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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: 5/19/64

FROM : A. H. Belmont

cc Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Malley
Mr. Sullivan

SUBJECT: DIRECTOR'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Attached is a copy of the transcript of the Director's testimony before the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy. This transcript has been examined for accuracy, including misspellings and typographical errors on the part of the court reporter. It is noted that apparently the court reporter did not record the Director's testimony accurately in some instances. We have made as few changes as possible, in order to preserve the intent and accuracy of the Director's testimony.

This testimony was gone over by Messrs. Mohr, Malley, Branigan, M. A. Jones, Gheesling, Rogge, and me, on a word-by-word basis. In addition, Assistant Directors Sullivan, Rosen, DeLoach and Conrad have read the testimony and furnished their suggestions.

It is planned that I will personally go over these changes with Mr. Rankin of the Commission.

Enclosure

AHB:CSH (5)

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Vol. 44

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PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION

ON THE

ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Report of Proceedings

Held at

Washington, D.C.

Thursday, May 14, 1964

PAGES 6497-6599

(Stenotype Tape, Master Sheets, Carbon and Waste turned over to Commission for destruction.)

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President's Commission

on the

Assassination of President Kennedy

EARL WARREN, *Chairman*
RICHARD B. RUSSELL
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
HALE BOGGS
GERALD R. FORD
JOHN J. McCLOY
ALLEN W. DULLES

J. LEE RANKIN, *General Counsel*

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PRESIDENT"S COMMISSION

ON THE

ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

- - -

Washington, D. C.

Thursday, May 14, 1964

The President's Commission met, pursuant to notice, at 9:15 a.m., in the Hearing Room, Fourth Floor, 200 Maryland Avenue, Northeast, Washington, D. C., Chief Justice Earl Warren presiding.

PRESENT:

Chief Justice Earl Warren, Chairman

Senator John Sherman Cooper, Member

Representative Hale Boggs, Member

Representative Gerald R. Ford, Member

Allen W. Dulles, Member

- - -

J. Lee Rankin, General Counsel

Norman Redlich, Special Assistant to General Counsel

Charles Murray, Observer

Walter Craig, Observer

Waggoner Carr, Attorney General of Texas

- - -

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The Chairman. The Commission will be in order.

Director Hoover, will you please raise your right hand to be sworn, please.

You solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before the Commission will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Hoover. I do.

The Chairman. Mr. Rankin, will carry on the examination, Mr. Director.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Chief Justice, do you want to tell him briefly what our purpose is?

The Chairman. Oh, yes.

It is our practice to make a brief statement before the testimony of each witness, and I will do it now.

Mr. Hoover, will be asked to testify in regard to whether Lee H. Oswald was ever an agent, directly or indirectly, or an informer or acting on behalf of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in any capacity at any time, and whether he knows of any credible evidence of any conspiracy, either domestic or foreign, involved in the assassination of President Kennedy.

What he has to say about an article in the National Inquirer, Commission Exhibit No. 837, and concerning the failure to include in the initial report reproduction of the Oswald address book the name and information concerning special agent Hosty,

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and any suggestions and recommendations he may have concerning improvements or changes in provisions for the protection of the President of the United States.

Now, Mr. Rankin, you may proceed.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Hoover, will you state for the record your name and position?

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TESTIMONY OF J. EDGAR HOOVER

Mr. Hoover. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice.

Mr. Rankin. Where do you live, Mr. Hoover?

Mr. Hoover. I live at 4936 - 30th Place, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Rankin. And you have been Director of the Bureau for some 40 years according to the newspapers?

Mr. Hoover. That is correct, since 1924.

Mr. Rankin. You have furnished us a considerable amount of information, Mr. Hoover, about whether or not Lee Harvey Oswald was ever an agent or acting for the Bureau in any capacity as informer or otherwise at any time.

Are those statements correct?

Mr. Hoover. They are correct. I can most emphatically say that at no time was he ever an employeee of the Bureau in any capacity, either as an agent or as a special employee, or as an informant.

Mr. Rankin. I call your particular attention to Exhibit 835, and suggest that you will find that that is your letter, together with your affidavit about this subject matter, and other matters that you furnished to us concerning this particular subject.

Mr. Hoover. That is correct.

Mr. Rankin. Do you wish to add anything?

Mr. Hoover. No, there is nothing that I desire to add other

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than what ~~has~~ appeared in this letter and ~~the~~ my affidavit which ~~I made which~~ accompanied it to the Commission.

Mr. R ankin. You have provided many things to us in assisting the Commission in connection with this investigation and I assume, at least in a general way you are familiar with the investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy, is that correct?

Mr. Hoover. That is correct. When President Johnson returned to Washington he communicated with me within the first 24 hours, and asked the Bureau to pick up the investigation of the assassination because as you are aware, there is no Federal jurisdiction for such an investigation, ~~because~~ It is not a crime to kill or attack the President or the Vice President or any of the ~~so-called~~ continuity of officers who would succeed to the presidency.

However, the President has a right to request the Bureau to make special investigations, and in this instance he asked that this investigation be made, ~~and~~ I immediately assigned a special force headed by the special agent in charge at Dallas, Texas, to ~~take up~~ initiate the investigation, and to get all details and facts concerning it, which we obtained, and then prepared a report which we submitted to the Attorney General for transmission to the President.

Mr. Rankin. From your study of this entire matter of the assassination and work in connection with it, do you know of any

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credible evidence that has ever come to your attention that there was a conspiracy either foreign or domestic involved in the assassination?

Mr. Hoover. I know of no substantial evidence of any type that would support any contention of that character. I have read all of the requests that have come to the Bureau from this Commission, and I have read all the replies that -- I have gone and signed all the replies that have come to the Commission.

In addition, I have read many of the reports that our agents have made and I have been unable to find any scintilla of evidence showing any foreign conspiracy or any domestic conspiracy that culminated in the assassination of President Kennedy.

Rep. Ford. May I ask this, Mr. Hoover.

As I understand your testimony, it is based on the evidence that has been accumulated thus far.

Mr. Hoover. That is correct, sir.

Rep. Ford. Is the Federal Bureau of Investigation continuing its investigation of all possible ramifications of this assassination?

Mr. Hoover. That is correct. We are receiving and we, I expect, will continue to receive for days or maybe weeks to come, letters from individuals that normally would probably be in the category of what we would call a nut letter, in which various wierd allegations are made or which people have had psychic vibrations, or information. We are still running out every

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letters of that character and in turn making a report to this Commission upon it, notwithstanding ~~that it can be seen~~ the fact that on the face of it ~~that it ... that~~ the allegation is without any foundation. Individuals ~~who would not~~, who could not have known any of the facts, have made some very strange statements. There have been publications ~~made~~ and, books written, ~~in which the contents~~, the contents of which have been absurd, and without a scintilla of foundation of fact, ~~but~~ I feel ~~in view of~~ from my experience in the Bureau, where we are in constant receipt ~~all~~ over the years of these so-called ~~nut~~ cranks letters, ~~and I think~~ that ~~this thing~~ such allegations will be ~~possibly~~ possibly going on for some years to come.

I, personally, feel that any finding of the commission will not be accepted by everybody, because there ~~is~~ are bound to be some extremists who have very pronounced views, without any foundation for them, ~~that~~ who will disagree violently with whatever findings the Commission makes.

But I think it is essential that the FBI ~~run out any of~~ investigate these/ allegations that ~~do come in~~ are received in the future so it can't be said that we had ignored ~~it and so far as~~ them or that the case ~~is concerned~~ ~~it~~ is closed and ~~is~~ forgotten.

Rep. Ford. Could you give us some idea of how many agents are currently working to one degree or another on any aspects of this case?

Mr. Hoover. I would estimate, Congressman Ford, that there are ~~probably~~ at the present time at least 50 to 60 men giving

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their entire time to various aspects of the investigation, because the leads, while -- where Dallas is the office of origin, the investigation is required ~~leads run out to the~~ auxiliary offices, other offices in the country like Los Angeles or San Francisco, and even into some of the foreign countries like Mexico, and we have an office in Mexico City.

At the height of the investigation, or at the assassination, it was the desire of the President to have this report completed by the Bureau just as quickly as possible, and as thoroughly as possible, and I would say we had about 150 men at that time working on the report in the field, and at Washington, D. C.

Now, all the reports that come in from the field are, of course, reviewed at Washington by the supervisor in charge of the case, and then in turn by the assistant director of that division, which is the Domestic Intelligence Division, and then in turn by Mr. Belmont, who is the Assistant to the Director.

Reports in which there have been a controversial issue or where statements have been made of the existence of some particular thing that we had never heard of before, I myself, at the end of the -- at the end of finally going over those to see that we haven't missed anything or haven't had any gap in that investigation so it can be tied down.

Recently there was this publication the New York Inquirer which had a fantastic article in it as to the existence of various letters and requests made, and I did not have until I just reached this hearing this morning, the statement of the

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Department. I think in the article, an allegation was made that a letter had been written or a request had been made by the Department of Justice to Chief Curry of the Dallas Police Department, to withhold arresting Rubinstein, or Ruby, and Oswald ~~some weeks before~~ after the ~~Walker~~ attempt on General Walker's life.

First, I had the agents at Dallas, the agent in charge at Dallas interview Chief Curry and I have sent to the Commission a letter ~~of~~ what Chief Curry had to say. He branded it as an entire lie. That he had never received any request of that kind. I had our files searched to be certain we had not written any such letter as that. I requested the Department of Justice to advise me whether they had written any such letter and ~~it ws~~ was just handed to me this note, Mr. Katzenbach advises there is no reference in the Department files to alleged letter from Department of Justice official to Chief Curry nor any reference that an FBI official was asked to request the Dallas Police not to arrest Oswald or Ruby, and a letter is being sent to the Commission today setting forth this information.

~~So, it will be a formal record.~~

Rep. Ford. The point that I think ought to be made is that despite the magnitude of the effort that has been made by the FBI and by other agencies, and despite the tremendous effort that has been made, I believe, by the Commission to help and assist and to consolidate all of the evidence that we

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possibly could, that there is always the possibility at some future date that some evidence might come to the surface.

Mr. Hoover. That is, of course, possible, yes.

Rep. Ford. I want just to be sure that no leads, no evidence regardless of its credibility will be ignored, that it will be pursued by the Bureau or any other agency to make certain that it is good, bad or of no value.

Mr. Hoover. Well, I can assure you so far as the FBI is concerned, the case will be continued in an open classification for all time. That is any information coming to us or any report coming to us from any source will be thoroughly investigated, so that we will be able to either prove or disprove the allegation made by the person. We found in the course of our investigations, that individuals have made statements, and yet when we investigate them down or bear down on them to prove it A, B, C, D, they will frankly admit that the statement is an entire falsehood, and or that they don't know whether why they wrote the letter or why they made the statement.

But nevertheless we have the record and we generally in those instances we try to get a signed statement from that individual so it can be made a part of the record.

Rep. Ford. Under your authority from the President, the authority which gave you the FBI, the responsibility to conduct this investigation it is not an authority with a terminal point. It is an authority that goes on indefinitely?

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Mr. Hoover. Very definitely so. The President wanted a full and thorough investigation made of this matter, and we have tried to do so, and as I have stated, I think we will continue to receive allegations. I think this will be a matter of controversy for ~~maybe~~ years to come, just like the Lincoln assassination ~~was~~. There will be questions raised by individuals, either for publicity purposes or otherwise ~~whose mental capacity may be impaired~~, that will raise some new angle or new aspect of it.

I think we must, and certainly we intend in the FBI to continue to run down any such allegations or reports of that kind.

Rep. Boggs. Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. Yes, Congressman Boggs.

Rep. Boggs. Mr. Hoover, I don't want any cover -- to cover any ground which has been covered but I just have one or two questions.

First, let me say that you and the Bureau have been very cooperative with this Commission.

Mr. Hoover. Thank you.

Rep. Boggs. And tremendously helpful. I have been concerned about some of these wild press reports and concerned about what impact it may have ultimtely on the history of this thing. For instance there is a man named Buchanan who has written a series of articles.

Mr. Dulles. A book now. A book is out, yes.

Rep. Boggs. A book now. I understand they have been widely

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circulated in the European Press, and this man came here and was, as I got it from some other sources, he took in some people here, some American journalists, and I am told that this man has a Communist background, and in addition to that is a most unreliable person. He has made these allegations that the Dallas Police force was involved in the assassination and so on.

Would you have any suggestions on how this Commission should deal with sort -- with this sort of thing?

Mr. Hoover. I ~~think that--~~ we have received a request from the Commisssion to review that book and to make a report upon any portions of it that can be contradicted or substantiated by actual facts or documents.

I know Buchanan's background. He worked on the Washington Star and he was dismissed from the Washington Star because he was a member of the Communist Party. He spent ~~most~~ much of his time in recent years in France writing for French newspapers. ~~and~~ I have followed the articles that he has written about this matter and they are ~~utterly~~ what I would call "journalistic garbage." There is not a scintilla of truth to most of the things he has written in these articles and in ~~this~~ his book which I have had a chance to scan, but haven't actually been reviewed yet. It is being reviewed by my research section. Some of the allegations are utterly fantastic. I often wonder ~~whether~~ where some of these individuals ~~are addicted to marijuana and~~ get ~~some~~ such ideas ~~in their head,~~ + why they make such statements without ~~a scintilla of~~ foundation.

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Now, he makes many wild charges there, and to read it, a person not knowing him, and knowing his views, and knowing his background and emotional instability, would be inclined to wonder, and I think you are going to have that problem, as I say, for years to come.

I don't know how you can handle individuals like him other than to have the record clear upon the facts of the case, and either substantiate or disprove it. I don't think too much time should be given to these individuals who have such unsavory backgrounds as Buchanan has and who obviously, reading the book contain in his statements things that have been proved already to be entirely untrue.

But, at the same time I think when a book like that comes out or an article of that type comes out that deals with the assassination of the late President, I think it should be gone into from an investigative point of view, and we should then submit to this Commission, either after its conclusion -- after it has concluded its hearings, it should be submitted to he Commission, for record purposes what we have found in each particular instance.

