

Ray vacationed, beginning July 30th, at the Gray Rocks Inn on Lake Ouimet in the Laurentian Mountains seeking, according to Ray, contact with a respectable woman to vouch for him on a passport application. He was "picked up" by a female Canadian Government employee and her girlfriend and spent the next few days with them before leaving on August 7th; The two women followed, stayed overnight with Ray in Montreal on August 7th, and then returned to their residences in Ottawa (Huie, pp.51-53; 5402). On August 9th, he purchased by money order a formula for making glass for a two-way mirror (2192). Then, on August 19th, Ray visited the government employee in Ottawa, but did not importune her to assist him on his passport application (Huie, p.54).	July 30- August 5
	August 7
	August 9
	August 19

During the approximately two and one-half months of Ray's stay in Canada he relates meeting an underworld character named "Raoul". After negotiations, Ray stated to author Huie, that he engaged in smuggling operations with "Raoul" and then proceeded to Birmingham to meet "Raoul" at the latter's direction. Meanwhile, he stayed at the Town and Country Motel, Ottawa, from August 18th to August 20th (5502). Whatever may be	"Raoul" contact dates July 18- Aug. 8 & through Aug. 18
	Aug. 18-20

the truth of the story, Ray left Montreal, met his brother at Northbrooke, Illinois, gave his Plymouth car to his brother Jerry Ryan, (5413), proceeded from Northbrooke or Chicago to Birmingham, stayed August 26th at the Granada Hotel, 2230 Fourth Avenue as John L. Rayns (5400; Huie, p.61), and that same day also took a room in the name Eric S. Galt at the Economy Rooms, 2608 Highland Avenue (2324). Two days later Ray, as Galt, giving the Highland Avenue address, rented safety deposit box No. 5517 at the Main Office, Birmingham Trust National Bank (2323; Huie, p.62). The access record on this box shows entries at 2:32p.m. on August 28; from 1:52p.m. to 1:56p.m. on September 5; from 11:05 to 11:08a.m. on September 21; and from 10:16a.m. to 10:19a.m. on September 28 (2323).

August 26

August 28

The purchase of a white 1966 Ford Mustang was accomplished at the end of August by answering a newspaper ad on the 29th of August and paying \$1995 in cash to William D. Paisley on the 30th (628). All this checks with the car purchase chronology Ray himself admitted to author William Bradford Huie (Huie, pp.61-63; Ray's self-serving attribution of "Raoul" as the one who directed him to buy the car and who supplied the cash is uncorroborated).

August 29-30

Ray as Eric Starvo Galt, applied for and was issued Alabama driver's license No.2848947 (4143). The signature matches the other handwritings of the same name (4143). At some point during his stay in Birmingham, Ray purchased a .38 revolver which was found on his person on his arrest in Heathrow Airport, London, England (1422). September 6

On September 12th, Ray enrolled for 5 weekly dance classes at the Continental Dance Club Studios (2324). The Modern Photographic Book Publishing Co. Inc., of New York City received a coupon order from Eric S. Galt for a photo book (633) and a letter by Ray as Galt written September 26, asking that the book not be sent as he was moving and would give the changed address later (4143). The handwriting was identical with Ray's (4143). September 12
September 26

Ray purchased a bank draft from the Exchange Security Bank, 5 points' South Branch, Birmingham payable to the Superior Bulk Film Co. of Chicago and this accompanied an order on that company for a Kodak Super 8 movie camera, a projector, a splicer and a 20 foot remote control cable; price \$337.24 (1135). Then Ray typed a note to the film company seven days September 28

later in which he acknowledged receipt of the items he had ordered but returned the movie camera as the wrong one; he stated he was leaving for Mexico on October 7, and would send a new address to which the correct movie camera could be forwarded (4143). On September 30th, Ray paid only for his room (2118).

Ray, as Galt, was issued Alabama license tags	October 6
No.1-38993 for 1968. He left Birmingham for Mexico	
on October 6 (Huie, p.66). On the 8th of October,	October 8
Ray purchased a 30 day Mexican auto insurance policy	October 10
(1904). He reached Acapulco on October 10th, proceeded	October 15
to Guadalajara on October 15th and left there on	
the 18th for Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco, Mexico,	October 18
arriving in Puerto Vallarta on the 19th (5496). He	October 19
registered in Room 212 of the Hotel Rio at Morelos 86	
on this date; his "Galt" signature and writings match	October 22
his other Galt writings (4143). Galt typed a letter	
to the film company to ask for a refund to the Puerto	
Vallarta address in lieu of the Kodak movie camera	
which had been mailed meanwhile to his vacated	
Birmingham address (4143). Again the written signature	
on this note matched the string of "Galt" signatures.	
(4143). For some reason (Huie says Ray said he wanted	November 6-13

a week in a more expensive room in a hotel on the beach.) (Huie, p.81), Ray switched hotels, going from the Rio to the Hotel Tropicana (1219). He spent most of his time in the period from October 19 to November 13, 1967, with a girlfriend, Irma Morales, whose true name is Manuela Aguirre Medrano (1219), and possibly another female named Nina (Huie, p.8).

Ray left Puerto Vallarta and drove to Los Angeles where he rented an apartment at 1535 North Serrano Avenue on the 19th of November. (668; Huie, p.85). He then wrote a typed letter to the Superior Bulk Film Company, Chicago, to forward to his new address the refund due him for the undelivered Kodak movie camera; the signature on this letter matches the other "Galt" signatures. (4143).	November 14
	November 19

In this second week of his stay in Los Angeles, Ray began a series of six visits to a clinical psychologist, Dr. Mark O. Freeman, in hopes of overcoming his shyness, gaining social confidence, learning self-hypnosis to gain relaxation, sleep and remember things better.	November 27
	December 14
	November 27
	November 30
	December 4, 6, 11, & 14

Apparently, in a further self-improvement step, Ray enrolled in a course of dancing instructions with the owner of the National Dance Studio, 2026 Pacific Avenue, Long Beach, California (4143). On December 13th, Ray wrote his Birmingham bank to close his safety deposit box (2323). He paid \$100 on the dancing lesson contract on the 14th of December, left laundry at the Avalon Cleaners & Laundry, Inc., 5662, Hollywood Blvd., Los Angeles, on the following day-ticket No.31053 and laundry mark "20R-3" made by a Thermo Seal marking machine (4143); and also on December 15th Ray, as Galt still, began a round trip drive with Charles J. Stein, 5666 Franklin Avenue, Los Angeles, to New Orleans in Ray's white Mustang to pick up Stein's sister's two small children (4143). Stein and Ray arrived in New Orleans on the 17th, the latter registering at the Provincial Hotel, 1024 Chartes Street, Room 126 (5399). The "Galt" registration card signature matched the string of such signatures in Ray's odyssey and he further recorded that he was driving a Mustang with Alabama license No.1-38993 and gave his address as 2608 Highland Avenue, Birmingham (4143).

