

PAT MOYNIHAN

*what you got depend  
on when you come?*

October 28, 1982

I'm writing this at the St. Moritz after about 4 hours of drinks and lunch with Pat Moynihan and Carl Lebedoff--a literary agent who is listening to Pat's thoughts about writing a book.

I did not get a whole lot out of Pat. But it is clear that he took me along with one of his oldest friends. (They were in the White House together, Carl worked for Samuels, had dinner with him the night after he beat Buckley, was in on his strategy decision in '76 to spend his own last 50,000 on the campaign.)

"When the campaign was over, I did not have enough money to buy breakfast. I put my last 50,000 into the race. It took us a year to get out all of debt. We covered/kinds of bills that had been rung up and not paid. 'Did you really print those brochures in Tonawanda?' Of course we did.' This year we have no debt. We've managed it better."

In his lobby "I have to worry about the Klenetski people, not because they can hurt me, nor my wife--she can take care of herself--but because of my daughter. They are after her now. It's the worst side of politics."

He walked 5th Avenue from the Century Club (W43rd) to the Oyster Bar at the Plaza (W59th). People stopped him all along the way--to wish him luck, to tell him his picture hung on their daughter's wall, to ask him to autograph a dictionary, to tell him that although they were AFT, they supported him (they are--the AFT and the NEA --tearing apart the national constituency of the Democratic party--the Catholics.) All the way up - he stopped to talk to truck drivers, taxi drivers, a young man wheeling his baby daughter. Met and had talk and walk with Sander Van Occor. People

patted him, striding briskly along with his Irish walking hat, tipping his hat to the women "Good afternoon to you, ma'am. It's a wonderful afternoon, isn't it?" "He's feeling pretty good" said one man. "He's pretty chipper today," said another. People wanted to take his picture. It was a warm, bright, happy day. He's a known personality. I said, "It's just like Little Rock."

We sat down. "I've gotten through to those people haven't I? They think I'm all right. They are glad I'm there. And they think the Republic is working all right." I said I didn't know about the last sentence. And he said "That last synapse may not be correct."

"I don't enjoy the Senate. You know I'm not meticulous about knowing everything. But I don't know anything about what I'm doing. I don't enjoy not knowing what I'm doing. I never know what I'm voting on--except for the three or four things I have worked on. You go on the floor and look around to see who is voting what way. No, I don't enjoy that at all."

"I'll say this in this room (we're at the Century Club) I'm going to serve one more term. I'm looking forward to serving a term where I can say what I want to say, do what I want to do and concentrate on just two or three things." It sounded like he wanted to change his style a little. But I couldn't ask him that directly.

"I'm broke. I started with 130,000. I'm down to 50,000 now. And I've got one more semester to go. We've been counting semesters. I've been privileged to have a very interesting time of service in the United States Senate. But I had to borrow 1500 from the Oneonta State Bank to make my last payment on the farm. That's what politics does to us. And that's why I'm thinking of writing a book." Story of how he wrote for New Yorker and got 4000, of which he could only keep 2,000.

"You know how I took care of Jack Kemp. I told him first,<sup>c</sup> if you run for the Senate, I'll beat you<sup>),</sup> second,<sup>c</sup> if you win you'll be the junior senator to Al D'Amato and you'll be in a body that runs by seniority. You'll never be heard from again. And you'll give up your number 3 position in the Republican hierarchy in the House.<sup>),</sup> I said 'Think of that for a while before you do anything. How would that affect you as a candidate for President?'  
<sup>Did</sup>  
~~That~~ you know we talk to each other that way? That we send messages to each other. I had a friend who delivered that message to Jack Kemp."

They talked about Lehrman. Carl said there was a time when it looked as though Regan would run for gov. and Lehrman for Senator. "That would have been a tough race. But Lehrman sees himself as *an executive*. He wants to manage. He couldn't see himself standing around the Senate, making speeches, ~~Wasting~~ time. It's not part of his self image. I don't think he ever considered the Senate."

I asked him when he really knew he would win. He went into a long story about how he had a primary vs. La Rouché who was a proto fascist, and some guy named Klentski who was crazy and whom they spent 50,000 trying to get him off the ballot, and how he got 85% of the vote and how he was disappointed at that--thinking that 15% would be real crazies and he hated to think that. He said he had planned on running vs. Siebert or North-- "both respectable Republican candidates, perfectly senatorial, moderate, and skating about as close to that line of liberalism as a Republican could get."

