wilsonianism for new circumstances. In the wake of Vietnam, there was an audience for the themes of American confidence and self-assertion that Moynihan was sounding. After Moynihan published an article entitled "The United States in Opposition" in the March 1975 *Commentary*, in which he argued that the Third World was exploiting its victimhood status to blackmail the West, President Ford appointed Moynihan ambassador to the United Nations. He had now consecutively served two Democratic presidents, and then two Republican ones.

His new international pulpit allowed Moynihan to play to the home front as an arch-Cold Warrior denouncing the excesses of Third World despots and the naivete of detente with the Soviets, which he characterized as "a form of undisguised retreat." He decried the infamous United Nations resolution calling Zionism a form of racism. "This is a lie," he said. "Whatever else Zionism may be, it is not and cannot be 'a form of racism.'" For the second time in his career, Moynihan made the cover of *Time*.

Elated neoconservatives such as Norman Podhoretz saw Moynihan as their champion. Running for the Senate in 1976, Moynihan depicted his Democratic primary opponent Bella Abzug as incapable of standing up for American values: "I want to speak up against the charge that we have exploited other countries or that our own prosperity rests on plunder," he declared during the campaign. "I want to go on declaring that we are prosperous because we have been an energetic and productive people. I want to go on saying that we will not be bullied and that we will not be blackmailed." In the general election, Moynihan handily beat Republican James Buckley, and he brought a number of young neoconservatives such as Elliott Abrams and Charles Horner onto his Senate staff with him.

During the Carter administration, Moynihan seemed to fulfill many of the hopes that the neoconservatives had reposed in him. He denounced the Carterites for naivete about the Third World and communism. He considered the SALT II armscontrol treaty negotiated by Paul Warnke and Cyrus Vance a new form of appeasement. He called President Carter's foreign policy "autotherapeutic fantasy." Moynihan argued that Carter's demise was set in motion by UN ambassador Donald F. McHenry's vote on behalf of a particularly vicious anti-Israel resolution in the security council.

Moynihan wrote that Carter's failure to stand up to the Arab states meant that Ted Kennedy was assured a victory in the 1980 New York primary. After Carter was defeated by Reagan, Moynihan observed, "a party of the working class cannot be dominated by former editors of the *Harvard Crimson*."

Once Ronald Reagan took office, however, Moynihan reversed himself. The Democratic neoconservatives, who had counted on Moynihan to be the next Henry M. Jackson and run for the presidency, were thunderstruck. The ideology of Marxism was dying of its own weight, he felt, and the neoconservatives were oblivious to the implications of the demise of the communist idea. "By 1979, I was persuaded that the Soviet Union was going to collapse. When an idea dies in Madrid, it takes two generations for word to reach Managua," he wrote in a letter to me last November.

No longer did Moynihan declare the East-West conflict the "central political struggle of our time." Instead, he co-sponsored three nuclear freeze proposals, opposed deployment of the MX missile, denounced the CIA for mining Nicaraguan harbors, decried the invasion of Grenada, and upheld adherence to international law as the highest end of American diplomacy. In the 1970s, Moynihan's Wilsonian impulses had prompted him to call for the use of American power to spread democracy around the globe; in the 1980s, in the face of what he saw as Reaganite flouting of international law, Moynihan turned to a more legalistic Wilsonianism.

He also, again, became a defender of social programs, decrying the administration's cuts in the social safety net that were being led by his former Harvard protege David Stockman. Moynihan was an early critic of supply-side economics. By December 1989, in his fervor to expose Republican economic policy, Moynihan even proposed a bill that would have cut Social Security payroll taxes and put the system on a pay-as-you-go basis. Moynihan's point was that trust fund surpluses were being misused to camouflage the apparent size of the federal deficit. Without this financial legerdemain, the deficit would be higher by tens of billions of dollars and politicians would have to deal with it. Moynihan's proposal caused a brief sensation, then died of inaction. His liberal allies, who accepted the analysis, could not accept the practical squeeze on the budget. Characteristically, Moynihan's gambit was brilliant as a heuristic, sterile as legislation.