Rep. Boggs. Now, on the other side of the fence --

Mr. Dulles. May I add one other thing just to interrupt. I wish you would add to your list a book called the Red Roses of Dallas by a man named Gun. He is a more reliable correspondent.

Mr. Hoover. He is a Philadelphia correspondent.

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Mr. Dulles. He has been living in this country since 1946. I have met him over here. Let's see, he was at Dallas at the time. He was then reporting, I think, for the Italian newspaper Epoca.

Mr. Hoover. That is not the same one. It doesn't say.

Mr. Dulles. He might have been lying, this book is full of lies.

But I think it is a book that ought to be added, too, and I will see that a copy is sent to the Bureau.

Mr. Hoover. I would appreciate that.

Rep. Boggs. On the other side of the spectrum some professor out at the University of Illinois wrote a piece in which he alleged the President was a Communist agent, President Kennedy, and Buchanan's allegations are that the extreme right assassinated the President and this fellow's allegations are that the Communists assassinated the President.

Would you care to comment? Have you read that piece?

Mr. Hoover. I have read that piece. My comment on it is this in general: I think the extreme right is just as much a danger to the freedom of this country as the extreme left.

There are groups, organizations and individuals on the extreme right who make these very violent statements, allegations that General Eisenhower was a Communist, disparaging references to the Chief Justice and at the other end of the spectrum you

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have these leftists who make wild statements charging almost anybody with being a Facist or belonging to some of these so-called extreme right societies.

Now, I have felt ~~that they,~~ and I have said publicly in speeches, that they are just as much a danger, at either end of the spectrum. They don't deal with facts. Anybody who wlll allege that General Eisenhow was a Communist agent, ~~is~~ just mentally ~~something~~ wrong with him. ~~He is psychopathic but that has been done.~~

~~Now,~~ A lot of people ~~will~~ read ~~that~~ because I get some of the ~~wierdest~~ letters wanting to know whether we have inquired to find out whther that is true.

~~Well, I~~ haven't asked for any psychiatric examination of General Eisenhower ~~because I happened to~~ have known ~~him~~ quite well myself and I have found him to be a sound, level-headed man ~~but you get many things of that kind.~~

~~Even~~ in New York City there is a woman by the name of ~~Klaus~~ who ~~is~~ mentally deranged ~~but~~ she stands on a Broadway corner there handing out leaflets in which she charges me with being in the conspiracy with the Communists, to overthrow this government and so forth.

Well now, if any person has fought communism, I certainly have fought it. We have tried to fight it and expose it in democratic ways, ~~and~~ I think that is the thing we have ~~got~~ to very definitely keep in mind in this whole problem ~~that~~ is involved

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I think in this investigation, is the security of the President and the successor to office.

Just how far you are going to go for it, his protection and his security. I don't think you can get absolute security without almost establishing a police state, and we don't want that. You can't put security in a black groove or a white groove. It is in a gray groove, and certain chances have to be taken. You are dealing with a human being when you are dealing with the President of the United States, and particularly this President, Johnson we have now is a very down to earth human being, and it makes the security problem all the more difficult, but you can't bar him from the people.

There are certain things that can be done, and I submitted a memorandum to the Secret Service, and to the White House on certain security steps that might be taken and tightened up. But I think when you are dealing with the general public, and that is what has given me great concern in the expansion, recent expansion, of the criteria, for discriminating that we have adopted after the assassination.

Prior to that time we reported to the Secret Service all information that dealt with potential individuals, individuals who were potential killers by whom or acts of violence might be anticipated, and they then, the Secret Service would take that information over and would do with it as they saw fit. I gave great considertion to it because I am not very happy with the criteria expansion, but I felt

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we had to include ~~in the basis itself,~~ subversives of various character, ~~the~~ and extremists ~~that exist, and~~ We have, in turn, furnished ~~that~~ their names to the Secret Service. I think ~~there have been~~ have been five thousand names up to the present time already submitted and there are at least three or four thousand more that will be submitted within the next few months.

Then you come to the problem of what are you going to do when the Secret Service gets those names. They have to call upon the local authorities, ~~and~~ J ust recently, in the City of Chicago, when the President was there, the local authorities were asked to ~~have~~ give assistance as they usually ~~are~~ do to the Secret Service and they went to the homes of some of these people, and it resulted really almost in a house arrest.

Now, I don't think there is any place in this country for that kind of thing, but these people ~~that were on the list, and~~ who belonged to extreme subversive organizations or organizations that advocated the overthrow of government by force and violence were told that they couldn't leave their house or if they did they would be accompanied by a police officer. That gives me great concern because in New York City alone, you run into maybe three or four thousand such individuals ~~that~~ who would be ~~in the area of being~~ members of subversive organizations, and then you get into the twilight zone of subversive fronts.

Now, there again, merely because a man belongs to a subversive front organization, in my estimation doesn't mean

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that he is blacklisted and is a menace to the country for life. If he belongs to 20 of them, it certainly shows either one of two things, he is either very gullible and dumb or he is a menace. That has been my attitude in regard to government service, where you find a government employee who belonged to one or two, and maybe in his early days, I think then there is a grave doubt as to whether he is a security risk. But where he has belonged to 15, 18, 20 of them, I don't think he has got enough good judgment to be in the government. Some many ministers get drawn into these pacifist organizations, some of which are under the domination of the Communist Party.

Now, those ministers don't know that. They are just as loyal and patriotic as you and I are, but they happen to belong. Now, that is where the question of human judgment has to be used. We try to use it in selecting these names. But I was startled when I learned last week or the week before last of the this incident in Chicago because there you come pretty close to a house arrest and we don't want that. We don't want a gestapo. We have got to, I think, maintain an even balance.

I think it was very well expressed --

Mr. Dulles. May I ask you, Mr. Hoover, was this house arrest based on names you had furnished the Secret Service and they furnished the local authorities?

Mr. Hoover. Yes, sir.

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Rep. Boggs. That brings me back to the question I think I heard Congressman Ford ask you as I came into the room, because I think this is the crux of our investigation.

I read the F.B.I. report very carefully and the whole implication of the report is that, Number One, Oswald shot the President; Number Two, that he was not connected with any conspiracy of any kind, nature or description.

Mr. Hoover. Correct.

Rep. Boggs. Do you still subscribe to that?

Mr. Hoover. I ~~have~~ subscribed to it even more strongly today than I did at the time that the report was written.

You see, the original idea was that there would be ~~either~~ an ~~this~~ investigation by the F.B.I. and a report would be prepared in such form that it could be released to the public.

Rep. Boggs. Surely.

Mr. Hoover. Then a few days later, after further consideration, the President decided to form a commission, ~~which he, in turn, did~~, which I think was very wise, because I feel that the report if any agency of Government investigating what might be some shortcomings on the part of other agencies of Government ~~that~~ ought to be reviewed by an impartial group such as this Commission, ~~it~~. And the more I have read ~~of~~ these reports, the more I am convinced that Oswald was the man who fired ~~that~~ the gun, and he fired three times, ~~and~~ killed the President, and wounded Governor Connally.

And I also am further convinced that there is absolutely

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no association between Oswald or Ruby. There was no such evidence ever established.

Mr. Dulles. Or Oswald and anybody else? Would you go that far?

Mr. Hoover. Anybody else who might be --

Mr. Dulles. In connection with the assassination?

Mr. Hoover. Yes, I would certainly go that far.

There was suspicion at first this might be a Castro act.

Rep. Boggs. Right.

Mr. Hoover. We had information that had been obtained in Mexico City by another intelligence agency indicating there was a man who had seen a certain amount of money passed to Oswald at the Cuban Consulate, and, ~~of course, that,~~ I think it was $6,000 that was passed. We went into that very thoroughly, ~~and~~ The ~~that~~ man later retracted his statement, and stated it was not true, ~~and we~~ He was asked ~~him~~ whether he would take a lie detector test, and he did. ~~And~~ The lie detector test showed that he was telling a lie. As to the lie detector, I do want to make this comment on it. I have always held to the opinion that it is not a perfect piece of machinery. It is an interpretation made by human beings of what the machine, the polygraph, shows. I would never want to convict or want to ~~have~~ send to the penitentiary any person solely on the evidence of the lie detector.

~~It is a set, and~~ It is a contribution in an investigation, a more or less psychological contribution ~~to an investigation~~.

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3 But I have seen individuals who have failed the lie detector test and who were just as innocent as they could be.

~~But we ran out~~ That particular lead in Mexico City was completely disproved, there was no foundation for it, ~~and~~ we found no ~~other~~ associations between Oswald and Ruby.

There has been a story printed, ~~I think there was something in this inquiry or one of these things that came out~~ that Ruby and Oswald worked together and were close friends.

There was no evidence, there was never any indication that we could find that Oswald had ever been in Ruby's night club or had had any association with him.

Ruby comes from Chicago, he was on the fringe of what you might call the elements of the underworld there. He came to Dallas, opened up the night club and it was a place where ~~some of the~~ certainly not the better class of people went, but it wasn't any so-called "joint", to use the vernacular. It was just another ~~one of those~~ night clubs, ~~you find in a place of that kind and~~ So far as we have been able to establish there was no relationship or contact between Oswald and Ruby or anyone else allegedly involved in this assassination.

Rep. Boggs. The F.B.I. interviewed practically everybody who ever associated with Oswald?

Mr. Hoover. It did.

Rep. Boggs. You didn't find any indication of why anyone should even suspect that Oswald would do this, do you?

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4 Mr. Hoover. We found no indication at all that Oswald was a man addicted to violence.

~~Now,~~ The first indication of ~~that~~ an act of violence came after he, Oswald, had been killed, and Mrs. Oswald told us about the attempt on General Walker's life by Oswald.

No one had known a thing about that.

I think in the Enquirer article there is reference to the fact that the Dallas Police knew or suspected Oswald of possibly being a party to the shooting into the house of General Walker.

Chief Curry specifically denies that.

There was no connection of that kind and there was no evidence that ~~the man~~ Oswald had any streak of violence.

We went back into his Marine Corps record, ~~and~~ He was a "loner". He didn't have many friends. He kept to himself, and when he went abroad, ~~of course, and~~ he defected to Russia, ~~that was~~ the first evidence we had of him in our file, was a statement to the press in Moscow. And then later, about 22 months later, he returned to the ~~consulate~~ Embassy there and according to the report of the ~~consulate~~ Embassy we have and which the Commission has been furnished ~~with~~, the ~~consulate~~ Embassy gave him a clean bill. He had seen the error of his ways and disliked the Soviet atmosphere, et cetera, and they, therefore, cleared him, paid his way and paid his wife's way to come back to this country.

At no time, other than the so-called street disturbance

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5 in New Orleans, was there any indication that he might be a fighter.

Well, in that particular ~~thing~~ instance he was handing out ~~these~~ leaflets that he printed for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and some of the anti-Castro forces, we have ~~a hundred~~ several thousand of them in New Orleans alone, ~~some of the anti-Castro forces~~ happened to see him and they moved in on him and immediately the police moved in and arrested him. I believe they fined him $10, ~~or something of that kind, but that was just~~ for disorderly conduct, ~~and~~ there was no evidence in the place where he was employed, ~~we interviewed all of the people he was associated with in this storehouse they had in Dallas there where he worked, no one had any indication~~ of acts of violence or temper or anything of that kind on his part.

Rep. Boggs. You have spent your life studying criminology and violence and subversion. Would you care to speculate on what may have motivated the man?

I know it would be just speculation.

Mr. Hoover. My speculation, Mr. Boggs, is ~~the fact~~ that this man was no doubt a dedicated Communist. He prefers to call himself a Marxist but there you get into ~~are in~~ the field ~~of exercise~~ of semantics ~~almost~~. He was a Communist, he sympathized thoroughly with the Communist cause.

I don't believe now, as I look back on it, that he ever changed his views when he asked to come back to this country. I

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6 personally feel that when he went to the American Embassy in Moscow originally ~~when he landed in Russia~~ to renounce his citizenship he should have been able right then and there to sign the renouncement, ~~that would have ended him~~. He never could have gotten back here, ~~and~~ I think that should apply to almost all defectors who want to defect and become a part of a system of government that is entirely foreign to ours. If they have that desire, they have ~~got~~ that right, but if they indicate a desire for it, let them renounce their citizenship at once.

That was not done. He stayed ~~around~~ in Moscow awhile and he went ~~down~~ to Minsk where he worked, ~~and~~ there was no indication of any difficulty, personally on his part there, but I haven't the slightest doubt that he was a dedicated Communist.

There has been some question raised which cannot be resolved, because Oswald is dead, as to whether he was trying to kill the President or trying to kill the Governor. He had had some correspondence with the Governor as to the form of his discharge from the Marine Corps. ~~It was a discharge less than honorable.~~ It was not a dishonorable discharge, but a discharge less than honorable after he defected.

~~And~~ Governor Connally, ~~I think at the time,~~ had left the Navy Department, and was back in Texas as Governor. ~~But~~ Oswald ~~didn't know that, and~~ he may have had his anger or his animosity against the Governor, but no one can definitely -- that is mere speculation, no one can tell that, because the gun and the

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7 sighting of the gun was directed at the car.

Now, first, it was thought that the President had been shot through the throat, that is what the doctors at the Parkland Hospital felt when he was brought in.

If that had been true, the shot would have had to come from the overpass. But as soon as the body arrived in Washington, ~~I had~~ the doctors at Bethesda Hospital performed the autopsy and it was then determined definitely from their point of view that he had been shot from the rear, and that ~~the back~~ portions of the skull had been practically shot off, ~~so that~~ there was no question but that the gun and the telescopic lens could pinpoint the President perfectly, ~~and~~ the car was moving slowly. It wasn't going at a high rate of speed, so that he had perfect opportunity to do it.

Now, some people have raised the question: Why didn't he shoot the President as the car came toward the storehouse where he was working?

The reason for that is, I think, that the fact there were some trees between his window on the sixth floor and the cars as they ~~came toward and then~~ turned and went through the park. So he waited until the car got out from under the trees, and the limbs, and then he had a perfectly clear view of the occupants of the car, and I think he took aim, either on the President or Connally, and I personally believe ~~probably~~ it was the President in view of the twisted mentality the man had.