December 5

December 13

December 14

December 15

December 17

Ray checked out before the 1:00p.m. checkout time on the 19th and, with the two children and Charles Stein, made the return trip to Los Angeles arriving by the 21st of December when he took the first of the series of dancing lessons he had signed up for. The next day he picked up his laundry. Four more dancing lessons are recorded next (4143).

December 19

December 21

December 22

December 25,
26,27&28

On December 28, 1967, Ray first indicated his interest in immigrating to Africa, and more particularly to a white ruled area, by writing a letter of inquiry to Mr. John Acord, Chairman, American-Southern African Council, 800 Fourth St., S.W., Washington, D.C.; the signature of Galt matched up with the other Galt writings. (4143).

Ray said he visited Las Vegas on New Year's Day. (Huie, p.96). Dance lessons are documented on the 2nd and 3rd days of 1968 (2325). Galt bought Bank of America money order No.0799 18037 in the amount of \$15 from the Hollywood Western Branch payable to the Locksmithing Institute (2325). The FBI lab made the usual writing match up on the signature (4143). Meanwhile Ray showed up regularly for dance lessons (2325). On January 19th Ray signed

1968
January 1,2&3

January 8

January 9,11,15,
16&18

up for a bartending course at the International School of Bartending 2125 Sunset Boulevard (2325); his application signature fits his other Galt signatures (4143). He left his laundry at the Home Service Laundry and Dry Cleaning Co. at 5280 Hollywood Boulevard (2325, cites laundry list No.3065 in E. Galt's name with Thermo Seal sticker 02B-6, the marking on the T-shirt and shorts in the bag abandoned at the front door of Canipe's Amusement Co. in Memphis, April 4, 1968).

On January 21, 1968, Ray changed his lodgings to Room 403 of the St. Francis Hotel, 5533 Hollywood Boulevard (2325). On the 22nd and on the 23rd, 25th, 29th, 30th, 31st, February 1, 5, 6, 8 and 12, Ray regularly attended dance lessons (2325). He attended bartending school through to March 2, 1968. He bought January 29 two Bank of America money orders on the 29th of January, one to place an ad in the Free Press soliciting a female pen pal and the second to pay for a mail forwarding service (1500). Each transaction created a handwriting match as did a Bank of America money order No.0799 17281 payable to the Locksmithing Institute, January 31 Little Falls, New Jersey (2325).

Ray's 1966 white Mustang with Alabama license No.1-38993 registered in Alabama under the alias Galt was serviced on the 13th at a Chevron Station, 1506 North Normandic Avenue, Los Angeles with mileage at 34,185. Another undated servicing some 200 miles later occurred at Cort Fox Ford Co., 4531 Hollywood Boulevard in Los Angeles (2325).

Ray attempted to increase his social life by writing and sending his photograph to a woman listed by "The Local Swinger" which listing was secured for \$1.00; Ray in fact wrote 5 such letters (4143). The Galt signature was added to the FBI's matchups and Ray's photograph secured. For reading material, Ray ordered books from Futura Books paying by money order No.0799 19430 on the 26th. (1500). The signature matchup was made (4143). On this same day Ray made a money order payment No.0799 19701 to the Locksmithing Institute (2325). He sent another, No.0799 19704, for the "Locksmith's Ledger" with matching signature (2325); he sent two money orders, Nos.0799 19702 and 0799 19703, and a letter order to Tiffany Enterprises, 8512 Whitworth Drive in Los Angeles, a mail order house, for one pair of Japanese handcuffs (1500), with signatures matchable on two of the three documents (4143).

February 17

February 26

At intervals in his stay in Los Angeles, Ray had plastic surgery done to change his appearance (author Huie puts this treatment as on March 3, 7 and 11, 1968, Huie, pp.107-8); he visited a psychologist-hypnotist, Reverend Von Koss on January 4, 1968 (Huie, p.102), and allegedly some seven other psychiatrists, hypnotists or scientologists.

According to author Huie, he frequented a bar known as the Rabbit's Foot Club and on one night became involved in a racial argument followed by a mugging in which he had his wallet stolen and lost his suit jacket, car keys and driver's license (Huie, p.96-98). According to author Huie citing Ray as his source, Ray telephoned Alabama and had a duplicate license issued; this was forwarded from his former Birmingham address to California and received there about March 10, 1968 (Huie, p.98).

"Galt" was graduated from the bartending school March 2 on the 2nd of March. His picture was taken with the school operator and Ray closed his eyes to make recognition more difficult (4143; Huie, p.104).

A postal money order No.1,916,211,078 was sent March 8 to the Locksmithing Institute as a periodic payment on the correspondence course Ray was taking (1428). The signature matchup was made. (4143.)

Ray listed a change of address on March 17 with the St. Francis Hotel, giving his forwarding address as General Delivery, Main Post Office Atlanta, Georgia (4143). Presumably he left Los Angeles in his white Mustang on this date, proceeding to New Orleans where he left a box of clothing for Marie Martin's little daughter, Marian de Grasse, at Charles Stein's cousin Theresa Stone's residence, 4019 Royal Street (4143; Huie, p. 108).

From New Orleans, Ray drove to Selma, Alabama March 22 (5502), (where Ray began to stalk Dr. King according to Huie's statement of Ray's admission on this) and, March 23 after an overnight stay there, he went on to Montgomery, March 24 to Birmingham and finally to Atlanta, Georgia (Huie, p. 112).

In Atlanta, Ray rented room No.2 in a rooming March 24 house at 113-14th Street, N.E. from the operator, Jimmy Delton Garner (1033). He stayed there until March 28 March 28 on which day, while still in Atlanta, he purchased U.S. Postal money order No.5,615,057,923 payable to the Locksmithing Institute (1428). The Galt signature was a matchup (4143).