THE CONTRARIAN

With Clinton's election to the presidency, Moynihan once again played the contrarian, consistent less in his ideology than in his opposition to the incumbent president. Moynihan saw Clinton as a hubristic product of the 1960s who was intent on recapitulating its fatal flaw of overreaching. Clinton and Moynihan got off to a rocky start on the issue of health care after an unnamed aide to the President told *Newsweek* that they would "roll right over" Moynihan. A former aide to Moynihan says Moynihan was enraged: "There are times when everybody around him thinks he's behaving like a child," he said. "His whole relationship with Clinton is driven by petulance."

Moynihan's chief of staff, Lawrence O'Donnell, never for got the slight. According to Haynes Johnson and David Broder's book, *The System*, O'Donnell saw Clinton's aides as naive and impractical. "They don't get politics," O'Donnell said. "They have a War Room for everything. They don't understand it's not a fucking War Room. . . . We are here forever, and we don't fucking surrender."

Tactically, Moynihan faulted Clinton for tackling health reform rather than welfare first. Health care was simply terra incognita for Moynihan. A former aide says that "I think that Moynihan never understood the health care bill, never tried terribly hard. It was a subject he was totally overwhelmed by. There he was, chairman of Finance, facing an incredibly complicated bill. He decided he was too old and set in his ways to spend six months learning health care. It's sort of a joke among Moynihan staff that the one part of the bill he engaged and got into was the protection of medical schools."

Moynihan's background predisposed him to side with the defenders of academic medicine. His stance was one part academic solidarity, one part pork barrel. In his new book, *Miles To Go*, Moynihan takes the administration to task for preparing its health care bill in secret and for failing to recognize that the bill would "devastate the New York City hospital system which for most of this century has, in fact, provided universal health care for the city. . . ." In fact, there is little evidence that the bill

would have destroyed the New York hospital system. Ironically, with the failure of universal health reform, a much more chaotic shakeout is currently rocking New York.

Moynihan can share some responsibility for that failure. When the Clinton plan appeared in 1993, Moynihan neither held hearings, nor worked with the administration, nor presented his own alternative until the next summer. Instead, Moynihan made his qualms public. On September 19, 1993, three days before Clinton delivered his formal address calling for universal health care, Moynihan went on NBC's *Meet The Press* to declare that there was "no health care crisis" and that the projected Medicaid and Medicare savings of \$ 91 billion in the Clinton plan were a "fantasy." Compared to recent cuts in Medicare, that amount almost seems modest.

Moynihan gave great weight to "Baumol's Disease," the proposition advanced by his friend, New York University professor William J. Baumol, that the cost of social programs inexorably rises because they are labor-intensive. For Moynihan, Baumol's Disease made cost containment in health care a hopeless cause. So convinced was Moynihan of the cogency of Baumol's work that he even invited Hillary Clinton to meet Baumol at his Pennsylvania Avenue apartment for lunch.

Moynihan's own bill proposed new taxes on cigarettes and on handgun ammunition -- another clever heuristic -- to partially finance mandated health coverage in firms employing more than 20 workers. The bill went nowhere. Moynihan was behaving more like a freelancing freshman than as a key committee chairman of the President's party.

If Moynihan failed to play a key role on health care, his passivity on the welfare reform bill is even more puzzling. This was a subject he knew intimately. In the Nixon administration, Moynihan had drafted the proposed Family Assistance Plan (FAP) guaranteeing poor people a minimum annual income. The plan was scotched, mainly by liberals who considered the income support far too meager.

In 1988, Moynihan worked with the Reagan administration to enact the Family Support Act, tightening work requirements and enforcement of child support by absent fathers. This, too, alienated many liberals, yet failed to alter fundamentally the welfare entitlement. When Carter ran for the presidency, there was still a broad sense that America needed to "end welfare as we know it." Yet though the original Clinton plan proposed to accomplish this with a blend of tough time limits and generous subsidies, Moynihan doubted that Congress would spend the money. Conservatives, he believed, had been all too successful at starving the system of resources and demonizing the poor. He avoided any leadership role on welfare reform. Mostly he remained on the sidelines, and sniped.

As Finance Committee chairman, Moynihan might have sought to broker a coalition of moderate Republicans and Democrats to reform welfare. According to Mark Schmitt, a former senior staffer to Bill Bradley, "Everyone was looking to what Moynihan was going to do. It took a long time to realize that Moynihan's not asking us to go any-where with him. Clinton should have been cognizant of the consequences of pulling Bentsen out. Moynihan cannot assemble that bipartisan center in the Finance Committee."

