

## Mann's Divided Mind

Under Secretary of State Thomas C. Mann's speech in San Diego read as if it must have come from someone confidently on the way up or resignedly on the way out. At a time when the Johnson Administration is trying to build "bridges" to Eastern Europe, he portrayed international Communism as the same old monolithic, implacable enemy. At a time when the Administration begins to see a moderate way out of the Dominican crisis and the Panama Canal dispute, he reissued the warning that Communist adherents automatically taint any social revolution beyond acceptability. The last half of the speech was a point-by-point attempt to refute Senator J. William Fulbright's September 15 attack on Latin American policy generally and a defense of unilateral military intervention in landing troops at Santo Domingo.

A significant sequence of events led up to Mann's appearance in San Diego. It started early last year, shortly after President Johnson had brought his fellow Texan up from the ambassadorship to Mexico to make him Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, special assistant to the President in the same area, and the "one voice" with which the new Administration would speak to and of Latin America. Mann promptly stirred up a flurry of controversy by his remarks at a closed meeting of US ambassadors and aid directors from all over Latin America. Word leaked out that he had presented the outline of a new policy, under which the United States would no longer discriminate against rightist dictatorships or distinguish between them and constitutional democracies; in other words, forget the Alliance for Progress.

Mann subsequently defended his "hands-off" policy against those who wanted the United States to continue its intermittent policy of not being kind to dictators. Reviewing past US interventions, he concluded that they never had succeeded in restoring lasting constitutional government, and they had "in every case left for our country a legacy of suspicion which has endured long after our interventions were abandoned as impracticable."

But the shoe was on the other foot last April, when Mann joined those who believed early and strongly that Communists were about to take over the Dominican revolution. Intervention, not non-intervention, was the correct policy. His behavior during the crisis led a number of his associates in the affair to believe that his chief interest was to prevent the return to power of former President Juan Bosch. They quote him as referring at the time to "the unclean Bosch crowd." He used his influence in behalf of temporary US reliance on Brig. Gen. Antonio Imbert Barreras and Brig. Gen. Elias Wessin y Wessin. He also is widely believed to

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have sabotaged efforts by McGeorge Bundy to try to patch up a government headed by Antonio Guzman, which would have been acceptable to Bosch.

Then came Fulbright's September 15 attack on the whole Dominican enterprise, as an illegal act based on exaggerated reports of a Communist threat and performed under cover of an alleged threat to American lives. His speech brought counter-attacks by most of the columnists who usually support Mr. Johnson and by a number of his Senate colleagues. The House carried matters a long step farther by adopting, 312 to 52, Representative Armistead I. Selden, Jr.'s resolution encouraging any American state to take steps, including the use of armed force, to forestall Communist intervention or even the threat of it in this hemisphere. Even strong anti-Communists in Latin America exploded at this approval of unilateral intervention. A group of Senators then began talking about adopting a resolution of their own setting policy straight on the matter of intervention, but the plan seemed to fall apart after they spent a couple of hours with Mann as a presumably objective consultant on how to find the middle ground.

Finally, there came the Mann speech in San Diego last week. Not only did he promise a new drawerful of evidence that the Communists were dominating the Dominican revolution. He also suggested that his unnamed, confused critic (Senator Fulbright) had bought the Marxist theory that Communists are in the vanguard of all truly revolutionary movements.

Well, Bosch is back in the Dominican Republic. Imbert was forced to step down. Wessin was run out of the country with a bayonet to his back and without even a change of underwear. The House resolution has become an increasing embarrassment as Washington tries to line up Latin American support for the forthcoming Rio conference. And in Panama, the United States has gone more than the halfway that Fulbright prescribed.