"I say this in this room only that we filled the mails with the liberal statements of Siebert and North and sent them to all the Conservative Party officials in the state. At the Republican convention, the Conservative party leader had them in his hand. That helped win her the endorsement of the

convention. I always get irritated when people call me 'professor' as if to specify that I don't know anything about politics or how it is played. I'm not pleased about what we did, but it was effective."

"The first time I knew <sup>W</sup>he'd won was when, after the primary election, she took two days off. I could not believe it. She should have been out there charging around as the giant killer. She didn't reappear for five days. Her trouble was that she had no constituency with which she felt comfortable except the conservative party. That's not enough. The first Daily News poll showed me 66 to 22. Then I was sure I had it. And those figures have never changed."

He asked me whether I thought 66% was believable, as if he couldn't believe it himself. I said sure, and he ticked off all the polls that had him way out ahead.

The first thing he said when I got in the car related to a press release. "What's this scintillating pronouncement?"

The next thing he said was "The campaign is over." This, he said over and over again while I was with him. When he sat down at the Century Club to have a drink; when he returned from ordering us a second round in person; when we sat down at the Oyster Bar; when he and I parted at his apartment. "The campaign is over. Eighteen months and it's over. Eighteen months of fighting." And he went into moral majority.

They talked about Caputo as "dirty" and expected a dirty campaign against him.

Pat thinks public is turned off on dirty campaigns, that a TV ad of Sullivan's calling him a "straddler" is getting more negative than positive response. But I think it's just circumstance. She's so far behind, nothing helps. And she's desperate.

He and Liz both told story of how Monroe County Republican women asked



(Sullivan)

her to meet with them and she declined to come and went instead to some little conservative party meeting in Rochester on that same day. That's a loser.

Said Liz Moynihan "I've been running the campaign. I came home to NY in March and I haven't been back in Washington for three days since then. I've done a lot more than most wives do in the campaign."

She talked about how the moral majority came in and left. How most of Pat's money comes from NY, whereas most of Caputo's, and Sullivan's came from outside NY. Said they had first fund raiser in 1978, another in 1980 and have been going ever since. She, and he, talked about how they bought TV time starting Monday before election and working back, how they have the only spot on 60 minutes in NY. It's hardest to buy; they sell one spot and Pat got it.

"You cannot write your book without photographs. The Budget Committee is like a scene from the French Revolution. There are about 300 people packed into a room this size (Century Club). The television lights are blinking. We have piles of documents in front of us that no one understands. We have no idea what is in them. The Committee is being run by people we do not know. The Chairman himself barely knows what is happening. People write numbers on the blackboard and then erase them, one billion here, four billion there. No one understands what is happening. I've told Pete Domenici. We have to get in a room all by ourselves, let three citizens come in and no television. Then we might accomplish something."

"I have a theory that one of the informal aspects of the separation of powers of the United States is the separation between New York City and the rest of the country. When Hamilton and Jefferson made their famous bargain over a glass of madra in \_\_\_\_\_, they agreed that the national government would assume state debts and the government would be built in the swamp by

the Potomac. They divided the trade, the commerce, the art, the culture, the manufacturing of the County's largest city from the politics of the country." (Then he went on--this had triggered it--to say how National Democratic Committee had met in a building we passed.) 'Now it's all slipping away to Washington. You drive through Georgetown and you see the New York lawyers have their offices there."

The staff "The most vicious things that are said about a Senator in Washington--he doesn't do his homework, he doesn't know what he's talking about, doesn't work hard--are said about Senators by staff."

The world of politics was illuminated some by the contrast between the Hindu Temple and the aftermath. Pat was greeted by the Temple elders in stocking feet and bare feet and by a priest placing a garland on him, sprinkling him with holy water, leading him into the temple, anointing him again, giving him gifts of fruit, coconut milk to drink, music playing, looking at all the elegant symbols, the granite sanctum sanctorum, with the "ganesh" inside, the alabaster carvings, the peace signs, the speech, the two cultures talk etc. He had expected a TV program, but it turned out the TV program place was a good 20 minutes away. 'When he came out of there, with his gift of a shawl } and all the delicacies of religious participation and got in the car, he said "We fucked around in there too long. There was no TV there. The TV taping will have to be done in another place--god knows him far away. They neglected to tell us that. They lied to us. It's a good thing the campaign is over... This is the last event of the campaign."