On the 29th Ray appeared at the Aeromarine Supply Company, 5701 Airport Highway in Birmingham, Alabama, and using the alias Harvey Lowmyer purchased a Remington .243 caliber rifle, Model 700 with a 2x-7x Redfield telescopic sight mounted on it (432). Almost certainly because the breech of the .243 caliber weapon was caked with a hardened preservative (cosmoline) and could not be loaded, Ray returned it the following day (not having fired it). He explained that his "brother" didn't like it, and exchanged the .243 rifle for a Model 760, 30-06 caliber Remington. The scope was transferred to the latter rifle. Throughout these transactions the package for either rifle was a Browning shotgun carton which was large enough to hold the scope-equipped Remingtons (432).

March 29

March 30

The Atlanta rooming house operator, Jimmy Delton Garner stated he had Ray print his name (Eric S. Galt) on an old envelope at Garner's request so that Garner could transfer the name properly to his official records; the handprinting is a matchup with other Galt-Ray printing samples (1033).

March 31

Using the name Eric Galt, Ray left his laundry April 1
and dry cleaning at the Piedmont Laundry pickup
station, 1168 Peachtree, N.W. in Atlanta (4143). Two April 3
days later, as Eric S. Galt, Ray on April 3 registered
into Room 34 at the Rebel Motor Hotel, 3466 Lamar
Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee (the distance between Atlanta
and Memphis by the most convenient route is 398 miles);
he gave 2608 Highland Avenue, Birmingham as his address
and he noted on the registration card that he was driving
a Mustang with Alabama license No. 1-38993 (4143). His
signature was a match to the other identified Galt signa-
tures (4143). On this same day, Ray purchased a safety April 3
razor and shaving supplies at the Rexall Drug Store in
the Whitehaven suburb of Memphis (Memphis 44-1987 Sub A-
Sec. 1; Huie, p.129).

Ray left the Rebel Motel before the 1p.m. April 4,
checkout time on April 4th (4143). At some point 3-3:30p.m.
between 3p.m. and 3:30p.m. on the 4th, a man
generally answering Ray's description rented Room 5-B
at 422 1/2 South Main Street, Memphis, in the name of
John Willard (idem. 33). Ray admits to having been in
the room with "Raoul" whom he first said rented the
room using the "Willard" alias he, Ray, supplied (Huie,
p.115). In another letter to Huie, Ray states he himself 4:00p.m.

rented the room using the alias John Willard (Huie, p. 30). Ray went out to the York Arms Company Store then located at 162 South Main Street and purchased a pair of Bushnell binoculars for a total of \$41.55 (4143); Ray was identified by the salesman at York Arms and Ray admits to having been to the sports store and to having made the purchase of the binoculars (Huie, p. 115). By 5p.m. at the latest, Ray had returned to the rooming house, parked his Mustang and had taken his zipper bag and bedspread to Room 5-B (Huie, p.115); by necessary inference, because it was admittedly brought down from there and dropped on the sidewalk, the 30-06 rifle had been taken up to Room 5-B at this time or just before Ray's trip to the York Arms Co. Store (See Huie, p.114 and p.131; 4143).

As detailed in the discussion of the course of the FBI investigation ante at pp. 48-50, the assassin fled from the common bathroom at the rear of the rooming house after firing the shot that killed Dr. King. The assassin could have cleared and undoubtedly did clear the corridor and the stairs to the street in about 45 seconds. In another 15 seconds at the outside he could have reached and undoubtedly did reach Ray's white

6:03:50p.m.

Mustang after dropping Ray's bag, the rifle Ray bought and bearing only his fingerprints and the bedspread which Ray admits taking up to Room 5-B (Staff reenactment; Huie, p.115). According to a post-conviction statement by Ray to then Special Agent in Charge of the Memphis Field Office, Robert Jensen, roomer Charles Stephens had a good look at Ray in the rooming house (5622; Interview of Robert Jensen, July 7, 1976, App. B).

On the street Guy Warren Canipe, Jr., in his place of business, Canipe Amusement Co., at 424 South Main Street heard a thud near the front door of his store, looked up to see a white male walk rapidly past his store going south (right to left to someone inside the store) and, with the two customers in his store, went to the front door where they observed a small white car, a Mustang 6:04p.m. according to the two customers, pull away going north (left to right) from a curb side parking place just south of Canipe's store (Memphis 44-1987 Sub A-Sec.1; cf. Huie, p.131).

According to Ray's admission to author Huie, Ray April 4, 1968 drove south into Mississippi and then turned east through Birmingham reaching Atlanta about 6a.m. on April 5th April 5, 1968 (Huie, p.132). He abandoned the white Mustang. On the

table in the room at the Atlanta rooming house, he left a letter about South Africa from the John Birch Society in California and a copy of the Free Press from Los Angeles to divert the FBI's attention to California while he fled to Canada (Huie, p.133). Ray picked up his laundry at the Piedmont Laundry pick-up station at 1168 Peachtree N.E. in Atlanta on the 5th of April (4697). He then took a bus departing Atlanta just after noon on the 5th and arrived in Cincinnati at about 1:30a.m. on the 6th of April. After a one hour layover which he stated he spent in a tavern near the bus depot, Ray continued by bus to Detroit where he arrived at about 8a.m. (Huie, p.135). He crossed by taxi into Canada arriving in Windsor an hour or so before noon and proceeded from there to Toronto by train arriving at about 5:00p.m. (Huie, p.135). He rented a room at 102 Ossington Avenue without giving his name (5502; Huie, p.135).

April 5,
1968
between
9:00a.m. &
10:00a.m.

approx.
1:00p.m.

April 6,
1968
1:30a.m.
2:30a.m.

between 10
and 11a.m.

approx.
5p.m.

approx.
6p.m.

On the 8th of April Ray began the process of securing a Canadian passport. He picked two names, Paul Edward Bridgman and Ramon George Sneyd, from the announcements of births in newspapers for the year 1932 at the public library (Huie, p.137). He made an

April 8,
1968

April 10,
1968

application for a duplicate birth certificate in each of these names on April 10 and on the following day had a passport picture taken in the name of Bridgman and then to provide a separate mailing address for the expected replies as to Sneyd, he rented a room at 962 Dundas Street in the name of Sneyd on April 16th (5502; Huie, p.141). On the same day he executed an application in the name Paul Bridgman with his, Ray's 102 Ossington Avenue address as the person to be notified in case of emergency (Huie, p.143). The Kennedy Travel Agency of Toronto handled the processing of the application for Ray (5502). On the 19th Ray moved to the Dundas Street address (5502).