A former aide to Moynihan puts it, "Moynihan basically figured it was a lost cause and people like O'Donnell were saying, 'Why even dirty your hands. If you try to come up with a serious alternative that will involve making painful compromises, you're going to end up losing anyway and you'll be blamed for making those compromises. You're much better off sitting on the mountaintop and holding fast to principle.'" In the end, Moynihan was one of 21 Senate Democrats who voted against the bill. "Hundreds of thousands of these children live in households that are held together primarily by the fact of welfare assistance," he told the Senate. "Take that away and the children are blown to the winds."

Besides health and welfare, the other key jurisdictions of the Finance Committee are tax policy and Social Security. Moynihan did support the tax increases in the 1993 Clinton deficit-reduction package; he also helped broker the "nanny tax" reform, streamlining the system for employer payment of Social Security taxes for household employees, and raising the threshold from \$ 50 to \$ 1,000 a year. But he has not weighed in seriously on the big issues of tax reform. Moynihan's main

recent contribution to the Social Security debate was his oddly bipartisan embrace of the downward adjustment of the Consumer Price Index.

To the horror of many mainline Democrats, he promoted Michael Boskin to head the CPI commission. But the "Boskin Commission" was stacked with economists who had already made up their minds. It was not a scientific process, but an exercise designed to provide an imprimatur for cutting Social Security outlays. Moynihan may be right that Social Security needs to be cut back, but as an intellectual it is surprising that he was willing to preprogram the result by endorsing a commission headed by Boskin.

Nor has the other commission that Moynihan has headed -- on the Central Intelligence Agency -- come up with a realistic program to reform it. Granted, reforming the CIA may be a hopeless task, but Moynihan, who had flamboyantly called for abolishing the CIA in the early 1990s, now sticks to lambasting the CIA for its miserable performance in gauging Soviet capabilities and intentions. In his foreword to the commission's March 3, 1997, report, Moynihan, in high Wilsonian dudgeon, quotes his friend Edward Shils's warning against "the torment of secrecy." Moynihan observes that "a culture of openness can, and ought to, evolve within the Federal Government." Unlike most government reports, Moynihan's foreword is beautifully written; like most government reports, it is longer on the failings of the system than on measures to correct them. And like many of Moynihan's elegant pronouncements, it is without political legs.

THE SENATE AS IVORY TOWER

At the end of the day, Moynihan's two decades in the Senate have capped a distinguished career as a public intellectual, but have not enhanced the influence he already enjoyed as an academic and policy advisor. He has used the Senate for every intellectual purpose, except legislating. Moynihan was certainly in the advance guard in the liberal rethinking of welfarism, of the Third World, and the Soviet threat. But when he sought to reverse ground, and defend what was good in the welfare state, or attack the excesses of the national security state, he has been curiously impotent. It is tempting to count this failure as just another variation on the current isolation of American liberalism. But even as a traditional liberal, in the liberal heyday, Moynihan was more successful as critic than architect.

Despite his frustration with both the Clinton White House and the Republican Congress and his strange lack of legislative impact, Moynihan's own political fortunes have never appeared more prosperous. His Senate seat remains impregnable; in *Miles To Go*, Moynihan recounts his smashing victories over his opponents in recent elections with victory margins running over two million votes: "I carried Dutchess County, seat of the Roosevelts. In four presidential contests, FDR never did."

Moynihan has also begun to be canonized as a public figure. In March, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, the Wilson Center held an all-day seminar on his life and books that was attended by academic luminaries and political associates from around the country. George Stephanopoulos recently told the *New York Times* that while he has no intention of challenging Moynihan in 2000, the "Moynihan model is an outstanding model. . . . One day, yeah. I think senator's a great job." If anything could snap Moynihan out of his current funk, it might be the specter of a Stephanopoulos succession.