"I am going to be honored tonight by the Italian Club as the man of the year. After I accepted, I found out there was also going to be a veteran of the year, a businessman of the year, an Italian of the year, etc. It will

be very hard to find me among all the other notables. People don't always tell you these things." Liz said "They just want your body."

They also had a luncheon with the Democratic Women's Club of the Bronx. Said Pat "We scrubbed that when we found out all the other candidates were going to be there."

"In New York, the Senator is not a very big thing, not like it is in Alabama. They know what the Senator does for them."

Driving through neighborhood on way to Temple. "Just when you want to give up on New York, you come to a going neighborhood like this one. Look! There's a modern bus turning the corner... Over there, see those women guarding the playground. There will be no juvenile delinquency in this neighborhood."

"Or look at that ugly building, the Olympic building, spoiling the majesty of St. Patrick's Church. How would they have committed such a monstrosity."

They call him on the ads this year "New York's Moynihan" and he is. He captures a lot of NY culturally, just as DP captures a lot of Ark. culturally. He's at home in NY--at least what I saw.

As campaign rhythm, this one was more like DP's 1978 one--it's over. He called the Hindu Temple "the last event of the campaign."

At the temple, Pat spoke, his daughter Maura spoke in Hindi, and Liz spoke, On the way, Liz said "Think India" and he responded nuclear power at Tarapur, immigration - we want more, and Mrs. Ghandi's visit. And that's what he spoke about. They called him the US's dearest friend of India, representative of India, etc. etc. The relationship was very special. At the TV taping he talked about the granite sanctum sanctorum, how one would have to go to Museum of Modern Arts to find anything comparable, how it was a gift of Andhra Pradesh, how temple embodied various sections of India.

"Election is near and so I looked longingly at the lovely Ganesh."

As he went there, "I hope this does me some good. If John Glenn gets to be President, I'll be in trouble. He was determined to cut off India."

On TV, they asked him to support the Simpson-Mazzoli bill and to make sure Indians got on the list of nations who could receive social security once they returned home." I am the senior Democratic member on the social security subcommittee and I speak for my party on that subject. I am going to make certain that India is on that list. I'm going to remind the administration that social security is something you earn. You contribute to that fund; and you are entitled to the benefits whether you live in Queens or Madras."

"The campaign is over--unless my first wife shows up and asks me why I never got a divorce.

"We almost had a campaign disaster in Albany. I was being made up for the last debate with my opponent. You come to accept it. But the League of Women Voters type had done makeup for one c clown show and two high school plays. She began to plaster it on and pretty soon it got in my eyes. She kept right on plastering. I yelled to Liz. She came over and said Oh, my god. By that time I could not see. We went into the men's room and she started to wash it off. It got worse. Then she took her skirt and started wiping it off. I could still hardly see; and I had to be led into the studio for the debate. My opponent was sitting there all made up and ready. I never had any respect for her organization; but as I sat there I thought of Tylenol. Could they actually have planned to blind me?"

Liz said emphatically that with Pat, campaigning had nothing to do with governing. "Polls tell you how you are doing in a campaign. And Tim uses

them to decide where to place your media. But the polls have nothing to do with the way he votes in Congress."

On the way to Riccardos Restaurant for Pat to get Man of the Year Award, Liz talked more about her role in the campaign.

"I started full time on the campaign in September and came to New York full time in March. Three of us have run the campaign, Pat, Tim and myself. That's all there is. We listen to other people and pick up intelligence, but no one else sits down with us to make decisions. The three of us make all the decisions... I do all the politics ~~and~~ and the money. Pat doesn't have the time. November 15th, I'll go back to being a full time archaeologist. I love politics, but only the campaign part of politics. I've been campaigning for 20 years. Pat and I met in a campaign. This is my eleventh political campaign--and my last. On November 15th, that's the end."

"We have a very small headquarters. There are only nine of us. A couple of volunteers come in each day. But we have had to keep it small because of the La Rouché people. They have threatened Pat--and Maura. They put sign up in Manhattan saying Moynihan was a pig. They said his daughter was a go go dancer and was immoral and that her father was unfit to be a Senator." They are seriously about that Klenetski challenge. He was La Rouché's candidate.