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8 But he had given no indication of that -- we had interviewed him, I think, three times. Of course, our interviews were predicated to find out whether he had been recruited by the Russian intelligence service, because ~~that is a frequently thing they~~ they do that.

Rep. Boggs. And had he been?

Mr. Hoover. He had not been, so he said, and we have no proof that he was.

He had been over there long enough but they never gave him citizenship in Russia at all, ~~and~~ I think they probably looked upon him more as a kind of a queer sort of individual and they didn't want to trust him too strongly.

But just the day before yesterday ~~a letter~~ information came to me indicating that there is a ~~training~~, espionage training school outside of Minsk, ~~so this letter says~~, I don't know whether it is true and he that he was trained at that school to come back to this country to become what they call a "sleeper", that is a man who will remain dormant for three or four years and in case of international hostilities rise up and be used.

I don't know of any espionage school at Minsk or near Minsk, and I don't know how you could find out if there ever was one because the Russians won't tell you if you asked them.

They do have espionage and sabotage schools in Russia and they do have an assassination squad that is used by them but there is no indication he had any association with anything

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9 of that kind.

Rep. Boggs. Now we have some people, including this man's mother, talk about Oswald having been an agent of the Government of the United States. I think his mother mentioned the C.I.A., she has made these statements publicly for money, apparently.

Mr. Hoover. Yes, she has.

Rep. Boggs. Just for the purpose of the record, I think it would be well if you would comment on that, Mr. Director.

Mr. Hoover. Of course we have interviewed his mother and his wife, and all his relatives, and everybody that he is known to have associated with. ~~has ever had any contact with~~. His mother, I would put in a category of being emotionally unstable. She has been around the country making speeches, and the first indication of her emotional instability was the retaining of a lawyer that anyone would not have retained if they really were serious in trying to get down to the facts.

But she has been in New York City, she has been in Chicago, I think other parts of the country, always speaking for money, ~~being paid admissions~~.

Now, that kind of an individual is always the a type that we have seen over the years, who will say almost anything to draw a crowd. Just to be able to say something sensational, ~~and~~ many times we have gone out to such people and asked them specifically, "Now, what is your basis for this?" And they will say, "Well, I just had a feeling that that was true, so I said it."

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10 She has never made that statement to us, but we have many other instances where that kind of statement is made. They don't have the legal evidence that you must have if you are going to take any positive action, and I would put very little credence in anything that his mother said.

I think his wife was a far more reliable person in statements that she made, so far as we were able to ascertain, than his mother was.

I think the mother had in mind always, naturally, the fact she wanted to clear her son's name, which was a natural instinct, but more importantly she was going to see how much money she could make, and I believe she had made a substantial sum.

Rep. Boggs. And the allegations she has made about this man being an agent either of the C.I.A. or the F.B.I. are false?

Mr. Hoover. Well, I can certainly speak for the F.B.I. that it is false, and I have discussed the matter, naturally, with Mr. McCone, the Director of C.I.A., and he, of course, will no doubt appear himself, but there is no indication at all that he was employed by them.

We frequently get that kind of a story from individuals who, when they get into some kind of difficulty, they will claim they were working for the C.I.A. or they were working for the F.B.I.

Rep. Boggs. Surely.

Mr. Hoover. Now, no one can work for the F.B.I. without the approval being given at Washington and a record kept of it,

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11 even of the confidential informants. That is very tightly controlled. We have no so-called lump sum that we can use to hire people.

So there has to be a voucher and specific details of payment, ~~et~~ cetera.

And I know at no time was he ~~either~~ an informant or agent or a special employee or working in any capacity for the F.B.I.

As to the interviews we had with him in which he gave us some information, some of it was he did not ~~tell~~ the truth ~~about~~, but ~~it~~ him was not particularly significant, ~~but in~~ The interviews we had with him I would not term ~~those interviews~~ as talking with an informant. He was interviewed while ~~first~~ under arrest by the New Orleans police, ~~during several of the interviews~~ and then after he had committed this act of assassination we interviewed him in police headquarters in Dallas. But they were the only contacts we had, I think four ~~three~~ contacts altogether, and he received no money of any kind, no promise of any kind, and there was no indication that he was rendering assistance to the United States Government. We looked upon him as a criminal, ~~and we looked upon him~~, after the assassination, of course, and prior to that time we looked upon him as an individual who we suspected ~~were suspicious~~ might become an agent of the Soviet government, ~~but~~ There was no proof of that, and we checked him carefully.

We knew of his contact correspondence with the Soviet Embassy here at Washington, his contact correspondence with the Fair Play for

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12 Cuba Committee in New York and his ~~correspondence~~ contact with the Worker publication in New York. And none of ~~that correspondence~~ those contacts ~~gives~~ have any indication of any tendency to commit violence.

~~It is just like~~ There are many people who read the Daily Worker, or what is now the ~~Weekly~~ Worker, and you certainly can't brand them as hazards to the security of the country or as potential ~~hazards to an~~ assassination. It is in that ~~zone~~ area that I am particularly concerned that we don't ~~go and~~ become hysterical and go too far in restricting the citizens of our country from exercising their civil and constitutional rights. The mere fact a person disagrees with you doesn't mean he should be arrested in a matter on communism, ~~many~~ Many ~~of these~~ Communists make very violent speeches, and we ~~have them, we~~ know them, ~~we have them listed,~~ but I don't feel that the time has come yet ~~certainly~~ that they should be arrested. If they have violated the laws of ~~Congress~~ the U.S., we will, then, proceed with prosecution, and the cases can ~~they~~ then go through the courts. ~~Interminably, they~~ Such cases last for years, before they ~~come~~ get to the Supreme Court, and even then such cases often ~~then go back and~~ start over on some ~~other~~ legal angle.

But, all in all, I think that the enforcement of security and the enforcement of ~~the~~ laws dealing with subversion ought to be handled in the American manner.

I am criticized by the extreme right for that. They put me in the category, I guess along with General Eisenhower, ~~that~~ But the extreme left criticizes me saying I believe that any person who has on a red necktie may be addicted to communism, and, therefore, is a great danger. That is why

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I say the extremists at both ends are bad, and I have repeated that several times publicly.

Rep. Boggs. No doubt about the problem being a difficult one. I remember some years back when these fanatics who started shooting up the House of Representatives.

Mr. Hoover. I recall that.

Rep. Boggs. I happened to be there on the occasion and there were many suggestions that we build a bullet-proof glass enclosure around the Members of Congress and so on. Of course, all of us rejected those ideas because it would be totally incompatible with our democratic institutions and this, obviously, becomes a problem in the security of the President, that is what you are telling us, isn't it?

Mr. Hoover. That is the great problem.

We ~~now, of course,~~ have participated in the protection of the President since the assassination. The Secret Service indicates how many agents ~~they~~ it need when the President is traveling somewhere or going somewhere in Washington, and then I assign that number of agents to the Secret Service. They are not under my direction. They are under the direction of the Secret Service because under law they are charged with the protection of the President. ~~But~~ We have never done that before, ~~and~~ but I felt that it was something we must do if the Secret Service desired it, ~~and~~ Sometimes, such as ~~at the time~~ the funeral of the late President Kennedy was ~~held and they marched~~ up Connecticut Avenue, which the procession walked

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14 ~~is~~ created a very, very grave security problem because they were walking with these tall buildings on either side, and we had the responsibility for the Cathedral, and we had 43 agents in the Cathedral during the services, ~~but~~ I was more concerned about these tall buildings, because all the small buildings have been torn down along Connecticut Avenue, ~~and here was about six or seven blocks and you had~~ not only the high officials of this government, including the President, ~~but you had~~ the Queen of Greece, ~~you had the~~ General De Gaulle, ~~you had~~ Emperor Haile Selassie, and many prime ministers ~~and so forth and it was~~ a perfect target for someone in some window.

Now, you can't empty these buildings. It is impossible to do that because you can't go to the Mayflower Hotel and say all front rooms must be vacated. ~~You just can't do a thing like that.~~ Other office buildings there, even taller than the Mayflower, you can't make them keep everybody out of the front offices because then you get into a police state.

The Secret Service does try to check, ~~I know, and we check, and aid them if we can,~~ of finding out who have these various offices, ~~and so forth~~ so if there is anything in our files on those individuals the Secret Service is at once advised. ~~Just as~~ When the President goes to a banquet or a social occasion, all of the ~~help~~ in the hotel, the cooks, waiters and busboys and so forth are all checked to be certain there is no background that would indicate a hazard to the President. But that is as far

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15 as I think you can go. You can't put in a whole new staff of waiters ~~or~~ and you can't make people move out. People going to a presidential function are generally invited, ~~especially~~ by card or by list, and that is very carefully checked at the entrance by the Secret Service ~~or the details~~.

~~So I think,~~ We suggested a few more things that possibly could be done, and some of which I have doubts about.

You speak about this matter of glass around the galleries in the House.

One of the suggestions that we made was that there be bullet proof glass in front of the President's lectern.

~~Now, I would,~~ In my own mind, I ~~would~~ question whether that ~~it~~ is ~~wise, or is that not wise~~. Knowing this President as this President is, he wants to get close to the audience, he wants to reach over and shake hands with people. That concerns me ~~to death~~, because you never know where ~~what a so-called~~ emotionally unstable person may be in that crowd, ~~and~~ as you noted, he has frequently brought groups in to the White House gardens and walked around with people he didn't know. I know the Secret Service people are concerned about it. I am concerned about it.

President Truman ~~was concerned about it~~ last week ~~and~~ expressed his concern ~~the fact~~ that the President was taking unnecessary chances.

But the governmental agency having the responsibility for guarding him, the Secret Service, has a natural hesitancy to say,

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16 "You can't do this."

Rep. Boggs. Of course, for the record, President Kennedy had the same difficulty.

Mr. Hoover. That is right. It was best expressed at Parkland Hospital. One of President Kennedy's staff made the statement that ~~when they reached the hospital, and the President was dead, he said,~~ the whole fault in this matter, ~~we had a~~ was that in the choice between politics and security, ~~and we chose~~ was chosen politics, and that is exactly what happened. It was an open car.

I am thoroughly opposed to the Presiding ~~riding~~ riding in an open car.

They did not have any armored car in the Secret Service at that time. I have now sent one of our armored cars over for the President but it is a limousine, ~~closed~~ closed. But ~~he has~~ on occasion, such as at Gettysburg and Atlanta the other day, ~~he~~ the President got out of the armored car which had been flown there, ~~of course,~~ for his use, and commandeered the car of the Secret Service which is ~~a~~ wide open, ~~sedan, and~~ so he could wave and see the people.

Now, that is a great hazard, ~~tremendous hazard, and~~ I think he should always be in an armored car ~~and an armored car~~ that is closed, that can't have the top put down. But as you recall, President Kennedy had the bubble top off of ~~that~~ the car that he was in. It was not armored, and the bubble top was made of plastic so a bullet could have gone through it very easily.

Rep. Ford. Mr. Hoover, you have categorically testified

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17 that the F.B.I. never at any time had Oswald as an agent, as an informant, or in any other way.

Mr.Hoover. That is correct. I couldn't make it more emphatic.

Rep. Ford. And Mr. Belmont testified to the same last week when he was before us.

Mr. Hoover. Yes, sir.

Rep. Ford. Both you and he would be fully familiar with all of the records of the F.B.I. in this regard.

Mr. Hoover. We would, and we would not only be fully familiar with it because, while Mr. Belmont is in charge of the Investigative Branch of the Bureau, (we have two assistants to the Director, one in charge of administrative work and the other in charge of investigative work,) We have also checked the administrative ~~charge~~ records where vouchers or payments would have been made ~~from~~ and there is no indication that any money was ever paid to Oswald.

We have obtained, and ~~I think it has been~~ they are on file with the Commission ~~here~~, the affidavits of the agents who at various times ~~who~~ were in contact with Oswald to the effect that he was not an informant, that they had never paid him anything, that he was being questioned as to ~~a~~ possibility ~~of having been recruited~~ recruitment by the Soviet intelligence, so there was no evidence at any ~~of~~ time indicating employment by the F.B.I.

Rep. Ford. And you were not under any limitation or

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18 restriction from any other authority in this regard?

Mr. Hoover. Absolutely not. I have the entire control of whether a man shall be an informant or shall not be an informant. That comes under my chain of command from the local office which ~~that~~ has the matter at hand. They can't just put on an informant without our approval. The recommendation on security informants ~~It~~ comes ~~in~~to the Bureau, it goes through the Assistant Director of the Domestic Intelligence Division, and, in significant cases, goes ~~then~~ to Mr. Belmont, and then ~~it must come~~ to my desk for my specific approval. So I or my seat of govt staff have to approve every one of those who are used as informants in all classes of cases, not only in intelligence cases but in white slave cases, automobile thefts and all of these cases.

Rep. Ford. There is no limitation on what you can tell us about this situation?

Mr. Hoover. None whatsoever.

Rep. Ford. No limitation, no restrictions?

Mr. Hoover. No restriction. So far as the record of vouchers in the Bureau are concerned, they are open to the inspection of this Commission at any time going back as far as you may want to go.

Sen. Cooper. May I ask just one question there?

I think you have answered it, but in your examination of this aspect as to whether or not Oswald was an informer or employee or held any relationship to the F.B.I., you, yourself, have looked into all of the means you have of determining that

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19 fact when you make the statement to us?

Mr. Hoover. I have personally looked into that for two reasons: Because the President asked me personally to take charge of this investigation and to direct it, and I knew that the report ultimately would be made to him, ~~and~~ For that reason I became familiar with every step and every action that was taken, ~~and~~ Then when the allegation was made by someone, I think it was the mother of Oswald first, if I recall correctly, that he was employed by some government agency, the C.I.A., or F.B.I., and maybe both, I ~~then~~ insisted upon a check being made ~~of that~~, and any record showing any indication of that being brought to me.

When they could find none, I then asked for affidavits from the field force that had dealt with Oswald ~~over the years~~ as to whether they had hired him or paid him anything or given him anything, and the affidavits are on file here that they had not.

Sen. Cooper. I think you have said there is no sum available to the F.B.I. which would enable these men, these agents, to employ him out of any funds that are made available to them.

Mr. Hoover. Oh, no, it ~~has to~~ must be done by voucher, and those vouchers are examined by the General Accounting Office every year or so.