April 11,
1968

April 16,
1968

April 19,
1968

The fingerprints of "Eric S. Galt" were found to be a match with those of James Earl Ray after a search of the print file on Fugitive Felons.

April 19,
1968

According to author Huie he gleaned from Ray that Ray visited four bars on the 21st in order to watch the TV show "The FBI" (Huie, p.147). He found the show tuned in at the fourth place he tried and learned that he had made the Ten Most Wanted List with an international "look-out" as to Ray (Huie, p.147). He checked out of the Ossington Avenue room on the 19th (Huie, p.147).

On April 24 the Canadian passport in the name of Ramon George Sneya was issued to Ray (Huie, p.148). Ray purchased a round trip ticket to London and departed on May 6, 1968 (Huie, p.149). From London Ray took a plane to Lisbon where he spent 10 days looking for a passage to Angola (Huie, p.150). When he was unable to do so he returned to London after first getting his passport replaced at the Canadian Embassy in Lisbon to correct the spelling of the name Sneyd (instead of Sneya) (5502; Huie, p.150).

April 24,
1968

May 6,
1968

May 16,
1968

Ray returned to London and spent his time trying to find a way to join a mercenary force (Huie, p.150). To this end he bought a plane ticket to Brussels and was in the process of meeting his plane at the Heathrow Airport when he was apprehended on June 8, 1968, by detectives from New Scotland Yard (4346,4368; Huie, p.150-151). The arrest was made on the basis of use of a fraudulent passport and carrying a concealed weapon, i.e., the loaded .38 caliber Japanese-make revolver found on his person at Heathrow (4346,4368; Huie, p.151).

May 17,
1968

June 8,
1968

This chronology has been compiled from data in FBI reports and Ray's letters to author William Bradford Huie. It was hoped by the task force that we would have an

opportunity to go over the facts with James Earl Ray himself. Accordingly, after the United States Supreme Court denied his petition for a writ of certiorari, on December 13, 1976, a verbal request was made to Ray's Attorney, James H. Lesar, for an opportunity to interview Ray. Lesar stated that he was writing Ray a letter that day and would advise him of our desire to interview him and leave the matter up to him (Interview of James H. Lesar, December 14, 1976, App. B). Also, the task force sent Ray a letter on December 15, 1976, via his attorney requesting an interview (See letter to James Earl Ray, December 15, 1976, App. A, Ex.14). While no answer to our letter was received, Ray sent the task force a copy of a letter addressed to his attorney. Ray attached a copy of a complaint he recently filed in a civil action and stated in the letter to his attorney that: "I agree with your advice opposing the interview. It would appear that this would only be in the interest of the J.D. and their book writing collaborators, e.g., Gerold Frank, George McMillian, et al." (See letter to James H. Lesar, December 20, 1976, App. A, Ex.15).

Absent a statement to us from Ray, four existing Ray explanations were compared and are here briefly noted.

First, no one, other than his attorneys talked with Ray before the plea bargaining resulted in his conviction of the First Degree murder of Martin Luther King, Jr., and sentencing in open court on March 10, 1969, before Judge W. Preston Battle, Criminal Court of Shelby County, Tennessee (See Transcript App. A, Ex.16). At that time, on voir dire, Judge Battle asked Ray: "Are you pleading guilty to Murder in the First Degree in this case because you killed Dr. Martin Luther King under such circumstances that would make you legally guilty of Murder in the First Degree under the law as explained to you by your lawyers?"

Ray answered: "Yes."

Ray then acknowledged that he was pleading guilty freely, voluntarily and understandingly. He and his attorney, Percy Foreman, initialed the copy of these questions and answers. Ray also signed a detailed stipulation confessing that he fired the fatal shot (5506).

The task force observes that the only way one can be "legally guilty" of first degree murder is when one accomplishes, or aids or assists in the accomplishment, of the wrongful killing of a human being with premeditation and malice aforethought. Thus, Ray has judicially confessed that he intended to and did kill Dr. King.

Second, Ray related in writing to author Huie a story of his odyssey from Missouri State Prison to Memphis which acknowledged that he bought the murder weapon, made his way to Memphis, rented the room there at 422 South Main on April 4, 1968, using the alias "John Willard," waited in the white Mustang, and drove "Raoul" away from the crime scene after the murder wholly unaware of the killing of Dr. King. In this version "Raoul", or "Roual", is the mysterious killer whom Ray thought to be an international gun-runner; Ray bought the murder weapon for "Raoul" thinking it was to be displayed to prospective Mexican buyers in Room 5-B of the "flop house" on South Main Street (Huie, p.130-131).

Third, in a statement read on a program of Station KMOX-TV St. Louis, Missouri, in August of 1969 by his brother Jerry, James Earl Ray was quoted as alleging that he was the innocent victim, "the fall guy" of a scheme by the FBI (Memphis 44-1987 Sub M-665). This description of the crime contains no reference to Raoul.

Fourth, the most recent story available to the task force is reported as the result of a four hour interview by Wayne Chastain, Jr., for the Pacific News Service, October 20, 1974. It is to the effect that Ray was "set up

as a patsy" for "Raoul." It proceeds along the same lines as the tale told by Ray to author Huie that there was to be a meeting at the rooming house at 6p.m. with an international gun runner. Ray was instructed by Raoul to have the white Mustang at the curb for "Raoul's" use that evening. Ray, however, drove away from the area at about 6:00p.m. to get air in a low tire and found police swarming all over the place when he tried to return at 7:05p.m. He could not park, was turned back by police and learned only after driving 100 miles into Mississippi that he had been associated with the men who killed Dr. King (The Assassinations, Dallas and Beyond, Edited by Peter Dale Scott, Paul L. Hock and Russell Stetler, Random House, 1976, pp.315-317).

The task force views the exculpatory content of these varying and patently self-serving tales to be unbelievable. The varying details are materially self-refuting. Ray first admits full guilt. He then says he waited innocently at the curb and took off after the shot with "Raoul" as a passenger. He next says he was the catspaw of the FBI. And finally, he and the Mustang were not in the area when the shot was fired and he never saw "Raoul" after the event.

The eye witnesses to the "get away", saw only one man who resembled Ray. The man left in a hurry in a white Mustang as Ray admitted doing in version number two. We concluded Ray was lying about the existence of a "Raoul".

Ray's stipulated judicial confession comports in detail with the facts disclosed by the investigation and the failure of the self-serving stories persuasively undermines the likelihood of any conspiracy.

