



DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN

...high-wire act

WXP Post JAN 29 1976

Moynihan

Survives

New Storm

By Murrey Marder

Washington Post Staff Writer

Daniel P. Moynihan, the irrepressibly outspoken U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, pulled off another high-wire diplomatic survival act yesterday.

For the second time in two months, Moynihan extracted a public declaration of confidence and support from President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, after his blunt language set off a Moynihan-style tempest.

This time Moynihan's blunt language was aimed at what he labeled "the 'experts'" in the State Department who are so wedded to "conventional wisdom" that they produce "organizational failure."

"This (United States mission) to the United Nations does not expect such persons to change their minds," Moynihan said in a private diplomatic cable. "We do ask, however, that out of a decent respect for their profession they stop blabbing to the press what is not so," he said.

The Moynihan cable did not stay secret long. He sent it to Washington Friday night, asking that it be circulated to all diplomatic posts abroad. This is a rare but not unprecedented practice for an ambassador.

The 2,000-word Moynihan cable, which he described as "this brief essay," was transmitted worldwide by the

See DIPLOMACY, A12, Col. 6

FORD
AD

DIPLOMACY, From A1

State Department on Monday — with one section deleted, with Moynihan's agreement.

The deleted section was the especially blunt poke at those in the department who most resent Moynihan's style — a style Moynihan's cable was intended to show is a success.

Publication of the Moynihan cable yesterday in The New York Times set off alarm bells in Washington, at the United Nations, and probably in other capitals around the world. In the cable, Moynihan described his U.N. efforts in "breaking up the massive blocs of nations, which for so long have been arrayed against us in international forums and in diplomatic encounters generally."

Talking tough, he maintained, has paid dividends for the United States.

Moynihan, in November, came out on top of a furor that became public when Britain's ambassador to the U.N., career diplomat Ivor Richard, without explicitly naming him, portrayed Moynihan as a loose cannonball.

Richard said Moynihan was like Wyatt Earp looking for shootouts at the OK Corral; Savonarola "preaching retribution and revenge," and King Lear, raging in the storm that "I shall do such things — what they are I know not, but they shall be the terrors of the earth."

Privately, many traditional diplomats agreed. Moynihan, many critics suspected, had his real sights set on politics, not diplomacy, breaking diplomatic glass to build attention as a senatorial candidate from New York. Moynihan disavowed any such intent; on the contrary, he said, he was doing exactly what he was hired to do — "speaking out with the truth," as revolutionary as that might be at the United Nations.

Any temptation the Ford administration may have had to dump its maverick ambassador in November, and Moynihan suspected that Kissinger might be tempted, was overtaken by American public acclaim for his tough language. Politically, Moynihan was too hot to fire.

When Moynihan, in November, dangled a threat to resign unless he was publicly supported, President Ford and Kissinger both declared

their "complete confidence" in him.

The script was replayed yesterday. The President and Kissinger quickly pledged new support of Moynihan after the latest flap over the blunt, leaked cable, followed by a Ford-Moynihan meeting at the White House.

"The President completely approves of and supports the way Moynihan conducts his office at the United Nations," White House press secretary Ron Nessen said.

Nessen said he did not believe Moynihan's complaint about internal opponents was a "massive" problem. "There are always some folks down the line in the bureaucracy who don't agree with every action," Nessen said.

Kissinger similarly said, "I support Moynihan" who is "doing a serious and dedicated job," on "the instructions of the President and the Secretary of State." Said Kissinger, "In the formulation of policy, different points of view inevitably are expressed . . . There is backbiting in every bureaucracy."

In a subsequent State Department statement reiterating support for Moynihan, a spokesman said, "The secretary also has great confidence in the personnel of the State Department who are doing their jobs in expressing their honest views."

However, the statement continued, "It is a contemptible action to leak classified government documents and newspapers must ask themselves what their responsibility is when they consider publication of such documents."

What particularly infuriated top officials was that the Moynihan cable, which was classified only "limited official use" — the lowest classification of privacy, contained an embarrassing reference to the U.N. assistant secretary general for special political questions, Abdulrahim Farah of Somalia.

The Moynihan cable said Farah, "the highest African in the U.N. hierarchy," who was present at the recent Organization of African Unity summit conference in Addis Ababa, said the Soviet Union's failure to obtain OAU endorsement of the Soviet-backed faction in Angola was

partly influenced by "the serious consideration, as he (Farah) said it, to VOA (Voice of America) reports that U.S. aid would be decreased to those countries in Africa not sympathetic to U.S. positions."

The cable added, "The officer who met with Farah denied that there was any 'black list,' but Farah observed that whether it existed or not Africans were taking it seriously and that it was, in his words, all to the good."

When the State Department learned Tuesday that The New York Times had a copy of the cable, Moynihan unsuccessfully attempted to persuade the newspaper to delete the references to Farah. Yesterday Moynihan apologized to Farah and, later, Farah issued a statement accusing Moynihan of misrepresenting what he had said.

Moynihan said yesterday that his problems at State have not been at the top, but "at the desk level," where he learned years ago that opposition to innovation is "a systemic thing." Attempts to turn the dispute into an argument between him and top officials, said Moynihan, "just won't work."

A Moynihan spokesman said the leaked cable was only one of many roundups of U.N. activities in 1975, and he said that Samuel W. Lewis, the new assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs, told Moynihan on Saturday that the cable contained "useful arguments."

At the United Nations, the reaction to the latest Moynihan episode was, as usual, mostly critical among career diplomats.

An Eastern European diplomat labeled the memorandum "elephantine, arrogant and a bit nasty . . ."

An African diplomat said, "Moynihan's policy is catastrophic. He is not achieving anything; he is not breaking up blocs." An Asian diplomat said, "Any delegate receiving a call from him to vote a certain way would have to hang up on him now. They just can't appear to be succumbing to pressure." But one diplomat, while no admirer of Moynihan, said that "although his style does not affect realities, it has put some vitality back into the U.N."