

FORD AD Moynihan Says State Department Fails To Back Policy Against U.S. Foes in U.N.

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In Message to Kissinger, He Contends Opposing Bloc Is Being Split
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WASHINGTON, Jan. 27 — Daniel P. Moynihan, the United States representative at the United Nations, has sent a cablegram to the Secretary of State and all United States embassies saying that he is succeeding in breaking up the anti-American voting bloc in the United Nations but that the State Department does not realize this and is not supporting him.

A copy of the cablegram, entitled "The Blocs Are Breaking



Daniel P. Moynihan

Associated Press

Text of Moynihan's cable is printed on Page 8.

Up" and dated Jan. 23, has been obtained by The New York Times.

In it, Mr. Moynihan says that breaking up the large bloc of "mostly new nations" is a "basic foreign policy goal" of the United States. He cites numerous examples where, he says, his tactic of "counter-attack" with threats and tough talk have produced the desired results.

"However, there is clear evi-

dence that the department is reluctant to recognize these signs, or at least slow to do so," he wrote. "This becomes a problem in itself, and is the subject of this brief essay."

Specifically, he attacks what he calls "the conventional wisdom" in the State Department, which predicted that his tough tactics would fail and is now determined to prove them a failure.

"This mission does not expect such persons to change their minds," Mr. Moynihan

said. "We do ask however, that out of a decent respect for their profession they stop blabbing to the press what is not so."

Mr. Moynihan's actions in the United Nations have frequently been criticized in private by State Department officials at all levels. These officials express complete agreement with the Presidential policy of letting nations know that their opposition to the United States will not be without cost to

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themselves, but they mock Mr. Moynihan's personal style and methods.

They charge him with personal headline-hunting and argue that his approach only irritates other nations without helping American policy.

Mr. Moynihan's cablegram is regarded by some in the State Department as an effort by him to silence such criticism.

In a telephone interview, Mr. Moynihan said that he was fully aware of the criticism. "I'm sorry the cable was given to The New York Times," he commented. "I was in the Navy, and my code is not to give cables."

Two State Department officials said that the leaking of the cablegram could serve as a way of applying public pressure on Mr. Moynihan's critics, and particularly on Secretary Henry A. Kissinger to silence the critics in the State Department. Mr. Moynihan gave his cablegram the lowest possible security classification.

There has been some speculation in the press that Mr. Moynihan might be interested in being the Democratic candidate for United States Senator from New York this year against the Conservative-Republican incumbent, James L. Buckley. Soundings among professional politicians have been less productive; he is looked upon as one of a field of "moderate" possibilities who might run against the two leading liberals, Bella S. Abzug and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

Mr. Moynihan concluded his message as follows:

"But we do fear that there necessarily remains in the department a large faction which has an interest in our performance being judged to have failed. This faction has not hesitated to pass this assessment on to the press and to Congress, and to parts of the department that otherwise would have no view one way or the other.

"At a time when we have so few allies, and so many of them are slipping into almost irreversible patterns of appeasement based on the assumption that American power

'Cost Has To Be Calculated'

"Our new stance," the cablegram said, "is having more or less the effect that was hoped for—that Governments are beginning to think that anti-American postures at the U.N. and elsewhere are not without cost and that the cost has to be calculated."

He cited two examples to support this view:

First, he said that Abdurahima Farah of Somalia, the highest-ranking black African in the United Nations Secretariat staff, had told a member of the United States mission that concern among Africans about losing American aid had deterred some of them from voting against the United States position on Angola at the recent meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa.

Second, he said that at a recent African-Arab meeting the Tanzanian representative announced that Washington had suspended \$28 million in aid to Tanzania because of its voting record in the last session of the United Nations General Assembly. The Tanzanian asked other delegates to condemn such pressure, Mr. Moynihan wrote, but they "declined to do so."

is irreversibly declining, we would hope that some brave spirits in Washington and around the world would examine the evidence, and that if convinced that things have not gone that badly up here, take some foreign diplomat to lunch and tell him so."

State Department officials said that it was not routine but that it was far from unusual for an ambassador to request that his cablegram to the Secretary of State be passed on to other diplomatic posts. Mr. Moynihan said that this was common practice for the American mission to the United Nations when it was making its reports at the end of a United Nations session.

Mr. Moynihan's cablegram also confirms that the Administration has adopted a policy of cutting back on aid to nations that vote against American interests in the United Nations and of rewarding nations that support the Administration.