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Newsweek, October 20, 1975

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SECTION: INTERNATIONAL; Pg. 50**LENGTH:** 800 words**HEADLINE:** The **Moynihan** Controversy**BYLINE:** ANGUS DEMING with RAYMOND CARROLL and LYNN JAMES at the U.N., BRUCE van VOORST in Washington**BODY:**

At the United Nations and at the State Department, Daniel Patrick Moynihan had been under fire for his latest rhetorical sally: A speech attacking Uganda's Idi Amin as a "racist murderer" that was also read by many as an undiplomatic swipe at the Organization of African Unity. But the embattled U.S. ambassador to the U.N. got a hail from the chief. At a Cabinet meeting attended by Moynihan, President Ford let it be known that he felt his man at the U.N. had "said what needed to be said." And as if to scotch any rumors that Moynihan was in hot water after barely three months on the job, Ford added with a grin: "You seem to be surviving, Pat." Replied Moynihan: "If you say so, sir, I am."

Despite the President's public endorsement, reports persisted that the loquacious Pat Moynihan was in the doghouse. His immediate superior, Henry Kissinger, was said to be angry. The Secretary of State, who appreciates a "get tough" statement from time to time, was at first heartily amused by the Moynihan sally. But when adverse reaction began flooding in from African spokesmen and U.S. diplomats, Kissinger blew his stack, according to one top State Department source.

Despotism: The trouble was not so much Moynihan's attack on Amin, which he made in a speech at an AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco (Newsweek, Oct. 13). After all, in an address before a warmly applauding U.N. General Assembly, Amin had called for the "extinction of the State of Israel." Many Africans are pained by Amin's antics and brutal despotism. Anywhere from 25,000 to 250,000 Ugandans have been murdered since Amin seized power in 1971, according to the International Commission of Jurists. What really rankled was Moynihan's remark that it was "no accident" that Amin was this year's head of the Organization of African Unity. A few moments later, he praised the OAU for blunting the effort to expel Israel from the U.N. But his critics still felt that, by seeming to associate all Africans with Amin's misdeeds, Moynihan had undone much of the progress that had recently been made in mending Washington's relations with Black Africa.

State Department officials took pains to point out the Moynihan's speech had not been cleared in advance with Washington. The speech had largely been drafted by Moynihan during his flight from New York to San Francisco. It turned out to be a long and rambling affair that left many union chieftains in the audience glassy-eyed. Moynihan not only took Amin and the U.N. to task; the former ambassador to India also complained about Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's repression" (thus violating current Kissinger ban on public discussion of that subject by U.S. diplomats) and Federal and local officials - even Gerald Ford - for failing to help New York City.

In the U.N. General Assembly, Dahomey's Tiamiou Adjibade, speaking on behalf of the 46-nation African blocportested Moynihan's uncivil attacks" on Amin and endorsed the Ogandan dictator's statement that the U.S. was in "the total grip of international Zionism. "This brought an official U.S. rebuttal from Clarence Mitchell Jr., an NAACP official as well as an American delegate to the U.N., who declared that Maynihon's attack on Amin was "an occasion for pride, not apologies. "Few others had a good word for Moynihan. Many seemed to share the view of one senior U.N. official that Moynihan's AFL-CIO speech was a "mortal wound" as far as his usefulness at the United Nations was concerned.

Calm: That might or might not prove to be the case. In the U.S. press, which has grown increasingly disenchanted with the world body, Moynihan's speech was widely praised as evidence that the U.S. had decided, as an editorial in The Detroit News put it, "to stop pussyfooting around at the U.N." Africans seemed considerably less exercised about the Moynihan episode than their public indignation indicated. In the U.S. and overseas, relationships between U.S. and African officials seemed to be very much on a business-as-usual basis. The Moynihan speech was never even mentioned when Ugandan and U.S. technicians met in Washington to discuss U.S. aid shipments to Uganda. Nor did the subject come up when Adjibade paid a call at the State Department fresh from his U.N. denunciation of Moynihan.

It was quite possible that the most anguished reaction to Moynihan's speech had come from his colleagues at the State Department. That, of course, was no great surprise. Some professionals at State look upon Moynihan as an outsider and an "unguided missile" when it comes to representing the interests of United States diplomacy. In the immediate wake of the Idi Amin incident, Moynihan refused to discuss his views of the affair. Everyone, however, agreed that he would be heard from again.

GRAPHIC: Picture 1, Point, counterpoint: Moynihan at White House, Wally McNamee - Newsweek; Picture 2, Amin with whites in Uganda, AP

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