We have no so-called ~~what you might say~~ lump sum for employment of informants as such in the field offices which is not supported by vouchers.

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20 Sen. Cooper. I have just about two questions, I may have to go in a few minutes to the Senate.

I would like to direct your attention to that period of time when Oswald was a defector, beginning when he left the United States andwhen he returned.

Mr. Hoover. Yes, sir.

Sen. Cooper. During that period, did the F.B.I. have any jurisdiction over intelligence regarding him or any capacity to know?

Mr. Hoover. While he was in Russia?

Sen. Cooper. Yes.

Mr. Hoover. No, we did not. We were interested in knowing what he might say in Russia that appeared in the press, that was our first intimation that this man had defected, when we read it in a newspapar article. We were, of course, interested in knowing when he would return if he would return, so we had no jurisdiction as to what he was doing in Russia after he had gone there.

Sen. Cooper. As I understand it, you had no capacity at that time to follow his activities?

Mr. Hoover. That is true. We have no agents in Russia. The Foreign Intelligence is handled by the Central Intelligence Agency, and our responsibility is domestic. We work very closely together.

Sen. Cooper. Have you had the jurisdiction since the

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21 assassination or the occasion to examine persons connected with the State Department concerning the activities of Oswald in Russia?

Mr. Hoover. Well, --

Sen. Cooper. Would that be a matter for some other agency?

Mr. Hoover. That could be a matter for C.I.A. or for us after Oswald had returned here.

Sen. Cooper. Yes.

Mr. Hoover. Then he becomes ~~a citizen, he was a citizen~~ already, but then he becomes a civilian in the country here.

Now, there is what we call a delimitation agreement among the government intelligence agencies. For instance, the military branches of the government have their own intelligence services and they handle all military deviations in regard to espionage or things of that kind. If they want our assistance and ask for it we, of course, will always cooperate. In regard to C.I.A., there are many cases which C.I.A. and the F.B.I. work jointly on, or individuals that may have been recruited over in Europe by the C.I.A., not by us, because we don't have authority to do that abroad, but when that man comes to this country, the best ends of intelligence are served by having the two agencies work very closely together, conduct joint interviews, and exchange information very, very freely. That has been going on ever since I can recall C.I.A. being in existence.

Mr. Dulles. I would like to testify to the fact that

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22 that cooperation existed ~~during the whole period~~, and I am sure it has continued now during the whole period I was Director, with great cooperation on both sides.

Mr. Hoover. It is a very necessary thing, because the ~~thing that happens is that~~ intelligence agency of many of these foreign countries, ~~their intelligence agency~~ will cover the whole world and the country itself. Whereas in this country you have ~~certain~~ separate agencies covering espionage activities. ~~that the~~ C.I.A. covers the foreign activity, and the F.B.I. the domestic activities ~~in the espionage thing~~ and there must be interlocking.

An espionage agent of the Soviet Government can arrive in New York today by plane from Paris and he can be in Mexico City tomorrow.

~~Now,~~ Then, C.I.A. would pick him up there. We would not pick him up there.

We would watch him while in this country but as soon as he takes that plane and leaves ~~left~~ the United States C.I.A. moves in on him. If he comes back to the United States, we move in on him, Therefore, we ~~you~~ have a very close liaison.

As a matter of fact, what we have done in ~~all~~ government agencies is to have an liaison agent in our Bureau assigned ~~stationed as we have in~~ to contact C.I.A., ~~and in~~ the Pentagon, State Department, and various other agencies ~~so as~~ to cut out the red tape of writing letters back and forth, In order to orally relay information which ~~say this~~ has come to ~~our~~ his attention, our representative can immediately phone it over to

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23 the F.B.I., and if there is need for instance, to meet a plane coming in to New York or a boat that is docking at New York, it is all accomplished within a matter of 45 minutes or an hour.

If you went through this letter-writing process and the paper ~~war~~ war that goes on so often in the government it might ~~be~~ take a week or ten days, ~~and abroad we do have,~~ the F.B.I. does have 10 legal attaches attached to 10 embassies abroad. Their purpose is not operational. They don't investigate in those countries any matters that have to be investigated. That, if it is to be done, is handled by the C.I.A., ~~but~~ our purpose in being there is to maintain liaison with our opposite number such as ~~like in France with the Surete Nationale and in the Philippines~~ the Surete Nationale in France and with the national police of the Philippines, to exchange information that is vital to our ~~internationa~~l security, and also vital to the ~~internationa~~l security of the other country.

Sen. Cooper. May I ask one other question?

Is there any, considering the number of defectors in the United States to Communist countries, which cannot be large, I would assume --

Mr. Hoover. I think there are about 36.

Sen. Cooper. Which would indicate, I would think either a lack of reliability on their part and stability or beyond that a dedicated purpose to become Communists, then upon their return, wouldn't it seem to you they should be given some special attention?

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Mr. Hoover. We have now --

Sen. Cooper. Todetermine whether they are a risk to become Soviet or Communist espionage agents or in fact become dangerous?

Mr. Hoover. We have taken steps to ~~so-called~~ plug that gap.

Prior to the assassination of the President, a defector, ~~who~~ before he ~~comes~~ came back ~~is~~ was always cleared for return by an ~~American~~ representative of the State Department or the military abroad, ~~from whatever area he has defected from,~~ when he ~~comes~~ came back we immediately interviewed him if he was a civilian. It had to be done at once promptly to determine whether he could be a potential intelligence agent.

Now, in December of ~~this~~ last year, following the assassination, we ~~have~~ expanded the criteria of what should be furnished to the Secret Service, and all defectors automatically go on the list to be furnished to the Secret Service.

There are 36 defectors that we know of in this country ~~that~~ who have been under investigation. Some of those men may ~~be~~ have changed their views sincerely. Some of them may not have. But as a matter of general precaution, as a result of the Oswald situation, we are seeing that all go to the Secret Service.

Mr. Dulles. That includes military defectors, does it not?

Mr. Hoover. Military defectors and defectors from any privat agency, after they return to the U.S. and become civilians. Some have defected to China, ~~and some~~ to the ~~Balkan~~,

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satellite nations and ~~some defected~~ to Russia.

Sen. Cooper. Just one other question, because I have to go.

In the course of this investigation, as you know so well, there have been a number identified who were very close, at least to Mrs. Oswald, and a few, I can't say that were close to Oswald yet they had association with him, such as the man who drove him back and forth, Mrs. Paine, with whom Mrs. Oswald lived, and others, has there been any credible, I won't say credible because if you had you would have presented it to us in your report, has there been any claims by persons that these people are in any way related to the Communist Party?

Mr. Hoover. We have had no credible evidence that they have been related to the Communist Party in this country.

Now, as to Mrs. Oswald, the wife of Oswald, there is no way of knowing whether she belonged to the Russian Communist Party in Russia. She is a rather intelligent woman, and notwithstanding that you have to talk with her through an interpreter ~~possibly~~, we have had no indication of her association with Communists in this country, nor have any of ~~his~~ her close friends or relatives.

As to his mother, we found no indication she is associated or closely associated with the Communists. She is the only one of the group that I would say is somewhat emotionally unstable that we have come in contact with. Our agents have interviewed her. She sometimes gets very angry and she won't

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26 answer questions, ~~things of that kind, but~~ as to the rest of the group ~~that~~ who had been friends of his, or worked with him in ~~this~~ the Texas School Book Depository, ~~they have~~, none of them have indicated any ~~indication of~~ Communist associations of any kind.

Sen. Cooper. Thank you.

Mr. Hoover. Thank you.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Hoover, I hand you Exhibit 836? and ask you to examine that and state whether or not that is the letter that you referred to in which you answered questions of the Commission concerning the National Enquirer Magazine or newspaper?

Mr. Hoover. This letter of May 8th addressed to the Commission is the letter that dealt with our interview with Chief Curry and was predicated upon the article which appeared in the National Enquirer of May 17, 1964.

Mr. Rankin. I ask you if you would care to add anything to that letter except what you have already testified to?

Mr. Hoover. No, I have nothing to add to that. Chief Curry was very specific, I am told by my agent in charge at Dallas, that ~~it~~ this article is an absolute lie; ~~this article and~~ that none of these things set forth in the article occurred; that he received no phone call or any request of any kind oral or by phone or in writing from the Department of Justice or from the F.B.I., and, as I ~~read~~ stated earlier, the report from the ~~D~~department of Justice indicated that they ~~have~~ made no request.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Chairman, I offer in evidence Exhibit 836?,

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27 being the letter just referred to.

The Chairman. It may be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked Commission Exhibit 836 for identification and received in evidence.)

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Hoover, is Exhibit 837 the article that you referred to in the National Enquirer?

Mr. Hoover. Yes, that is the one.

Mr. Rankin. I call your attention to Exhibit 836 and ask you if that is the letter that you referred to which describes the criteria in the handling of the security of the President that you have described in your testimony.

Mr. Hoover. This is the letter. It sets forth the criteria which were adopted, ~~I guess back in 19 -- the first instructions would probably be about 194~~originally 2 ~~something, I could get the exact date on that.~~ and Later ~~it was~~ incorporated in the manual of instructions ~~that is set forth in this letter which I think is 1954, and then~~ in I also includes the amended instructions to our field offices, ~~which was~~ prepared in December of 1963, ~~and~~ which extended the criteria.

Mr. Rankin. Does that Exhibit correctly set forth the information you had in regard to those matters?

Mr. Hoover. It does.

Mr. Rankin. Do you care to add anything to it?

Mr. Hoover. No, I have nothing to add to it at all.

Mr. Rankin. Now, in light of what happened, Mr. Hoover,

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28 I think the Commission would desire to have your comments or whatever you care to tell them, concerning the reasons why you did not furnish the information you had concerning Lee Harvey Oswald to the Secret Service prior to the time of the President's assassination.

Mr. Hoover. Well, I have gone into that very thoroughly because that was obviously one of the questions that I had in my mind when ~~this situation~~ the tragedy occurred in Dallas.

In going back over the record, and I have read each one of the reports dealing with that and the reports of Mr.Hosty who had dealt with the Oswald situation largely in Dallas, ~~they~~ we had ~~first~~ the matter that I have previously referred to, ~~this~~ the report of the State Department that indicated this man was thoroughly a safe risk here, he had changed his views, he was a loyal man now and had seen the light of day, so to speak.

How intentive or how extensive that interview in Moscow was, ~~I think it was in Moscow it was conducted~~, I don't know. But, nevertheless, it was in a State Department document that ~~had~~ was ~~been~~ furnished to us.

Now, we interviewed Oswald a few days after he arrived. We ~~didn't~~ did not interview him on arrival at the port of entry because that is always undesirable by reason of the fact it is heavily covered by press, and ~~it is, also, if~~ any relatives ~~they~~ generally are there, so we prefer to do it after the man has settled down for two or three days and become all composed, ~~and~~ we do it in the

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29 privacy of our office or wherever he may be, or in his own home, or apartment, and we interviewed him twice, ~~I think,~~ in regard to that angle that we were looking for. We had no indication at this time of anything other than his so-called Marxist leanings, Marxist beliefs.

We wanted to know whether he had been recruited by the Soviet government as an intelligence agent, which is a frequent and constant practice. There is not a year goes by that individuals and groups of individuals, sometimes on these cultural exchanges, ~~that~~ go ~~over to Moscow, and go~~ through Russia and recruits are enlisted by the Russian intelligence, usually through blackmail, ~~and then~~ the individual is threatened that if he doesn't come back to this country and work for them, ~~that~~ they will expose the fact that he is a homosexual or a degenerate or ~~type of that kind~~ has been indiscreet.

Pictures are usually taken of individuals who become implicated in that sort of thing, so the individual is really desperate, ~~and that~~ such blackmail has occurred year after year for some years. time.

In Oswald's case we had no suspicion that any pressure like that had been brought to bear on him because he had gone ~~arbitrarily~~ voluntarily and had obviously wanted to ~~be and~~ live in Russia and had married a Russian woman.

After those interviews had been ~~cleared up~~ completed, ~~the next step~~ the ~~or~~ next incident ~~instance~~ was the difficulty he had at New Orleans, ~~and~~

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We were concerned there as to whether he was functioning officially for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee which was financed and supported by Castro and Castro's government, and if he was where he ~~had got~~ obtained the money and with who he had dealt ~~with~~.

He apparently had ~~those~~ the leaflets printed himself, ~~and they are very~~ on plain ordinary paper. ~~So~~ There was no reason for us, then, to have any suspicion that he had any element of danger ~~with~~ in him.

However, we did not ignore or forget the fact that he was still in the country, ~~and~~ We kept track of him when he went from New Orleans to Dallas, and that was one of the reasons ~~that~~ why Hosty went ~~out~~ to the home of Mrs. Paine, ~~Mrs. Paine's home where he was supposed to be living and~~ She told us where ~~he~~ Oswald was working, ~~down~~ at ~~this~~ the Texas book house, and Hosty gave her his telephone number and his name so that if there was any information or any contact she wanted to make ~~they~~ she could phone him at the Dallas office. ~~That was in the memorandum book.~~

Mrs. Oswald, the wife, ~~went out~~ and took down the license number of Hosty's car which was incorrect only in one digit, ~~and that was in the book that was later -- that Oswald later had.~~ The name, the telephone number, and the automobile license were later found in Oswald's memorandum book.

However, that in itself was not significant because many times we will go to see a person and tell ~~them~~ him now, "If you think of anything you want to tell us or you have any information you want to give us, here ~~is~~ are my name and address, telephone number, and

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call me," and that is what was done with Mrs. Paine because Hosty wasn't there at the time. He was at work.

So there was nothing up to the time of the assassination that gave any indication that this man was a dangerous character who might do harm to the President or to the Vice President. Up to that time, as has been indicated.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Hoover, may I interrupt, you said Hosty was not there at the time, he was at work -- did you mean Mr. Oswald?

Mr. Hoover. That was my mistake. I meant Mr. Oswald, and we talked with Mrs. Paine, Hosty talked with Mrs. Paine and Mrs. Oswald. Mrs. Paine speaks Russian and she could interpret for her.