2. Motive

James Earl Ray, born 1928, was raised under difficult circumstances. His parents were poor, uneducated and generally resided in areas surrounded by criminal activity. Ray did not achieve a high school education, nor did he attend any vocational institution.* After enlisting in the army in 1946, Ray did not meet the military's standards and was discharged in 1948 for lack of adaptability. (HQ 44-38861-3333, 3987).

Thus, at the age of twenty-one, he had a very limited education, was not trained or skilled at any particular job, and was a reject of the military establishment. Thereafter, he proceeded to participate in and be apprehended for a number of criminal actions for which he would be incarcerated for fourteen of the next eighteen years until his escape from the Missouri State Penitentiary in April 1967. Ray's criminal activities included robbery, forgery and burglary (HQ 44-38861-4143). He was not known to have been involved in crimes where victims or witnesses were physically harmed.

*FBI files disclosed that James Earl Ray has an IQ of 105 (HQ 44-38861-3503).

In March 1968, James Earl Ray was forty years old and was never known to have had a serious relationship with a man or woman during his adult life. Although he was about to commit a very infamous crime of assassination, neither his childhood, his military years nor his adult life of crime and imprisonment signaled such action. His criminal activities were not those of a hired or self-accomplished premeditated murderer. Why then would James Earl Ray murder Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.?

An analysis of Ray's prison records and interviews with his prison inmates reveals some probative facts with respect to a motive. For example, in 1955 Ray was incarcerated in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, for forgery of post office money orders. On September 12, 1957, Ray was approved for the honor farm at Leavenworth, but was never transferred there because he refused to live in the integrated dormitory at the farm (HQ 44-38861-1678). Thus, he was supposedly willing to sacrifice this benefit and its accompanying privileges to avoid association with black prisoners.

An inmate with Ray at Missouri State Penitentiary for approximately three years, stated that Ray hated Negroes. He further stated that Ray had said that all the Negro prisoners inside the penitentiary should

be killed. He also responded that on several occasions Ray had said he would kill Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., if the price were right. In 1966, there was a riot at the penitentiary. Three blacks were killed. The inmate would not state whether Ray had participated in the killings. He did say that, if Ray had not, he would definitely know who had killed the prisoners. He also said that he would not be surprised if he acted without being paid for the killing. It should be noted that another prisoner who was a chef at MSP and Ray's boss for six years, stated that this inmate was a good friend of Ray and he also hated Negroes. (HQ 44-38861-4443).

A second inmate with Ray at the Missouri State Penitentiary from 1960 until 1965, claimed that he recalls that Ray was glad when President Kennedy was killed and stated "that is one nigger-loving S.O.B that got shot". The prisoner also advised that Ray disliked Negroes. During the time period when King was leading demonstrations and marches Ray would become aggravated and upset when reading this information in newspapers to the point that he would curse King and the Negroes. He further stated he had heard prison rumors that Ray was supposed to have killed three black prisoners at the penitentiary. Finally, he related

that in 1963 Ray made the remark that he was going to get Martin Luther King when he got out of prison. (HQ 44-38861-2678, 2791).

A third inmate at MSP from 1962 until 1965, described Ray as a "lone wolf" who never trusted anyone. He stated that Ray was a racist and was heard many times discussing his dislike of Negroes. Another prisoner became acquainted with Ray in 1965 and said that Ray commented if he ever got out of jail he was going to make himself a "bunch of money," and Ray further said a "Businessmen's Association" had offered \$100,000 for killing Martin Luther King. This prisoner said that Ray did not know what the "Businessmen's Association" was, but he intended to find out. (HQ 44-38861-4143).

A cellmate with Ray in 1955 at Kansas City who later served prison time with Ray at Leavenworth, Kansas, was also incarcerated with Ray at MSP. He stated that during the period when President Kennedy was assassinated the movements of Dr. Martin Luther King became the topic of conversation at the penitentiary. Many prisoners heard that businessmen had raised a considerable amount of money, about one million dollars, as a bounty on King's head. He further stated that Ray mentioned a dozen times that had he known about the bounty on John F. Kennedy's head and had he been free he would have collected it; and, if he

got out in time and King were still alive, he would get the bounty on King (HQ 44-38861-4143). A prisoner who was at MSP from 1958 through 1965 stated Ray did not like Negroes and was capable of killing Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (HQ 44-38861-4143).

Ray's psychological background is also a very important avenue of review. As a result of a voluntary psychiatric examination in 1966, Ray was described as having a sociopathic personality, antisocial type with anxiety and depressive features (HQ 44-38861-3505). In 1954, a prison sociologist stated that Ray's delinquencies seem due to impulsive behavior, especially when drinking (HQ 44-38861-3335). These characteristics and comments about Ray support the opinion of psychologist Dr. Mark Freeman. While Ray was in Los Angeles he was a patient of Dr. Freeman. Dr. Freeman believes that Ray was potentially capable of assassination, was a self-motivated person who could act alone, and likely fantasized on being someone important.

There were two matters involving Ray and blacks while outside prison which shed some light on whether his hatred of blacks and need for importance and profit could have motivated him to murder. While in Mexico in the fall

of 1967, Ray associated with a Mexican woman, Irma Morales, in the City of Puerto Vallarta. Morales admitted spending considerable time with him and recalls an incident that took place on Sunday, October 29th. She and Ray were seated at a table in a bar and were drinking when four blacks and several white persons arrived and were seated at another table. She stated that Ray kept goading the blacks for some reason. Thereafter, Ray left his table to go to his car, and when he returned he asked her to feel his pocket. Morales did and felt a pistol in his pocket. Ray stated to Morales that he wanted to kill the blacks. He then continued to be insulting and when the blacks left he stated he wanted to go after them. Morales, however, told him it was time for the police to arrive to check the establishment and Ray stated he wanted nothing to do with the police, thereby terminating the incident (HQ 44-38861-2073).

A second incident took place during Ray's stay in Los Angeles. James E. Morrison, a bartender at the Rabbit's Foot Club there, identified Ray as a frequent customer. Morrison said that on one occasion Ray became engaged in a political discussion with him regarding Robert Kennedy and George Wallace. Ray became rather incensed and vehemently supported Wallace. On another occasion, Ray had had a

discussion with Pat Goodsell, a frequent female customer, concerning blacks and the civil rights movement. Ray became very involved and began dragging Goodsell towards the door saying, "I'll drop you off in Watts and we'll see how you like it there" (HQ 44-38861-3557). Ray then supposedly went outside and had to fight two persons, one being black (Huie, pp. 96-98).