They seem to have trouble raising money--at least it's on their mind. "In 1976 on the day that Pat announced for the Senate in July, we did not have one nickel of campaign money."

"You would be surprised at the disproportionate amount of press coverage that goes to the governor's race as opposed to the Senator's race. Senators have no patronage, no contracts. A governor has things to give people. Senators do not. And people can give more to a governor's campaign 25,000

than the 1000 they can give to a Senate campaign. All this makes money raising much harder in a Senate campaign. You have to give people a reason for giving. And the only reason you can give them is an issue. That's all there is, There isn't anything else. You wouldn't believe how little people know or care about the power of a Senator--people on Wall Street. Pat is on the Finance Committee and can save alot of those businesses. But they don't pay any attention at all to him. You won't believe it, but it's true."

Pat said "I'm the first Senator from NY to sit on the Finance Committee in 22? years. The last one who served there was the man who nominated Samuel Tilden for the Presidency. New Yorkers are not used to that kind of politics. The Texans are. If you go to a big brokerage house and talk about what you can do for them in tax benefits, they don't seem to take any interest."

Pat has a New York detective with him all the time he's in NY--Chuck Bennett. He's had too many death threats. So they watch over him. Chuck was even a little worried when he heard Pat was walking up 5th Avenue today. But he's with them, as their driver, at all planned events. The PLO tried to kill him twice in India. His position on intelligence committee also adds to his vulnerability. Chuck is a member of the Intelligence Division of the NYPD. He drove for Pat in the '76 campaign, when he was not ~~in~~ office, I think.

Liz thinks Caputo would have beaten Pat--because of the money, I think. They won't raise 3 million she says.

On the way to the dinner, Pat turned around and said "Both polls say we're at 66% (Black and Newsday), and she's at 22%. It can't be true can it? How can it be? They say Vigurie will mail out one million letters

in the last two days of the campaign. That may make a big difference."

They said they'll know "whether they've won when they get the first exit polls. Then they'll really know later. They'll go to the Sheraton Center to celebrate." "I hate those things. I didn't even go to the primary night celebration... Despite the hoopla, an election is a very private thing."

At the dinner Pat was in a rush. "I want to say these things. First, this is my wife Liz whom I love and have loved for 35 years. (Applause.) Second, ... Last week we dedicated a power plant across the street to the memory of Charley Poletti, that greatest of public servants. (Applause). Charlie was a great friend and teacher to Liz and me when we worked for Governor Harriman... Charlie was a great latinist (he quotes a phrase 'Charlie taught me' in Latin). Translated it means 'The eagle never chases flies.' Always keep your attention on the big things... And third, I attended Mt. Carmel High School (applause)... Those nuns taught me, too, about the importance of family and country. I don't suppose any of those nuns are here tonight--I'm a little gray myself. If they are, I want to say thank you. And I want to say to you that it is possible for a United States Senator to come from Mt. Carmel High School. (applause)... I hope there are many future senators here in this room tonight."

The emphasis on family, public service, education, ethnicity. (At indian temple, he talked about "Beyond the Melting Pot" and said that "We should thank you for coming here and preserving your culture here among us.")

In the car, he tells his daughter Maura--who is rhapsodizing over her love affair with India, into which she fits better, she says, than USA--that Indian philosophy tells him nothing about his life, whereas Greek culture does. They discuss Indian religion, its sources, its myths, etc. (Not like DP and Skip!)



At the Century Club, Pat says he thinks the Senate is not working... too much overload, fatigue, ~~stall~~. The two great reforms - Campaign Finance law and Budget Reform, aren't working. "What are we doing to ourselves, when John Danforth, as fine an Xion gentleman as there is, starts to say such awful things about Harriet Woods?"

Pat has bronchitis and does not feel great. Liz says he's taking drugs for it and they make him dopey. In the car, his speech is slow. When he gets in the crowd, he's very physical and picks up. He hugs and kisses people, he gives abrazos easily, waves his arms, flicks his fingers a lot (like he's trying to learn how to snap them. He's very tactile on the trail.

He talked about his TV strategy of starting to buy the time on Monday before election and working back from there.