Oswald was down at the Texas book company, and then, as I say, Hosty left his telephone number and name, and Mrs. Oswald for some reason went out and took down the license number. I don't know whether she was convinced this was an agent of the F.B.I., or what it could be, why she did it, I don't know.

But, anyway, that was in the book that we later found, and which later contained many other things Hosty -- that Oswald had entered in the book.

Now, as I say, up to that time, there had been no indication that would have warranted us reporting him as a potential danger or hazard to the security or the safety of the President or the Vice President, which is the only responsibility the

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32 Secret Service has as to officials, so his name was not furnished at the time. To Secret Service.

Under the new criteria which we have now put into force and effect, it would have been furnished because we now include all defectors, but as to the original criteria thing, which we felt were sound, and which we felt was sufficient and which we felt no one, not even the most extreme civil rights proponent couldn't take exception to, namely limiting the furnishing of names of to persons potentially dangerous to the physical well being of the President was the only information that we would give to the Secret Service, that included emotionally unstable people who had threatened the President or V. P. We

P I guess At my office during the course of a day there are sometimes probably about three or four callers who that we call, that have to be taken out to Gallinger Hospital because of the mental condition. They claim they are being persecuted by radio beams and they want to see me to have these beams stopped. Now, individuals like that, of course, you never know what tangent they are going to go take off to, and that particular person is living out in some part of the country where the President may be going his name would very likely be furnished to the Secret Service.

Then you have people who come, One car last year, I think, crashed through the gates of the White House; the person driving wanted to see the President. The guard wouldn't let him and so the car crashed through and got within 20 feet of the first door, and the guards, by that time, had their revolvers

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33 out and took him in to custody.

Last year we had a gentleman who drove all the way from Arizona to see me, and he drove up to the those marble steps of the Department of Justice, and hit the door, and by that time, of course, the guards had come out and we took him into custody, and he is incarcerated in, I assume, Arizona.

Those kinds of people, are among those that we would have furnished to the Secret Service, anyway. They are out to potentially harm somebody.

We get names from members of Congress, Senators, who will have somebody come up here to the Capitol and try to threaten them or harass them, on something, and they will call and let us know about it, and we will make the investigation. And If we can get the family to have the person put into an institution, we try to do so. If they don't, we may take steps to have them incarcerated through legal means.

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Mr. Dulles. How many names, Mr. Director, in general, could the Secret Service process?

Aren't their facilities limited as to dealing with vast numbers of names because of their limited personnel?

Mr. Hoover. I think they are extremely limited. The Secret Service is a very small organization and that is why we are fortifying them, so to speak, or supplementing them by assigning agents of our Bureau which is, of course, quite a burden on us. Our agents are assigned about 24 to 25 cases per agent, and covers such involved matters as bankruptcy and antitrust cases.

Now, the Secret Service has a very small group and I would estimate that the names we have sent over number some five thousand, I would guess there are about another four thousand that will go over in the next month to them.

Now, frankly, I don't see how they can go out and recheck those names. We keep the record up to date. If additional information comes in on these names we furnish it to the Secret Service. They will have to call upon the local authorities, unless the Secret Service force is enlarged considerably so that they can handle it entirely on their own. I think the Secret Service is entirely too small a force today to handle even the duties that they are handling. The great crowds that are at the White House all the time, around the gates, that go to church where the President goes, all of those

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things have, of course, to be checked over by them, the churches he attends -- they always check in advance and just recently, ~~I think~~ a few Sundays ago, they found some individuals ~~down~~ in the basement of ~~the~~ St. Mark's church in Washington, ~~which~~ he was going to attend on Sunday morning, and his arrival was held up until they could ascertain who they were, and they were, ~~I think,~~ deaf ~~and dumb~~ mutes ~~who were holding a little service of their own~~ but whose identify had not been cleared with the Secret Service.

Now, the presidential party was delayed about five or ten minutes in reaching the church by reason of the radio call to the White House to hold it up, ~~but they have tremendous duties along that line, even today.~~

~~As~~ We are giving to ~~them~~ more and more names, ~~and~~ the total, ~~which has been added~~ in addition to ~~what~~ they already had, will reach ten thousand, ~~and~~ I ~~frankly~~ don't see how they are going to be able to handle ~~it~~ as they would want to handle it. They have~~got~~ to depend upon local police organizations.

Many local police departments are capable and efficient, some are not. Many have good judgment and some have not. Wherever you have a police department of 10, 15, 20 thousand men you are bound to find a few who ~~are like bulls in a china shop,~~ will just barge in and do something which better judgment would ~~better~~ dictate should not have ~~been~~ done as ~~this~~ incident occurred ~~out~~ in the Midwest where they placed ~~these~~ people

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practically ~~in~~ under house arrest.

I think it was very bad judgment and should not have been done but ~~you can't~~ — the Secret Service, of course, ~~merely~~ turned the names over to the local authorities, and the local authorities do what they think is right.

Now, I guess their attitude with all justice to them is "Well, we will resolve the risk in our favor. If we keep these people under surveillance and keep them in the house until the President gets out of town nothing can happen from them." That is what you would call totalitarian security. I don't think you ~~could~~ can have that kind of security in this country without having a great wave of criticism against it. There is a great tendency, you know, of course, as you know as well, if not better than I do, there is a great tendency for people to expecting the intelligence forces and the law enforcement agencies to be able to go out and arrest people and bring them in and hold them endlessly and talk to them. We can't arrest a person without probable cause unless he ~~is~~ committing a crime in our presence. ~~and then~~ We have ~~got~~ to arraign him promptly and ~~that arraign-ment~~ if ~~it is~~ not done promptly, the confession that he may have made generally cannot be used against him.

Just as a collateral matter we faced that problem in California ~~on the Frank Sinatra case~~ in the case of the kidnapping of Frank Sinatra, Jr., One of the kidnappers we arrested near San Diego ~~and we took a confession from him and it was transcribed and we~~ ed but we

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couldn't arraign him because we didn't have the other two kidnappers and to arraign him would have opened it up to the public and the others would have left California and it would have been difficult to find them. We know the danger of that but when we gave him his confession to review and sign, he made changes in it the next day after arraignment, so the court held that the confession was admissible. But if there had been no changes made in that confession it would have had to be thrown out, and not admitted.

Now, we don't run across that problem very often, but the Secret Service, of course, are faced with the same thing, we just can't arrest people because they may not like the looks of a person they have got to have facts upon which to do it but the public conception is that you have a full right to go out and do these things which are lawless, and we have stressed in the FBI that there must be full compliance with the laws of this country and with the decisions of the Supreme Court.

That is the law of the country.

Now, whether a person likes it or whether they don't like it, and there are some groups that are very violent against the decisions of the court, other ones are very much in favor of it, it is not for the FBI to take any sides on that. We have a job to do and we will do it under the rulings of law and if we can't — we have been able to do it effectively.

I know when the ruling came down on the prompt arraignment, there was great shouting and some strong editorials that

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it was going to wreck law enforcement. It hasn't wrecked us. ~~It is --~~ It has made it more difficult but I think we have ~~got~~ to face up to the fact that law enforcement in a free country ~~has got to~~ must abide by the laws of that country irrespective of how difficult it is.

~~They~~ Some persons talk about putting handcuffs on the law enforcement officers and taking them off the criminals. That is a nice catch phrase to use in a speech or article but ~~so far it hasn't~~ has not interfered with our work. operating within the law

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Hoover, I ask you about Exhibit 825 which is first a letter and then encloses certain affidavits of your agents.

Mr. Hoover. Yes, sir.

Mr. Rankin. You are familiar with that?

Mr. Hoover. I am familiar with that. I read all of that and signed it.

Mr. Rankin. You know those are the affidavits in regard to whether Lee Harvey Oswald was an agent or connected in any way with the Bureau that you have just testified to?

Mr. Hoover. That is correct, and the affidavits of ~~each~~ all agents who had any contact with him.

Mr. Rankin. I call your attention to Exhibits 864 and 865, and ask you if you have seen those before or, you have seen the original of 864 and 865 is a photostatic copy of your letter to us in answer to 864, is that correct?

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Mr. Hoover. That is correct, yes. I recall very distinctly.

Mr. Rankin. Do you recall those letters involved an inquiry as to any connections of Lee Harvey Oswald with Communists or any criminal groups or others that might be conspiratorial?

Mr. Hoover. That is correct, and my letter of April 30 states the facts as they are in our files.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Chairman, we offer in evidence Exhibits 864 and 865.

The Chairman. They may be admitted.

(Commission Exhibits Nos. 864 and 865 were marked for identifiation and received in evidence.)

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Hoover, do you have any suggestions that you would like to tell the Commission about of your ideas that might improve the security of the President, and you might comment upon information the Commission has received.

You have a special appropriation that is related to that area.

Mr. Hoover. Well, I, at the request of --

The Chairman. Director, before you get into that question, and may I ask something that I would like to hear you discuss in this same connection?

Mr. Hoover. Yes.

The Chairman. You have told us that you had no jurisdiction down there in Dallas over this crime.

Mr. Hoover. That is correct.

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The Chairman. Because there is no federal crime committed, and I assume that that caused you some embarrassment and some confusion in doing your work?

Mr. Hoover. It most certainly did.

The Chairman. Because of the likelihood of your being in conflict with other authorities.

Do you believe there should be a federal law?

Mr. Hoover. I am very strongly in favor of that.

The Chairman. Against an attempt to assassinate the President?

Mr. Hoover. I am very strongly in favor of legislation being enacted and enacted promptly that will make ~~it~~ a federal crime ~~for any~~ for the attempt upon the life of the President and the Vice President, and ~~maybe~~ possibly the next two persons in succession, the Speaker and the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, ~~because~~ In the ~~this~~ Oswald case, we could not take custody of him, If we had had jurisdiction we would have taken custody of him and I do not believe he would have been killed by Rubenstein, ~~who got close enough to Oswald, and, therefore,~~ the failure to have ~~that~~ jurisdiction was extremely embarrassing, I think the killing of Oswald ~~it~~ has created a great fog of speculation that will go on for years, because of the things that Oswald might have been able to tell ~~have told~~ / ~~and the things~~ which ~~that~~ would have been of assistance in pinning down various phases of this matter. This must ~~which have to~~ be done now by ~~a~~ collecting ~~tive lot~~ of evidence from third parties, and not from Oswald ~~the party~~ himself.

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Now, as to the publicity that took place in Dallas, I was very much ~~displeased~~ concerned with that. We, ~~of course,~~ have in the FBI a crime laboratory that furnishes free service to all law enforcement agencies of the country.

Any law enforcement agency can send ~~in~~to our laboratory here in Washington any ~~specimen they have~~, evidence, blood, dirt dust, guns, anything of that kind, and our laboratory examines it and then ~~makes the~~ report back to the ~~local~~ contributing police department ~~that has sent it in.~~

~~That~~ This was being done in the Oswald case ~~in the early stages of it,~~ in the early stages of the and almost as soon as the report would reach the Dallas police department, the Chief of Police or one of the representatives of the Department would go on ~~the~~ TV or ~~on~~ radio and ~~read the report~~ relate findings of the FBI, giving ~~the~~ such information as ~~to~~ the identification of the gun, ~~I remember,~~ and ~~as to~~ other items of physical ~~bits of~~ evidence.

Now, that ~~so~~ concerned me for several reasons. In the first place, I don't think cases should be tried in the newspapers. I think ~~there can be~~ a short and simple statement can be made when a person is arrested, ~~and~~ but the ~~principal~~ details of the evidence that you may have should be retained until you go into court to try the case; ~~it.~~

~~But~~ Secondly, it ~~also~~ created a great deal of speculation ~~down there~~ upon the part of the press. ~~They had a~~ There was very aggressive press coverage at Dallas, ~~and~~ I was so concerned ~~to the extent~~ that I asked my agent in charge at Dallas, Mr. Shanklin, to personally go to Chief Curry and ~~to~~ tell him that I insisted that

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he not go on the air any more until this ~~thing~~ case was ~~cleared~~ resolved. up. Until all the evidence had been examined, ~~That~~ I did not want any statements made concerning the progress of the investigation. Because of the fact the President had asked me to take charge of ~~it, and that~~ the case I insisted that he refrain from public statements, ~~on radio or on the air and that all members of his~~ and all members of his dept department do so.

There was an officer in his department who was constantly on the radio or giving out interviews. The Chief concurred in ~~that~~ my request and thereafter refrained from further comment but of course by that time the identification of the gun was known, the caliber of the gun, where it had come from, where it had been bought and ~~all that sort of thing which~~ the information we had run down in Chicago and had furnished to the Dallas police department.

If the case had been in the hands of the FBI none of that information would have been given out. Because of the publicity You had to face the prejudice of the community ~~of the charge that the man should have been --~~ the charge that the would require ~~should have had~~ a change of venue. With the publicity, ~~going out,~~ I don't know when you could have changed the venue to, ~~with all~~ since the newspapers all over the state covered it, ~~and Houston reporters and so forth,~~ and I think a Houston reporter was the first one who ~~gave the information,~~ wrote ~~the information about~~ the ~~fact~~ that Oswald was an informant of the FBI, ~~729, or some such number as that we had him listed.~~

We went to the newspaper reporter. He refused to tell us

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his source, and he said he had also heard it from other persons in a group and we asked him the names of these persons the group and we interviewed them but got the names of these other reporters and got the names of each one of them and none of them would provide could recall the source or anything about it.

I think some of them were lying but I couldn't prove it.

In other words, I was trying to nail down where did this lie started. That, of course, is always the result where you are sitting daily giving out press interviews because the press wants stories desperately. We have always adopted the policy in the Bureau of no comment until we are ready to make the arrest, have the warrant, and make the arrest and then a release is prepared briefly stating what the facts are, what the written complaint says, that is the fact printed, the complaint was filed with the Commissioner and that ends it.

We don't try to run it out for a week or ten days, or two weeks. It is up to the prosecuting attorney thereafter, the U.S. Attorney thereafter and the court to try the case, and I was concerned very gravely concerned about the demand for change of venue, because the stories all the evidence was being given out, and At that time, of course, we didn't know that Oswald was going to be killed, and but there was a possibility that he might be confronted with some of this evidence, if it had been kept secret and used in the interrogation of him, just confronting him with what was found, such as and the this picture of him with the gun, which might have been helpful later was obtained, he might hav been confronted with that.