Thus, it seems clear that Ray openly displayed a strong racist attitude towards blacks. While in prison, Ray stated he would kill Dr. King if given the opportunity and Ray was prepared to threaten or attack black persons in Puerto Vallarta, Mexico, with a weapon for apparently a racial reason. These events and occurrences leading to the assassination of Dr. King and the assassination itself certainly do not illustrate a single, conclusive motive. Yet, Ray's apparent hatred for the civil rights movement, his possible yearning for recognition, and a desire for a potential quick profit may have, as a whole, provided sufficient impetus for him to act, and to act alone.

3. Sources Of Funds

Shortly after the search for Ray began, it was recognized that he had traveled extensively following his escape from the Missouri Penitentiary. Moreover, in addition

to normal living expenses, Ray had made several substantial purchases, e.g., cars, photo equipment, dance lessons (See, List of known expenditures, App. A, Ex. 4). These expenditures suggested that he had financial assistance and hence possible co-conspirators. Therefore, the Bureau was particularly interested in determining his sources of income. On April 23, 1968, the Director advised all field divisions to consider Ray as a suspect in any unsolved bank robberies, burglaries or armed robberies occurring after April 23, 1967. The results were negative.

On April 29, 1968, the Director in a teletype to all SAC's ordered that all law enforcement agencies which maintained unidentified latent fingerprints be contacted and requested that fingerprints of Ray be compared in order to determine his past whereabouts and possibly establish his source of funds. Again, negative results were obtained. The Director, on May 14, 1968, reminded all field divisions that Ray had spent a considerable amount of money from April 23, 1967 until April 4, 1968, and advised that a source for these monies had not been determined. The Director ordered that photographs of Ray be displayed to appropriate witnesses in unsolved bank robberies and bank burglaries. These efforts and all others to date, with one exception, have proved fruitless.

As a result of one of Huie's Look articles, the Bureau did ascertain that Ray had been employed at a restaurant in Winnetka, Illinois, for approximately eight weeks. As a dishwasher and cook's helper, Ray had received checks totaling \$664 from May 7, 1967 through June 25, 1967 (See, List of known income, App. A, Ex. 5). This is the only known source of income for Ray following his prison escape. Reports from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police indicated no known robberies or burglaries which could be connected with Ray, nor did Mexican authorities notify the Bureau of any criminal activity which could be associated with Ray. The Bureau investigated the possibility that Ray participated in a bank robbery at Alton, Illinois, in 1967, but it was established that he was not a participant.

Ray related to author Huie that he robbed a food store in Canada, and that an individual named "Raoul" furnished him funds on a continuous basis for various undertakings. These matters were actively pursued by the Bureau but have never been corroborated by them. Nor have they been corroborated by private inquiries of writers and journalists. It is the Bureau's opinion that Ray most likely committed on a periodic basis several robberies or burglaries during this period in order to support himself. Ray's criminal

background does lend credence to this theory.

The task force interviewed Ray's brother, Jerry Ray (See, Interview of Jerry Ray, December 20, 1976, App. B). He stated that to his knowledge family members did not provide James with any funds. Jerry admitted he met with his brother two or three times during his employment at the Winnetka restaurant and advised that he, not James, paid for their eating and drinking expenses. However, when Jerry again saw his brother on his return from Canada in August, 1967, James did have some money because it was he who paid for their expenses which included a motel room. Jerry added that James also gave him his car commenting that he would purchase a more expensive car in Alabama. Jerry stated he was unaware of where his brother had obtained his money as well as the amount of money he had at this time.

Accordingly, the sources for Ray's funds still remain a mystery today.

4. Family Contacts and Assistance

Our review of the files indicated that the FBI had no hard evidence linking James Ray to any conspiracy to kill Dr. King. Absent such evidence, the Bureau apparently discounted the significance of any contact between Ray and his family. As the Chicago case agent told us, it is not unusual for a fugitive or a person who has committed a given crime to be in touch with family members. While such contact may render the actions of the family member criminally liable, it is not generally pursued absent some evidence of direct participation in the crime.

However, in light of the fact that a good deal of mystery still surrounds James Ray and the assassination, particularly the means by which he financed his life style and travels, we concluded that on the basis of the information which was uncovered, the Bureau should have pursued this line of the investigation more thoroughly.

The connection of the Ray family to the crime against Dr. King may have been nonexistent. This does not alter the fact, however, that the FBI discovered that the subject of the largest manhunt in history had been aided in his fugitive status by at least one family member. This and other facts suggestive of family assistance became clear as the Bureau's investigation progressed.

First, John and Jerry Ray had significant contacts with James while he was in Missouri State Penitentiary (MSP) at Jefferson City, Missouri. Jerry Ray visited James three or four times and had borrowed money from James on at least one occasion during his confinement (Chicago 44-1144 Sub G-17). John Ray visited or attempted to visit James Ray while at MSP on at least nine occasions. The last visit took place on April 22, 1967, the day before Ray escaped (HQ 44-338861-4503). The Bureau also discovered that while in prison at MSP James Ray had a fellow inmate send a money order to a fictitious company (Albert J. Pepper Stationary Co.) in St. Louis, Missouri. The money was sent to the address of Carol Pepper (sister and business partner of John Ray) where she resided with her husband Albert. James Ray had told the inmate who sent the money that it was a way of getting money out of the prison (HQ 44-38861-2614).

Second, James Earl Ray was seen by several people in both the St. Louis and Chicago areas during the period immediately after his escape. In St. Louis (where John Ray was living) two former inmates at MSP, stated that they had seen James Ray on separate occasions. One stated that he had seen Ray three times between May 10 and 17, 1967 (Kansas City, 44-760-786). The other saw Ray entering a bank with Jimmie Owens and spoke briefly with Ray as they entered

(HQ 44-38861-3483). In the Chicago area where Jerry Ray was living, the Bureau discovered that James Ray had purchased a car on June 5, 1967 (Chicago, 44-1114 Sub D Ex. 85) and had worked in Winnetka, Illinois. Ray's employers also told Bureau agents that James Ray had received several calls from a man claiming to be Ray's brother immediately prior to James' departure from his job. They stated that these calls had a visibly disturbing effect on James Ray (Chicago 44-1114 Sub G-37). Jerry Raynes, father of the Ray brothers, told the FBI that he overheard John and Jerry mention that James had been in Chicago during the summer of 1967 (Chicago 44-1114-508).

