

Kefauver Committee's investigation in New York City. The Committee said: "... the wiretaps in particular gave a vivid picture of Frank Costello as a political boss and an underworld emperor." Since Costello and his confreres could not be expected to cooperate, such information was thought otherwise impossible to come by.

On the surface the related theses that Robert Kennedy ran the FBI and that he was able to do so only because he had a brother in the White House exuded a certain logic. Under Robert Kennedy's prodding and with Jack Kennedy's backing, the FBI for the first time effectively entered the fights for civil rights and against organized crime. And immediately upon President Kennedy's assassination, the FBI unilaterally halted the bulk of its diplomatic relations with the Attorney General's office. Among other disruptions, the Bureau stopped sending a car to pick up the Attorney General as he traveled around the country; it started communicating directly with the new President rather than via the Attorney General, as protocol (and the practice of the Kennedy Administration) indicated; it bypassed the Deputy Attorney General in undertaking to clear potential judicial nominees; it excluded the Attorney General from its investigations for the Warren Commission (and then prematurely released their findings to the press, in violation of Chief Justice Warren's orders); and it generally behaved in what Ed Guthman, Robert Kennedy's press secretary, characterizes as "an unmanly fashion." Indeed, the very afternoon of the assassination Jack Miller, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division, flew to Dallas to take charge, only to be blatantly, rudely and improperly ignored by the FBI.

Without disputing the facts, another interpretation—and quite the reverse—is possible. During President Kennedy's life Robert never attempted to control either the Director or the FBI. He accepted the Bureau as another country which he was content to influence rather than capture, and he tempered his efforts to influence the FBI so as not to embarrass his brother. In practical terms, this meant that he had unwittingly ceded half of his power to Hoover and the FBI, and missed the chance to force Hoover's resignation.

After President Kennedy's assassination, Attorney General Kennedy no longer felt under the constraints of brotherly obligation. He no longer feared that confrontation with the FBI might undermine the larger goals of the Administration. And having accumulated three years' worth of expertise at FBI-managing (not to mention the advice of such neo-Hooverologists as Burke Marshall), he exerted new and important influence on the FBI's activities—especially in the civil

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VICTOR NAVASKY, ATHENEUM,
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TO WE BAND OF BROTHERS
BY EDWIN GUTHMAN.