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A small thing can often make a man break and come forward with a full confession. ~~Whereas~~ If he knows in advance that you have ~~got~~ certain ~~things~~ he ~~is going to~~ be on guard against answering ~~those~~ questions. ~~He~~ Of course, he is always advised of his rights, ~~the fact~~ and that he can have an attorney, ~~those things~~ We always make a point of. ~~in~~ We generally have ~~in our cases a physician,~~ a reputable physician of the community present in our office while the prisoner is there, ~~to~~ to be able to testify ~~whether~~ that he has not been ~~in any degree hit or beaten or anything~~ subjected to ~~of that kind on the third degree basis.~~ methods.

~~So, that the medical testimony~~ can be added and ~~he~~ is examined when he comes in and he is examined ~~when~~ before we take him ~~before~~ to the Commissioner. Taking him before the Commissioner in a case like Oswald's would probably ~~have had~~ to have been done within ~~maybe~~ four or five hours. ~~We never go over that and generally it is always~~ Generally we try to ~~keep~~ arraign a prisoner within an hour.

~~But~~ That makes it more difficult, you have ~~got~~ to work faster. But again I say am in favor of, ~~as I say,~~ having the ~~processes~~ procedures of ~~the~~ law enforcement offices as tightly bound down as we can, with due respect for the interests of society.

Of course, there must be an equal balance, ~~there~~. ~~But too often, we, of course,~~ For years We have had a rule against third degrees, methods, but years ago ~~many~~, many police departments used the third degree. I think very few of them use it now because if they use it they ~~come under violation of~~ violate the civil rights statutes

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and we ~~have to~~ investigate them for having brutally handled a prisoner ~~and~~ many allegations are made unfairly against police officers that they have used third degree methods and we are able to prove they haven't in our investigations.

That is particularly true where the civil rights matters are involved. We have such ~~those kind of~~ cases in New York, and these many ~~big~~ areas where ~~the~~ civil rights agitation is going on.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Hoover, to remind you of my question, any sugestions that you may have concerning the protection of the President, and the information that the Commission has that you have an special appropriation in that connection for the Bureau.

Mr. Hoover. We don't have a special appropriation for the protection of the President. ~~But~~ The Secret Service, of course, has that responsibility. ~~But~~ On December 2, I prepared this memorandum for the President, and for the Chief of the Secret Service at the request of the President, outlining suggestions that I felt should be considered to tighten up on the security of the President.

If the Commission desires I will be glad to leave this or I will be glad to read it to the Commission.

Rep. Boggs. Why don't you ask the Director just to summarize it.

Mr. Rankin. Will you summarize it?

Mr. Dulles. Can we have a copy of it?

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Mr. Hoover. Oh, yes.

Rep. Ford. Could the copy be put in the record as an exhibit?

Mr. Hoover. Yes, sir, that is all right with me. I have no objection to it.

Regarding travel.

First, ~~let's use travel,~~ advise the Secret Service as far in advance as possible of the President's travel plans and proposed itinerary. The reason for that is there have been Presidents who suddenly decide they are going ~~to go it~~ somewhere and the Secret Service, ~~of course, don't~~ does not have the chance always to cover the area and check the neighborhood and check the hotel or place where it may be.

Rep. Boggs. You have one like that right now, Mr. Director.

Mr. Hoover. I know from experience.

Second, avoid publicizing exact ~~groups~~ routes of travel as long as possible. Again, it has been the practice in the past to announce the President is going ~~to go~~ along a certain ~~area~~ route and, therefore, great crowds will gather along that ~~area~~ route. And, therefore, I thought that was something that should not be given out and the President should be taken along some routes which are not announced.

At the present time, he goes to cities and he wants to see ~~them~~ people and the crowd wants to see him.

In Dallas, ~~that~~ the route was publicized at least 24 hours before so everybody knew where he ~~was~~ would be driving.

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Third, use a specially armored car with bullet proof glass and have such cars readily available in locations frequently visited. The President, as I observed earlier in my testimony, had no armored car. He has one now which I supplied to Secret Service and they will have one made no doubt in due time for the President's use. But if it had been armored, I believe President Kennedy would be alive today.

Fourth, avoid setting a specific pattern of travel or other activity such as visiting the same church at the same time each Sunday. Regarding public appearances, First, use maximum feasible screening of persons in attendance including use of detection devices sensitive to the amount of metal required in a fire-arm or grenade.

Second, use a bullet proof shield in front of the entire rostrum in public appearances such as the swearing in ceremony at the Capitol on inauguration day, the presidential reviewing stand in front of the White House on the same day and on the rear of trains.

Third, keep to a minimum the President's movements within crowds, remain on the rostrum after the public addresses rather than mingling with the audience.

Again, there is great difficulty in that field.

Fourth, appearances at public sporting events such as football games, remain in one place rather than changing sides during the half time ceremonies.

~~If I may say~~

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(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. Dulles. About the armored car you said if Kennedy had an armored car that might have saved him.

Would the back of the armored car have some protection to protect his head?

Mr. Hoover. Oh, yes.

Mr. Dulles. Because if the armored car had been open ---

Mr. Hoover. He must never ride in an open car; that has been my recommendation.

Mr. Dulles. The back never comes down?

Mr. Hoover. The back never comes down, and it is bullet-proof, the top, and sides and the under part are all bullet proof construction. So that except by opening a window and waving through the window, the occupant is safe. a person can shoot through the window if the glass window is lowered.

Keep to a minimum the President's movements within crowds, remain on the rostrum after public addresses rather than mingling in the audience.

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Fourth, in appearances at public sporting events such as football games remain in one place rather than changeing sides during the half time ceremonies.

Fifth, limit public appearances by use of the television whenever possible.

Sixth, avoid walking in public except when absolutely necessary.

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Now, on legislation, First, I recommended that the President and the Vice President be added to the list of Federal officers set out in Section 1114, title 18 of the U. S. Code which deals with assaults ~~upon and~~ which are punishable under ~~the~~ Federal law.

Mr. Rankin. You would add to that I understood from your prior remarks, the Speaker and the President Pro Tempore?

Mr. Hoover. In view of the situation which prevails at the present time the Speaker and President Pro Tempore, in other words, the line of succession under the constitution but not below that.

On the other hand -- off the record.

(Dsccussion off the record.)

Mr. Hoover. Second, furnish the Secret Service ~~improved~~ authority to request assistance and cooperation from other United States agencies including the military, particularly in connection with foreign travel.

Now, my reason for that is that sometimes requests for ~~so often, no doubt assistance would be given~~ but sometimes ~~that~~ assistance has to clear through red tape channels ~~to be cleared maybe~~ here at Washington through ~~by some Secretary of the Defense Department or~~ some high official of government, if ~~whereas~~ an emergency arises abroad, where we have troops in these countries, or even in this country and that emergency ~~ought to be~~ -- it may be of such character that it ~~has to be done at once~~, you ~~haven't got~~ do not have time to Tele phone back to Washington or to Tele phone back to the Pentagon, Reid ~~they~~ ought to be

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immediately available by calling on the local authorities and the nearest ~~local~~ military authority, ~~that may be in that area.~~

Third, improve control of the sale of firearms requiring as a minimum, registration of every firearm sold together with adequate identification of the purchaser.

~~Now, that recommendation is being under extensive debate, not my recommendation but~~ The problem of firearms control is under extensive debate, in both the House and Senate at the present time.

~~This~~ The gun that Oswald used ~~he~~ was bought by mail order from a mail order house in Chicago - no license for it, no permit for it, no checkup on it. The only way we were able to trace it was ~~hrough the make of the gun~~ and to find out where in this country that Italian made gun was sold, ~~and~~ we found ~~this~~ the company in Chicago and later ~~this~~ the mail order slip that had been sent by Oswald to Chicago to get the gun.

Now, there are arguments, of course --

Mr. Dulles. In a false name.

Mr. Hoover. In a false name.

There ~~are~~ is arguments, of course, that ~~to~~ by passing firearms ~~regulation~~ legislation you are going to take the privilege of hunting away from the sportsmen of the country. I don't share that view with any great degree of sympathy because you have to get a license to drive an automobile and you have to get a license to have a dog, and I see no reason why a man shouldn't be willing, if he is a ~~good~~

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law-abiding citizen, to have a license to get a firearm whether it be a ~~license~~ rifle or revolver or other firearm.

It is not going to curtail his exercise of shooting ~~on~~ for sport because the police ~~will~~ make a check of his background. If he is a man who is entitled to a gun, a ~~good~~ law-abiding citizen, a permit will be granted.

Of course, today ~~the matter of~~ firearms control is practically negligible, and I think some steps should be taken along that line.

Fourth, a ban ~~of~~ on picketing within the vicinity of the White House ~~and~~ as is now done at the U. S. Capitol and Supreme Court. ~~We have these pickets come to Washington, some come by busload and~~ some of ~~them~~ these pickets are well-meaning and law-abiding individuals, some are for peace and some are ~~strong~~, more or less ~~the~~ dedicated Communists.

Rep. Boggs. It is illegal to picket a Federal court now, Mr. Director, I happen to be the author of that law.

Mr. Hoover. Yes, I am glad you had that law passed. Of course, they picket public buildings, they ~~come down and~~ march around the Department of Justice building now and then, but the principal places they prefer to go are ~~to~~ the Supreme Court building ~~and~~ the Capitol and its grounds and the White House.

I think such picketing at the White House ~~gatherings~~, large or small, should be forbidden. I think at the White House they tried to get the pickets to walk across the street along Lafayette Park, ~~that sidewalk, along~~ groups

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Lafayette Square. That at least takes them away from being close to the gate at the White House. But I think there ought to be some control of that. Picketing, of course, is legitimate if it is orderly. Many times it doesn't continue to be orderly, and sometimes these pickets, as in this city, have thrown themselves on the pavement and the police have to come and pick them up or drag them away, and then, of course, the charge is made of brutality right away.

"You ought not handle them in that way." There have been delegations of colored groups have visiting me of the colored groups and asking why I don't arrest a police officer for not stopping -- from making him stop hitting some Negro whom that he is arresting in a sit-in strike, or lay-in strike or demonstration -- that they have down in some of these southern cities.

Well, we have no authority right to make an arrest of that kind. Under the authority the Bureau has we have to submit those complaints to the Department of Justice and if they authorize us to make the arrest we will do it, but we can't just go out and make a citizen's arrest so to speak, when there isn't being a felony committed. It is disorderly conduct at the most.

Those That in general are the contents of the recommendations I made and I will have this placed on white paper and -- this happens to be a carbon copy and I will furnish the Committee with this. a copy of this memorandum.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Hoover, I would like to ask you in regard

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to your recommendations, do you think you have adequately taken into account that the President is not only the Chief Executive but also necessarily a politician under our system?

Mr. Hoover. I have taken that into account, and I would like to say this off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. Rankin. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. Any other questions, gentlemen?

Rep. Boggs. I would just like to thank the Director again for all the help he has given us.

Mr. Hoover. I am happy to.

The Chairman. I would, too, on behalf of the Commission, Mr. Director, I would not only like to thank you for your testimony but for your cooperation that your people have given us throughout this entire investigation.

Mr. Hoover. Thank you very much.

The Chairman. I also want to add one other thing, having in mind the testimony you gave that this is still an open investigation, that should anything come to your attention that you believe this Commission has either overlooked or shouldlook into you feel free to ask us to do it.

Mr. Hoover. I would most certainly do that.

The Chairman. To do it.

Mr. Hoover. I want to give all the cooperation I can to this most difficult task you have.

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Rep. Ford. One question.

The other day when we had the state, Justice, Judiciary Appropriation bill before the full Committee on appropriations --

Mr. Hoover. Yes.

Rep. Ford. -- and I am not a member of that subcommittee, I noticed a provision in the bill, as I recall, to the effect funds for or something of that content, of FBI responsibilities for the protection of the President.

Mr. Hoover. There is a provision for funds that we can use for the apprehension of a man who has been declared a fugitive from justice, that is where a man has committed a crime, a warrant is out for him and he has fled or where he has escaped from a penitentiary. I don't recall offhand any specific appropriation for the protection of the President.

~~There used to be a provision in our appropriation years ago that gave us authority to furnish protection to the President and to the Vice President.~~

~~That was taken out, I think,~~ about ten years ~~ago,~~ and ~~the full authority now is in the hands of the Secret Service.~~ I will look at the appropriation bill. I may be wrong there but I am quite certain that is so.

Rep. Ford. It was my recollection as I was looking at the bill in Committee there was a phrase to this effect in the language of the bill. I think it might be helpful for the record to get whatever the history is of that if it is still

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a matter of the bill or the law.

Mr. Hoover. I remember that at the time Mr. Curtis was Vice President, he was Senator and then Vice President, at that time he insisted that he wanted FBI agents with him and nobody else, and there was a provision made for, giving us the authority, part of which prior to that time it had been entirely in the Secret Service hands.

As years went on that was later changed and we do not have the authority to protect the President nor the Vice President, and when Mr. Nixon came in he was protected by the Secret Service at his house, and when Mr. Johnson, it was the same thing.

That goes back, I think nearly maybe 15, 20 years, but I will look up that because I remember Senator Curtis, I was a very close friend of the Senator's and when he became Vice President he wanted to have FBI men, if it was necessary. Sometimes when he was going out to some public function where he would have people bother you or try to press up too clo[illegible] to you he felt it desirable to have somebody with [illegible] asked for FBI and there was then plac[illegible] which had not been in there be[illegible] that protection bu[illegible]

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They asked us to let them have additional manpower and we as a matter of assistance

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have done so.

Rep. Ford. That may be why it was includedin the bill fiscal year 1965.

Mr. Hoover. That may be, yes.

Rep. Ford. I think it would be helpful if you would have a memorandum prepared.

Mr. Hoover. I will be glad to.

Rep. Ford. Showing the history of this provision from its inception and whether or nt it is in the bill or the proposed law for fiscal 1965.

Mr. Hoover. Yes, sir.

Rep. Ford. And the justification you have indicated.