Third, in California, the FBI discovered two facts which pointed toward possible contact between James Ray and his brothers. Richard Gonzales who was a fellow student with Ray at the bartending school in Los Angeles told Bureau agents that Ray had told him upon completion of the course that he (Ray) was going to visit a brother in Birmingham for two weeks (HQ 44-38861-1233). The FBI also interviewed Marie Martin, cousin of Charles Stein. She stated that for some time before March 17, 1968, (the date when Ray left Los Angeles) James Ray had been stating that he was in need of funds and was waiting for his brother to send him some money.

Fourth, through an informant the Bureau discovered that Jerry Ray may not have been entirely candid with the special agents during his several interviews. The informant disclosed to Bureau agents on June 7, 1968, that Jerry Ray stated he had seen his brother (James) at least once at a pre-arranged meeting place in St. Louis shortly after his escape. Jerry also allegedly stated to the informant that he had recognized the photograph of Eric Starvo Galt as being identical with his brother James prior to the time the FBI had first contacted him in connection with the assassination. He did not want to tell the FBI everything he knew out of fear that James would be caught. (HQ 44-38861-4594.)

Correspondence recovered by the Bureau indicated that Jerry may have heard from James in Canada in June of 1968 (HQ 44-38861-4517 and 4518). James Ray was in Canada during April and May of 1968 prior to his departure for London on May 7, 1968 (HQ 44-38861-4595). It is also noted that Jerry had earlier told agents that he had received mail from James, while James was in prison, at Post Office Box 22

Wheeling, Illinois (Chicago 44-114 Sub G-26).

Finally, in November, 1968 it became clear that James Ray had been in touch with his brother Jerry. Illinois motor vehicle records showed that on August 25, 1967 James Ray (using the name of John L. Rayns) transferred his 1962 Plymouth to Jerry (HQ 44-38861-5413). This was during the period when James Ray was making his way from Canada to Birmingham, Alabama. It has continued to be a mystery as to why Ray went to Alabama, how he traveled there, and where he obtained the several thousand dollars he had when he arrived.

Thus, at least one family member, Jerry, had lied to the FBI and had become subject to federal criminal charges for aiding a fugitive. He was never confronted with these facts by the Bureau. In the task force interview of Jerry Ray, he confirmed the fact that he had lied to the Bureau and had seen his brother James on several occasions.* / Jerry denied knowing anything about James' travels or his source of funds (Interview of Jerry Ray, December 20, 1976, App. B). However, the task force found the credibility of Jerry's

* / The task force attempted to talk to James and John Ray but an interview was refused in both instances.

denials to be suspect. In light of this low credibility and critical passage of time which has allowed the statute of limitations to run, we concluded that the FBI abandoned a significant opportunity to obtain answers from family members concerning some of the important questions about James Earl Ray which still remain.

D. Critical Evaluation Of The Assassination Investigation

As this report reflects, there was a wealth of information in the files developed by the FBI murder investigation. We have been able to dig up some additional data. Only a small part of any of this information has been made a matter of any official public record. Some of it was embodied in the stipulation agreed to by James Earl Ray and judicially acknowledged in open court by him (with a stated reservation as to agreeing to the wording indicating a lack of a conspiracy). Some emerged in Ray's post-conviction efforts to get a new trial. A quantity of the "unofficial" evidentiary data and a great deal of mis-information was gleaned by the news media and by professional writers. It is understandable therefore that many suspicions have been generated and, because of Justice Department rules against disclosures of raw investigative files, have gone unanswered.

First, the task force has concluded that the investigation by the FBI to ascertain and capture the murderer of

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was thoroughly, honestly and successfully conducted. We submit that the minute details compacted in this report amply support this conclusion.

At the very outset of the investigation telegrams went to all field offices of the Bureau instructing the Special Agents in Charge to take personal supervision of the investigation, to check out all leads in 24 hours, and noting that they would be held personally responsible. (HQ 44-38861-153). The files we reviewed show that this directive was conscientiously followed. The Bureau sought first to identify and locate the murderer using the obvious leads. They checked out aliases, tracked the traces left under the Galt alias, and used the known fingerprints from the murder weapon and the contents of the blue zipper bag left on South Main Street to eliminate suspects. This backtracking ended in Atlanta. At this point the Bureau initiated a check of the crime site fingerprints against the white male "wanted fugitive" print file. This produced the almost "instant" discovery that the wanted man, Galt, was James Earl Ray, an escapee from Missouri State Prison. In fact the "instant" discovery was a tedious hand search started in a file of some 20,000 prints. That it took only two hours to make a match is said by the Bureau experts to

be largely sheer luck; it could have taken days. We accept the explanation that the fingerprint search was a normal next resort after normal lead procedures were exhausted.

Second, the task force views the evidence pointing to the guilt of James Earl Ray as the man who purchased the murder gun and who fired the fatal shot to be conclusive.

It was possible for the task force to create a well documented history of James Earl Ray from the moment of his escape to his capture in England, using the investigation reports in the FBI files and to corroborate and fill in essential details with Ray's own statements (admissions) in his letters to author William Bradford Huie. From this chronology, from the laboratory proof, and from Ray's judicial admissions it was concluded that he was the assassin, and that he acted alone. We saw no credible evidence probative of the possibility that Ray and any co-conspirator were together at the scene of the assassination. Ray's assertions that someone else pulled the trigger are so patently self-serving and so varied as to be wholly unbelievable. They become, in fact, a part of the evidence of his guilt by self-refutation.

Third, we found that conspiracy leads (aliunde Ray's versions) had been conscientiously run down by the FBI even

though they had no possible relation to Ray's stories or to the known facts. The results were negative.

We found no evidence of any complicity on the part of the Memphis Police Department or of the FBI.

We acknowledge that proof of the negative, i.e., proof that others were not involved, is here as elusive and difficult as it has universally been in criminal law. But the sum of all of the evidence of Ray's guilt points to him so exclusively that it most effectively makes the point that no one else was involved. Of course, someone could conceivably have provided him with logistics, or even paid him to commit the crime. However, we have found no competent evidence upon which to base such a theory.

