

## THE EXPERTS BY FREIDEN AND BAILEY. MACMILLAN, 1968.

*The Intelligence Problem*

85

Warren concluded that twenty-four-year-old Lee Harvey Oswald was solely responsible, "new material" was supposedly uncovered and hastily published. The commission had the assistance of a full-time staff of twenty-six (mostly legal experts). It published an 888-page report from twenty-six volumes covering 17,815 pages of testimony and exhibits assembled over a ten-month period.

Despite the probity of Chief Justice Warren and six other distinguished public members assigned to the Commission, books began to tumble off the presses beginning in 1966 contesting the conclusions. In the United States, at first, there had been little critical reaction. Abroad, where plots and coups have for centuries enlivened political life, the general assessment was one of cynicism and belief that the Warren Commission was covering up for the Johnson Administration.

One of the august group assigned to the Commission, Allen Dulles, had for years been involved in the craft of intelligence. He was for a long time, director of the CIA. Foreign writers and self-appointed analysts and investigators seized particularly on his role with the commission to ridicule its objectivity.

Unrevealed until now, as well, was the outburst of the late President's brother, Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Grief-stricken at the sudden calamity that cut the President down, Bobby Kennedy telephoned a ranking official of the CIA, who, dumbfounded, heard him demand with commingled anger and emotion: "Did your outfit have anything to do with this horror?" Bobby Kennedy, subsequently regaining his composure, never mentioned the call again. He has often encountered the man he phoned, who, as it happened, had been a dedicated pro-Kennedy supporter.

If Bobby Kennedy, in an initial seizure of grief-ridden suspicion, thought of the CIA as a collective culprit, foreigners looked immediately at a whole spectrum: It went from the far left to the extreme right; the Dallas police, the FBI, and of course, the CIA and its covert network of all types and mentalities. Abroad, especially in Europe, the great tragedy became a universal whodunit. Interest has steadily risen in the possibilities of plots and counterplots that might have been directly involved in the murder of the President. The spread of macabre interest and the inclination to believe that all types of dark forces were involved has lately been amplified by many books, inquiries, and opinions at home. Even an "authorized version," written by William Manchester, has ap-

was traveling on borrowed cash, publisher's advances and the hospitality of the host countries, but the fact that such an inquiry was undertaken at all suggests that Justice was looking for something more sinister.\* Handler got wind of the government's concern and did a *Times* piece reporting that not only Justice but State had got worried after seeing Malcolm's memo. What troubled Washington, Handler wrote, was that if Malcolm could persuade a single African government to carry the ball in the UN, the United States would be confronted with "a touchy problem" indeed—a challenge to its claim to primacy among nations in the defense of human rights.

Someone sent Malcolm a clipping of this story; he read it, folded it up, put it in his wallet and worriedly showed it to friends he met on his travels. He had come in Africa, as he had earlier in the States, to that point in the life of a revolutionary where paranoia and reality intersect. People began following him—U.S. agents, he presumed—and when he couldn't pick out his particular shadow, he was suspicious of any stranger. "He was very frightened," said Melvin McCaw, a young black American who then directed the Nairobi office of the Institute of International Education. "Every person he saw, he'd want to know: *Who's that? What are his connections?* We took him to a nightclub, the Equator Club, and sat at a table where he had his back exposed. He was very uncomfortable. He kept looking over his shoulder, kept noticing people he thought he'd seen before. . . ."

His travels this time took him from Egypt and Arabia down the east coast of Africa as far as Tanzania, then west and north roughly along the route he had followed on his first trip. He visited four-

\*One measure of the discretion with which the matter was handled was the fact that Burke Marshall, then the Assistant Attorney General in charge of civil rights, did some of the inquiring himself and that when he wanted to see Alex Haley, Malcolm's collaborator on the *Autobiography*, he arranged that they meet informally in New York, at the offices of a foundation friendly to civil-rights causes. Marshall, when I inquired, had forgotten this meeting and remembered generally having been "more curious than concerned" about Malcolm's activities. "We were awfully ignorant about the Muslims and about Malcolm X." But not alarmed by what he was doing? "Not me. Now if you ask Mr. [J. Edgar] Hoover or somebody like that—"