Mr. Hoover. That was not taken up, I know, in the testimony before the Appropriations Committee. Whether somebody has inserted that in the Committee since this thing happened, that testimony was not -- well, I gave the testimony before the Committee in January, and the testimony wasn't released until two weeks ago and when the bill that was reported out, so it maybe somebody has inserted that back into it but it was not discussed in the hearings that were held on it.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Rankin. Mr. Chairman, in order to complete the record, may I ask to have the number 866 assigned to the letter that Mr. Hoover is going to send about protection of the President, and have it admitted to this record under that number.

The Chairman. Yes, it may be.

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Rep. Ford. Also a number for this memo Mr. Hoover is going to submit.

Mr. Rankin. May I assign 867?

The Chairman. Yes.

(Commission Exhibit Nos. 866 and 867 were marked for identification and received in evidence.)

The Chairman. The Commission will be in order.

Director McCone, it is customary for the Chairman to make a short statement to the witness as to the testimony that is expected to be given.

I will read it at this time.

Mr. McCone will be asked to testimy on whether Lee Harvey Oswald was ever an agent directly or indirectly, or an informer or acting on behalf of the Central Intelligence Agency in any capacity at any time, and whether he knows of any credible evidence or of any conspiracy either domestic or foreign involved in the assassination of President Kennedy, also with regard to an suggestions and recommendations he may have concerning improvements or changes in provisions for the protection of the President of the United States.

Would you please rise and be sworn.

Do you somenly swear the testimony you are about to give before this Commission shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McCone. I do.

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The Chairman. Will you be seated, please.

Mr. Rankin will conduct the examination.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN A. MC CONE

Mr. Rankin. Mr. McCone, will you state your name?

Mr. McCone. My name is John Alec McCone.

Mr. Rankin. Do you have an official position with the United States Government?

Mr. McCone. Yes, sir, I am Director of Central Intelligence.

Mr. Rankin. Have you been Director for some time?

Mr. McCone. Yes, a little over two and a ahalf years.

Mr. Rankin. Where do you live, Mr. McCone?

Mr. McCone. I live at 3025 Whitehaven Street in Washington.

Mr. Rankin. Are you familar with the records and how they are kept by the Central Intelligence Agency as to whether a man is acting as an informer, agent, employee or in any other capacity for that agency?

Mr.McCone. Yes, I am generally familiar with the procedures and the records that are maintained by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Quite naturally, I am not familiar with all of the records because they are very extensive.

Mr. Rankin. Have you determined whether or not Lee Harvey Oswald, the suspect in conne ction with the assassination of President Kennedy, had any connection with the Central Intelligence Agence, informer or indirectly as an employee or any other

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capacity?

Mr. McCone. Yes. I have determined to my satisfaction that he had no such connection, and I would like to read for the record --

Mr. Rankin. Will you tell us briefly the extent of your inquiry?

Mr. McCone. In a form of affidvvit, I have gone into the matter in considerable detail personally, in my inquiry with the appropriate people within the agency, examined all records in our files relating to Lee Havey Oswald. We had knowledge of him, of course, because his having to to the Soviet Union, as he did putting him in a situation where his name would appear in our name file.

However, my examination has resulted in the conclusion that Lee Harvey Oswald was not an agent, employee or informant of the Central Intelligence Agency. The agency never contacted him, interviewed him, talked with him or received or solicited any reports or information from him or communicated with him directly, in any other manner.

The Agency never furnished him with any funds or money or compensated him directly or indirectly in any fashion, and Lee Harvey Oswald was never associated or connected directly or indirectly in any way whatsoever with the Agency.

When I use the term agency, I mean the Central Intelligence Agency, of course.

Rep. Ford. Does that include whether or not he was in the

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United States, in the Soviet Union or any place?

Mr. McCone. Any place, the United States, Soviet Union or any place.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. McCone, is that the affidavit you are going to supply the Commission in connection with our request for it?

Mr. McCone. Yes. This is the substance of the affidavit which I will supply to you.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Chairman, I ask leave to mark that Exhibit 870 and have it introduced in evidence as soon as we receive it from Mr. McCone as a part of this record.

The Chairman. It may be admitted.

(Commission Exhibit No. 870 was marked for identification and received in evidence.)

Mr. Rankin. Woudd you tell us about your procedures in regard to having an agent or informer or any person acting in that type of capacity? Does that have to pass through your hands or come to your attention in the agency?

Mr. McCone. No. It does not have to come through my personal hands.

Mr. Rankin. Without disclosing something that might be a security matter, could you tell us how that is handled in a general way in the agency?

Mr. McCone. Mr. Helms, who is directly responsible for that division of the agency's activities as a Deputy Director mi

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explain that that would be permissible.

Mr. Rankin. Could we have him sworn then?

The Chairman. Yes.

Would you raise your right hand and be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give b efore this Commission shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Helms, Yes.

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TESTIMONY OF RICHARD M. HELMS

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Helms, you heard the inquiry just directed to Mr. McCone.

Could you answer the question directly?

Mr. Helms. Yes, we have a specific procedure which we follow in all cases where the agency is in contact for the purposes of acquiring intelligence or whatever the case may be, with an individual. We not only have a record of the individual's name, but we also usually get information of a biographical nature. We then check this iddividual's name against our record.

At that point we make a determination as to whether we desire to use this man or not to use him. It varies from case to case as to how many officers may be involved in approving a specific recruitment, but it invariably involves the man overseas, his chief on location, and responsible officers of the agency in Wahington.

May I go off the record?

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Helms, did you have anything to do on behalf of your agency with determining whether or not Lee Harvey Oswald was acting in any of the capacities I have described in my questions to Mr. McCone?

Mr. Helms. Yes, I did.

Mr. Rankin. Will you tell us what you did in that regard?

Mr. Helms. On Mr. McCone's behalf, I had all of our records

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searched to see if there had been any contacts at any time prior to President Kennedy's assassination by anyone in the Central Intelligence Agency with Lee Harvey Oswald. We checked our card files and our personell files and all our records.

Now, this check turned out to be negative. In addition I got in touch with those officers who might conceivably have been in positions of responsibility at the times in question to see if anybody had any recollection of any contact having even been suggested with this man.

This also turned out to be negative, so there is no material in the Central Intelligence Agency, either in the records or at least that I was able to establish in the mind of any of the individuals that there was any contact had or even contemplated with him.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Helms --

Mr. Dulles. Could I ask one question there.

Do you recall or do you know at what time the name of Lee Harvey Oswald was carded, first came to your attention so it became a matter of record, in the Agency?

Mr. Helms. Sir, I would want to consult the record to be absolutely accurate but it is my impression that the first time that his name showed up on any agency records was when he went to the Soviet Union.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Helms, in connection with your work you have supplied information to the Commission and we have requested

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many things from your agency.

Can you tell the Commission as to whether or not you have supplied us all the information the Agency has, at least in substance in regard to Lee Harvey Oswald?

Mr. Helms. We have, all.

Rep. Ford. Has a member of the Commission staff had full access to your files on LeeHarvey Oswald?

Mr. Helms. He has, sir.

Rep. Ford. They have had the opportunity to personally look at the entire file?

Mr. Helsm. We invited them to come out to our building in Langley and actually put the file on the table so that they could examine it.

The Chairman. I was personally out there, too, and was offered the same opportunity. I did not avail myself of it because of the time element but I was offered the same opportunity.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Helms, can you explain, accroding to the limitations of security, the reasons why we examined materials but did not always take them, in a general way?

Mr. Helms. Yes, I can.

In our communications between individuals working overseas and Washington, we for security reasons have a method of hiding the identities of individuals in telegrams and dispatches by the use of spseudonyms and cryptonyms. Fpr this reason, we never allow the original documents to leave our premises.

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However, on the occasion when the representatives of the Commission staff looked at these files, we sat there and identified these pseudonyms and criptonyms and related them to the proper names of the individuals concerned, so that they would know exactly what this message said.

Mr. Rankin. By that means the reprsentatives of the Commission were able to satisfy themselves that they had all of the information for the benefit of the Commission without disclosing matters that would be a threat to security, is that right?

Mr.Helms. It is my understanding that they were satisfied.

Rep. Ford. Mr. McCone, do you have full authority from higher authority to make full disclosure to this Commission of any information in the files of the Central Intelligence Agency?

Mr. McCone. That is right. It is my understanding that it is the desire of higher authority that this Commission shall have access to all information of every nature in our files or in the mind of employees of Central Intelligence Agency.

Rep. Ford. On the basis of that authority you or the Agency have made a full disclosure?

Mr. McCone. That is correct.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. Helms, I have handed you Exhibits 868 and 869 directed to you acting for the Agency, the first one being from the Commission to you and the second one, 869 being your

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answer in regard to your full and complete disclosure in regard to your records, isn't that correct?

Mr. Helms. That is correct. May I say, Mr. Rankin, that any information though subsequent to this correspondence which we may obtain we will certainly continue to forward to the Commission.

Mr. Rankin. Thank you.

Mr. Chief Justice, I ask leave to have those two Exhibits 868 and 869 received in evidence at this time.

The Chairman. They may be admitted under those numbers.

(Commission Exhibits Nos. 868 and 869 were marked for identification and received in evidence.)

Mr. Rankin. Mr. McCone, if I may return to you, I will now ask you if you have any credible information that you know of or evidence causing you to believe that there is any or was any conspiracy either domestic or foreign in connection with the assassination of President Kennedy?

Mr. McCone. No, I have no information,, Mr. Rankin, that would lead me to believe or conclude that a conspiracy existed.

Rep. Ford. Did the CIA make an investigation of this aspect of th- assassination?

Mr. McCone. We made an investigation of all developments after the assassination which came to our attention which might possibly have indicated a conspiracy or an influence on Oswald

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from an external source, and we determined after these investigations which were made promptly and immediately that we had no evidence to support such an assumption.

Rep. Ford. Did the Central Intelligence Agency have any contact with Oswald during the period of his life in the Soviet Union?

Mr. McCone. No. Not to my knowledge nor to the knowledge of those who would have been in a position to have made such contact, nor according to any record we have, that we have been able to uncover.

Rep. Ford. Did the Central Intelligence Agency have any personal contact with Oswald subsequent to his return to the United States?

Mr. McCone. No, not to my knowledge.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. McCone, your agency made a particular investigation in connection with any allegations about a conspiracy involving the Soviet Union or people connected with Cuba, did you not?

Mr. McCone. Yes. We did. We made a thorough, a very thorough investigation, of information that came to us concerning an alleged trip that Oswald made to Mexico City during which time he made contact with the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City in an attempt to gain transit privileges from Mexico City to the Soviet Union via Havana.

We investigated that thoroughly.

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Mr. Rankin. Do you also include in your statement that you found no evidence of conspiracy in all of that investigation?

Mr. McCone. That is correct.

Mr. Rankin. And also the investigation you made of the period that Lee Harvey Oswald was in the Soviet Union?

Mr.McCone. That is right.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. McCone --

Mr. Dulles. Coud I ask one question there.

Does your answer, Mr. McCone, include a negation of any belief that Oswald was working for or on behalf of the Soviet Union at any time when you were in contact with him or knew about his acivities?

Mr. McCone. We have no evidence that he was working for or on behalf of the Soviet Union at any time. We have no evidence to that effect.

Rep. Ford. Is the Central Intelligence Agency continuing any investigation into this area?

Mr. McCone. No, because we have at the present time, we have no information in our files that we have not exhaustively investigated and disposed of to our satisfaction. Naturally, any new information that might come into our hands would be investigated promptly.

Mr. Helms. I simply wanted to add that we obviously are interested in anything we can pick up applying to this case and anything we get will be immediately sent to the Commission,

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so that we haven't stopped our inquiries or picking up any information we can from people who might have some informtion. This is on a continuing basis.

Rep. Ford. In other words, the case isn't closed.

Mr. Helms. It is not closed as far as we are concerned.

Mr. Rankin. Would that be true, Mr. Helms, even after the Commission completed its report, you would keep the matter open if there was anything knew that developed in the future that could be properly presented to the authorities?

Mr. Helms. Yes, I would assume the case will never be closed.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. McCone, do you have any ideas about improving the security provisions for the President that you would like to relate to the Commission?

Mr. McCone. Well, this is in my opinion a very important question which I am sure this Commission will, has and will devote a considerable amount of thought to it and undoubtedly have some recommendations as part of its report.

Mr. Rankin. Your agency does have an important function in some aspects.

Mr. McCone. We have a very important function in connection with the foreign travels of the President, and I would like to inform the Commission as to how we discharge that responsibility by quickly reviewing the chronology of the Central Intelligence Agency's support of President Kennedy's visit to Mexico City from

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the 29th of June to the 2nd of July, 1962.

Mr. Rankin. Will you please do that.

The Chairman. Director, is that a security matter?

Mr. McCone. No. I think I can handle this for the record.

The Chairman. Very well.

Mr. McCone. If I have to make a remark or two off the record I will as that privilege.

That visit, as I said, started on the 29th of June. On the 28th of April, in anticipation of the visit, instructions were transmitted to Mexico for the Ambassador to coordinate planning and informational guidance for the advance party of the Secret Service.

We asked that the Secret Service be given information on local groups and persons who would cause disturbances, embarrassments or physical harm, an estimate of the determination and ability of the Mexican government to prevent incidents, and preparation for special briefings to the Embassy officials and the Secret Service, and such addtitional support and communications personnel that might be required.

These instructions were given two months before the trip.

On the 15th of May, confirmed information we received that the President would visit Mexico on the specific dates. On the 1st of June the Secret Service was supplied by the Agency with the detailed survey of Mexican security forces that would be called upon to protect the President.

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Friehdly and allied governments were informed of the visit and their cooperation and pertinent informational support was solicited. From this date through the 2nd of July daily information reports were furnished to the State Department, the Secret Service, the FBI and the military services.

That is from the 1st of June to the 2nd of July, a period of 31, 32 days. On the 8th of June the Secret Service advance party was briefed in detail by a group of officers of the agency on the Mexican government's plans for the protection of the Prsident, including current information on the size, strength and capabilities of potential troublemakers.

Hazardous locations and times in the planned itinerary were identified, political and economic issues that might be invoked by hostile elements for demonstrations were specified.

