

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 10, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT

You asked that Finch, Harlow, Webster and I assess the situation in the Senate Finance Committee with respect to the Family Assistance bill, and propose steps you might take. We have talked among ourselves, and to Secretary Richardson, and come out as follows.

1. Republicans.

Williams and Curtis appear to be irreversibly hostile. Bennett and Miller will probably go along, but with no great enthusiasm. Jordan, Fannin, and Hansen are not really for the bill either, but are disturbed at the prospect of appearing to oppose the President.

The principal point that you have to make with the Republican members is that you want the bill. They are telling each other that you really don't know what is in it. Only you can persuade them otherwise, and ask their support on grounds of party loyalty. All you probably need from the Republicans is agreement to report a bill similar to that which has passed the House to the Floor of the Senate. Once it appears on the Floor there is likely to be strong Democratic pressure to raise the cost considerably. You almost certainly should impress upon the Republican Committee members that you are adamantly opposed to any such move, and will support them all the way in preventing it.

Proposal: That you invite the Republican members, plus Senator Scott, who is an enthusiastic supporter of the bill, for an evening cruise on the Sequoia. Richardson, Finch, Harlow, and Moynihan probably should also be along, but the crucial session of the evening should be you, and perhaps Harlow, alone with the Senators.

It would probably also be enormously helpful to have the Vice President along. Rumors swirl on this subject. Nothing would be more reassuring to these particular Republicans than to have the Vice President at your side when you say that you want this bill, and you expect them to help you get it.

Committee hearings resume Tuesday, July 21. It would seem essential that you meet with the Committee members before then. You are free in the evening of Wednesday, July 15, and we recommend that date.

AGREE _____ DISAGREE _____

2. Democrats.

Most Democratic members of the Committee are basically for the bill, the exceptions being Senators Talmadge and Byrd who are probably irreversibly opposed, as they seem to realize what the bill would mean to the South. (It would very likely mean the end of those political dynasties built on poverty and racial division.) The key to the Democrats is Senator Long who appears to share some of this concern, and yet has a strong populist family tradition. He is now toying with the idea of "pilot projects" as a way of finessing the issue.

Secretary Richardson reports that Long is also talking about maybe putting off Senate action until after the election, and wants even more draconic work requirements. (E. g., packing off the children of malingerers to foster homes!) Richardson warns that the main thing is not to let Long go away with the feeling (which he will not long contain within himself) that he knows what you really think. Which is to say that you think whatever it is he thinks.

Proposal: That you invite Long to breakfast, or some such occasion, and ask directly for his support. It truly is an

opportunity for him to give substance to a family dream and he ought to be enabled to see this.

Preferably, this should be done before July 21.

AGREE _____ DISAGREE _____

Briefing

This is immensely complex legislation, that has grown even more so since you last immersed yourself in the subject. We would hope you might find at least one hour for briefing before meeting with the Republican Senators, who are chock-a-block with small details that give rise, in their view, to surpassing large objections.

Daniel P. Moynihan

Attachment

SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE

Republicans

John J. Williams, Delaware
Wallace F. Bennett, Utah
Carl T. Curtis, Nebraska
Jack Miller, Iowa
Len B. Jordan, Idaho
Paul J. Fannin, Arizona
Clifford P. Hansen, Wyoming

Democrats

Russell B. Long, Louisiana
Clinton P. Anderson, New Mexico
Albert Gore, Tennessee
Herman E. Talmadge, Georgia
Eugene J. Mc Carthy, Minnesota
Vance Hartke, Indiana
J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas
Abraham A. Ribicoff, Connecticut
Fred R. Harris, Oklahoma
Harry F. Byrd, Jr., Virginia