On the 11th of June, the Secret Service advance party left for Mexico supported by additional security personnel to assist in coordinating informational report and follow up activity required

Especially prepared national intelligence estimates on the current security conditions in Mexico was approved by the United States Intelligence Board on the 13th of June.

On the 15th of June arrangements were completed to reenforce communications facilities. On the 24th of June a conference at the State Department was held at the request of the President for reviewing security measures, and this meeting I attendod personally, and reported to the State Department on the essence

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of all that had gone before.

Emergency contingency plans were discussed and a consensus was reched that the President should make the visit as scheduled.

On the 27th of June, a final updated special national intelligence estimate was prepared, and this indicated no basic changes in the security assessment that Mexican government was prepared to cope with foreseeable security contingencies.

On the 28th of June, a final briefing report was prepared for the director's use which indicated the security precautions of the Mexican government had effectively forestalled major organized incidents, and our informed estimate was that the President would receive a great welcome.

The report was presented to the President personally by the Director at noon in a final meeting prior to departure on this trip.

From the 29th of June to the 2nd of July in Washington headquarters, headquarters components remained on a 24-hour alert for close support of the embassy and the Secret Servce.

So, not only was the Central Intelligence Agency and the various components involved in this for a period of two months in close collaboration with the Secret Service, but by bringing in the United States Intelligence Board we brought in all of the intelligence assets of the United States Government in

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connection with this particular trip. I thought this procedure which was followed regularly on all trips that the President makes out of the country would be of interest to the Commission.

The Chairman. That is the normal format of your procedures?

Mr. McCone. Yes.

The Chairman. When the President goes abraod?

Mr. McCone. Yes, I selected this one. The same was true of his trip to Karacas or Paris or elsewhere.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. McCone, in your investigation of the Oswald matter did you use the same approach or a comparable approach to a liaison with the other intelligence agencies of government to try to discover anything that might involve your jurisdiction.

Mr. McCone. Yes. We were in very close touch with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and with the Secret Service on a 24-hour basis at all points, both domestically and foreign where information had been received which might have a bearing on this problem.

Mr. Rankin. Assassination?

Mr.McCone. Assassination.

Mr. Rankin. Do you have an opinion, Mr. McCone, as to whether or not the liaison betweeen the intelligence agencies of the United States Government might be improved if they had better mechanical, computer or other facilities of that type, and also some other ideas or methods of dealing with each other?

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Mr. McCone. There is a great deal if improvement of information that might be of importance in a matter of this kind through the use of computers and mechanical means of handling files, and you, Mr. Chief Justice, saw some of the -- of our installations and that was only a beginning of what really can be done.

The Chairman. Yes, I did.

Mr.McCone. I would certainly urge that on all departments of government that are involved in this are adopt the most modern methods of automatic data processing with respect to the personnel files and other files relating to individuals. This would be helpful.

But I emphasize that a computer will not replace the man, and therefore, we must have at all levels a complete exchange of information and cooperation between agencies where they share this responsibility,and in going through this chronology, it points out the type of exchange and cooperation that the Central Intelligence ogency tries to afford both the Secret Service and the Federal Bureau of Investigation in matters where we have a common responsibility.

I would like to emphasize the very great importance of this exchange, which is not always easily accomplished because it is cumbersome.

Sometimes it becomes involved in distracting people from other duties, and so on and so forth.

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I have given a good deal of thought to the matter of some incentives to bring out informers, thinking about the old informer statutes in which some of them are still on the books, in which people were rewarded for informing when others conducted themselves in a damaging way.

Mr. Dulles. Smuggling cases?

Mr. McCone. Smuggline cases. Remember there was a great rash of informers during the war where people would inform on aircraft contractors and building contractors who were conducting their work improperly,and as I remember the law, the informer got a percentage of what was recovered by the government. This law was rescinded because of this rather unfair thing.

But I believe that something could be done, called to the attention of this Commission, that under one of the clauses of the Atomic Energy Act or amendment to it, a rather substantial reward is offered for information leading to the apprehension of a person that attempts to import special nuclear materials or nuclear weapon into the United States.

Some such legislation might be enacted which would make it really worthwhile for a fellow who sold a telescope, a gun with a telescopic gunsight to a person that he might be suspicious of would have an incentive to watch him very carefully and maybe inform the authorities concerning that sale.

Mr. Rankin. Is it your belief, Mr. McCone, that the methods for exchange of information between intelligence agencies

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of the government could be materially improved.

Mr. McCone, I think the exchange between the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation or the Secret Service are quite adequate. I am not informed as to whether the exchanges between the Secret Service and the FBI are equally adequate.

I have not gone into that. I would have no means to know. Certainly it is most important that it be done.

Mr. Dulles. Looking back now that you have the full record, do you feel that you received from the State Department adequate information at the time that they were aware of Oswald's defection and later activities in the Soviet Union, did you get at the time full information from the State Department on those particular subjects?

Mr. McCone. Well, I am not sure that we got full information, Mr. Dulles. The fact is we had very little information in our files.

Mr. Helms. It was probably minimal.

Rep. Ford. Why did that happen?

Mr. Helms. I am not sure, Mr. Ford. I can only assume that the State Department only had a limited amount, and it interestingly enough is far enough back now so that it's very hard to find epeople who were in the Moscow Embassy at the time familiar with the case, so in trying to run this down one comes to a lot of dead ends and I, therefore, would not like to hazard any guess.

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Rep. Ford. Whose responsibility is it, is it CIA's respondibility to obtain the information or State Department's responsibility to supply it to Central Intelligence and to others.

Mr.McCone. With respect to a United States citizen who goes abroad, it is the responbility of the State Department through its various echelons, consular service and embassies and so forth.

For a foreigner coming into the United States, who might be of suspicious character, coming here for espionage, subversion, assassination and other acts of violence, we would, and we do exchange this information immediately with the FBI.

Rep. Ford. But in this particular case Oswald in the Soviet Union whose responsibility was it to transmit the information, whatever it was, to the Central Intelligence Agency?

Mr. McCone. Well, it would be the State Department's responsibility to do that. Whether there really exists an order or orders that information on an American citizen returning from a foreign country be transmitted to CIA, I don't believe there are such regulations which exist.

Mr. Helms. I don't believe they do, either.

Mr. McCone. I am not sure they should.

Rep. Ford. I wouldn't be your recommendation that you, the Head of Central Intelligence Agency, should have that information?

Mr. Dulles. In a case of an American defecting to a Communist country shouldn't you have it?

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Mr. McCone. Certainly certain types of information. What we ought to be careful of here, would be to rather clearly define the type of information which should be transmitted, because after all, there are hundreds of thousands or millions of Americans going back and forth every year, and those records are the records of the immigration service, the passport division.

Mr. Dulles. I was thinking of a person who having defected might, of course, have become an agent and then reinserted into the United States and if you were informed of the first steps to that you might help to prevent the second step.

Mr. McCone. Well, certainly information on defectors or possible recruitments should be, and I have no question is being, transmitted.

Rep. Ford. What I was getting at was whether the procedures were adequate or inadequate, whether the administration was proper or improper in this particular case, and if some files you have that started when he attempted to defect are inadequate why we ought to know, and we ought to know whether the basic regulations were right or wrong, whether the Administration was proper or improper, that is what I am trying to find out.

I would like your comment on it.

Mr. McCone. Well, I th ink the basic regulations should be examined very carefully to be sure that they are copper-riveted down and absolutely tight. What I am saying, however, is because of the vast number of Americans who go abroad and stay in foreign

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countries for indefinite periods of time, it would be an impossible task to transmit all information available in the State Department and Immigration Service as files to the Central Intelligence Agency. It would not be a productive exercise. What must be transmitted and is being transmitted, while I cannot recite the exact regulations is information that is, becomes, known to the various embassies of suspicious Americans that might have been recruited and defected, and then returned so that they would be agents in place.

Rep. Ford. In this case, Oswald attempted to defect, he did not, he subsequently sought the right to return to the United States, he had contact with the Embassy. Was the Central Intelligence Agency informed of these steps,step by step by the Department of State?

Mr. McCone. You might answer that.

Mr. Helms. Mr. Ford, in order to answer this question precisely I would have to have the file in front of me. I have not looked at it in some time so I don't have it all that clearly in mind. But it is my impression that we were not informed step by step, but that I say that there is no requirement that I am aware of that the State Department should inform us and when I said a moment ago that we didn't have information from them this was not in any sense a critical statement but a statement of fact.

But an American going to the American Embassy would be handled by the Embassy officials, either consular or otherwise, and this

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would be a matter well within the purview of the State Department to keep all the way through, because we do not have responsibility in the Central Intelligence Agency for the conduct or behaviour or anything else of American citizens when they are abroad unless there is some special consideration applying to an individual, or womeong in higher authority requests assistance from us.

So that the State Department, I think, quite properly would regard this matter was well within their purview to handle themselves within the Embassy or from the Embassy back to the Department of State without involving the agency in it at that point in time while these events were occurring.

Rep. Ford. I think it could be argued, however, that the uniqueness of this individual case was such that the Department of State might well have contacted the Central Intelligence Agency to keep them abreast of the developments as they transpired. This is not, and when I say this, I mean the Oswald case, is not an ordinary run of the mine type of case. It is far from it.

Even back in the time, well, from the time he went, and particularly as time progressed, and he made application to return, there is nothing ordinary about the whole situation.

Mr. McCone. That is quite correct, there is no question about that.

Rep.Ford. and I am only suggesting that if the regulations were not adequate at the time and are not now, maybe something

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ought to be done about it.

Mr. Rankin. Mr. McCone, when you said that supplying all of the information about United States citizens who went abroad and came back to the country wouldnot be a profitable exercise, did that comment include the thought that such an intrusion upon all citizens would be questionab'e?

Mr. McCone. Such an intrusion?

Mr. Rankin. Upon their right to travel.

Mr. McCone. Well, I think this would have a bearing on it. I did'nt have that particular matter in mind when I made that statement, however. I was just thinking of the --

Mr. Rankin. Burden?

Mr. McCone. -- of the burden of vast numbers involved.

Mr. Rankin. Do you have any thought in regard to whether it would be an intrusion upon their rights?

Mr. McCone. Well, that would be a matter of how it was handled. Certainly if it was handled in a way, the counterpart of providing the information was to impose restrictions on them then it would be an intrusion on their rights.

Mr. Rankin. Yes.

Mr. Chief Justice, that is all I have, except I want to inquire into something off the record after we are through.

Sen. Cooper. May I inquire?

The Chairman. Senator Cooper.

Sen. Cooper. I missed the first part of Mr. McCone's testi-

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mony, I went to answer a quorum call. Perhaps the question has been asked.

It has been brought into evidence that a number of people in the Embassy talked to Oswald when he first defected, and the various communications with the Embassy and, of course, when he left to come back to the United States.

Have we been able to ascertain the names of officials in the Embassy or employees with whom Oswald talked on these various occasions?

Mr. McCone. I am not familiar with them, no.

Mr. Helms. Neither am I, sir.

Mr. McCone. I presume that the Department's inquiries has covered it.

Sen. Cooper. Is it possible to ascertain the names of those employees?

Mr. Rankin. Senator Cooper, I can answer that.

We have inquired of the State Department for that information, and are in the process of obtaining it all.

Sen. Cooper. Taking into consideration your answers to the previous question, would it have been possible in your judgment to have secured more comprehensive information about the activities of Oswald in Russia?

Mr. McCone. It would not have been possible for the Central Intelligence Agency to have secured such information because we do not have resources to gain such information.

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The Chairman. Anything more?

Congressman Ford?

Rep.Ford. Did the Central Intelligence Agency investigate any aspects of Oswald's trip to Mexico?

Mr.McCone. Yes, we did.

Rep. Ford. Can you give us any information on that?

Mr.McCone. Yes. We were aware that Oswald did make a trip to Mexico City and it was our judgment that he was there in the interest of injuring transit privileges and that he made contact with the Cuban Embassy while he was there.

We do not know the precise results of his effort but we assumed because he returned to the United States he was unsuccessful. We have examined to every extent we can, and using all resources available to us every aspect of his activity and we could not verify that he was there for any other purpose or that his trip to Mexico was in any way related to his later action in assassinating President Kennedy.

Rep. Ford. Did the Centr al Intelligence Agency make any investigation of any alleged connection botween Oswald and the Castro Government?

Mr. McCone. Yes. We investigated that in considerable cause information came to us through a third party that he had carried on a rather odd discussion with Cuban officials in the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City. The allegation was that he had received under rather odd circumstances a rather substantial

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amount of money in the Cuban Embassy, and the statements was made by one who claimed to have seen this transaction take place.

After a very thorough and detailed examination of the informant, it finally turned out by the informer's own admission that the information was entirely erroneous, and was made for the purpose of advancing the informer's own standing with the Central Intelligence Agency and the United States Government and it was subsequently retracted by the infomer in its entirety.

Rep. Ford. Was there any other evidence or alleged evidence--

Mr.McCone. Parenthetically, I might add a word for the record that the date that the informer gave as to the date in time of this alleged transaction was impossible because through other, from other, information we determined that Oswald was in the United States that particular time.

Rep. Ford. Did the Central Intellgence Agency ever make an investigation or did it ever check on Mr. Ruby's trip to Cuba or any connections he might have had with the Castro Government?

Mr.McCone. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. Helms. We had no information.

Mr. McCone. We had no information.

Rep. Ford. Centr al Intelligence Agency has no information of any connections of Ruby to the Castro government?

Mr. McCone. That is right.

Rep. Ford. Did you ever make a check of that?

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Mr. Helms. We checked our records to see if we had information and found we did not.

Rep. Ford. What would that indicate, the fact that you checked your records.

Mr. Helms. That would indicate that if we had received information that, from our own resources, that, the Cubans were involved with Mr. Ruby in something that would be regarded as subversive, that we would then have that in our files, but we received no such information, and I don't, by saying this mean that he did not. I simply say we don't have any record of this.

Mr. Rankin. I might say off the record --

(Discussion off the record.)

Rep. Ford. That is all.

The Chairman. Director, thank you very much, sir, for coming and being with us and we appreciate the help your department has given to us.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., the Commission recessed subject to call of the Chair.)

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