Fourth, it is true that the task force unearthed some new data - data which answers some persistent questions and which the FBI did not seek. But the Bureau concentrated on the principal in the case and much was not considered important to his discovery and apprehension. We find no dishonesty in this. A lead suggesting that one or both of James Earl Ray's brothers were in contact with him after, and in aid of, his escape in 1967 from the Missouri State Prison, and before the murder of Dr. King, was not followed. It was not unearthed until after Ray's capture in England on June 8, 1968; it was then apparently deemed a lead made

sterile by supervening events. By hindsight the task force believes Jerry and John Ray could have been effectively interrogated further to learn their knowledge, if any, of James Earl Ray's plans, his finances and whether they helped him after King's death.

Finally, the task force observed instances of FBI headquarter's reluctance to provide the Civil Rights Division and the Attorney General with timely reports on the course of the murder investigation. For example, early in the investigation in a reaction to a press report of Attorney General Clark's expectation of making a progress report to the nation, FBI Director Hoover wrote: "We are not going to make any progress reports" (HQ 44-38861-1061).

The Bureau files reflect a significant degree of disdain for the supervisory responsibilities of the Attorney General and the operating Divisions of the Department. For example, the Attorney General authorized the institution of prosecutive action against the suspect "Galt" (Birmingham 44-1740-1005). But then, apparently without further consultation with the Attorney General or the Civil Rights Division, the Bureau prepared and filed a criminal complaint. The Bureau selected Birmingham as the venue in which to file the complaint in preference to Memphis because the Bureau "could not rely on the U.S. Attorney at Memphis"

and "would lose control of the situation" (HQ 44-38861-1555). The Bureau scenario called for then advising the Attorney General "that circumstances have required the action taken" (HQ 44-38861-1555).

We submit that in this sensitive case the Departmental officials in Washington should have been consulted.

As another example, at the extradition stage of the case, marked discourtesy was exhibited to the Attorney General and to Assistant Attorney General Fred Vinson. In a telephone discussion with the Attorney General who complained of being "kept in the dark", an Assistant to the Director accused the Attorney General of falsifications and "hung up the phone". Again, when Assistant Attorney General Vinson was detailed to England to arrange for the extradition of James Earl Ray, the Legal Attache was ordered to be "diplomatic but firm with Vinson and that under no circumstances should Vinson be allowed to push our personnel around" (HQ 44-38861-4447).

The task force views this lack of coordination and cooperation as highly improper. The Attorney General and the Division of the Department having prosecutorial responsibility for an offense being investigated should be kept fully abreast of developments. The responsible

Division, moreover, should have sufficient control of the Bureau's investigations to insure that the legal necessities of pleading and proof are met.

In fairness to the Bureau it has to be observed that it is the obligation of the Department to insist on these prerogatives. We do not think it effectively did so in the King murder case.

III. THE SECURITY INVESTIGATION

A. FBI Surveillance And Harassment Of Dr. King

1. Initiation of Technical Surveillance and COINTELPRO Type Activities

In order to reconstruct the actions taken by members of the FBI toward Dr. King, the task force scrutinized the basis for the initiation by the Bureau of any action with respect to Dr. King. During the review it was revealed that on May 22, 1961, Mr. Alex Rosen, then Assistant Director of the General Investigative Division (Division 6), advised Director Hoover in an information memorandum, per his request on Dr. King and four other individuals in connection with the "Freedom Riders," that "King has not been investigated by the FBI" (Memo from Scatterday to Rosen, May 22, 1961, App. A, Ex. 7). The memorandum contained few references on Dr. King. The Director commented, with regard to the omission of a subject matter investigation on Dr. King: "Why not?" The substance of the report was forwarded to Attorney General Kennedy, and the FBI did not pursue the King matter at this time. Thus, FBI personnel did not have nor did they assume a personal interest in the activities of Dr. King through May, 1961. Furthermore, in 1961, information in the Bureau files on

Dr. King had only been gleaned from sporadic reports, and this particular report to the Director was provided by Division 6 which had responsibility for civil rights matters.

In the beginning of 1962, the FBI started and rapidly continued to gravitate toward Dr. King. The sequence of events has already been reported in some detail by the Senate Select Committee as well as in the Robert Murphy Report which you received in March, 1976. The task force in its review of pertinent documents confirms these reports.

In essence, the Director communicated to Attorney General Kennedy during 1962 and 1963 a host of memoranda concerning the interest of the Communist Party in the civil rights movement, and, in particular, Dr. King's relationship with two frequently consulted advisors whom the FBI had tabbed as members of the Communist Party. As a result of the deep interest in civil rights affairs by the Attorney General and by the Kennedy Administration, these FBI reports had the effect of alarming Robert Kennedy and affecting his decisions on the national level.

The net effect of the Bureau memoranda nearly culminated in the summer of 1963 when Attorney General

Kennedy suggested consideration of technical surveillance on King and the SCLC (HQ 100-106670-3631). Previously, the bulk of FBI intelligence on Dr. King was secured by technical surveillance of one of his advisors and from informants close to his associates. However, when Attorney General Kennedy was confronted shortly thereafter with the Director's request for such surveillances, he reconsidered his suggestion and denied the request (HQ 100-106670-165, 171). Attorney General Kennedy as well as several other Department officials were sincerely concerned with King's association with alleged communist members since proposed civil rights legislation was then very vulnerable to the attack that communists were influencing the direction of the civil rights movement. Yet, an affirmative program to gather intelligence with King as the subject was still considered ill-advised. However, a significant turn of events within the circles of the FBI hierarchy would soon reverse the Attorney General's decision, and without his knowledge the FBI would also launch an illegal counter-intelligence program directed to discredit and neutralize the civil rights leader.

Director Hoover's demeanor toward Dr. King has been well publicized and is summarized below. Certainly, as the task force determined, this played a vital role in

FBI affairs, as did the Director's attitude toward the Communist Party. On August 23, 1963, then Assistant Director of the Domestic Intelligence Division, William C. Sullivan, pursuant to the Director's request, presented a seventy-page analysis of exploitation and influence by the Communist Party on the American Negro population since 1919 (HQ 100-3-116-253X). This report and Mr. Sullivan's synopsis showed a failure of the Communist Party in achieving any significant inroads into the Negro population and the civil rights movement. Director Hoover responded:

"This memo reminds me vividly of those I received when Castro took over Cuba. You contended then that Castro and his cohorts were not Communists and not influenced by Communists.. Time alone proved you wrong. I for one can't ignore the memos as having only an infinitesimal effect on the efforts to exploit the American Negro by Communists" (HQ 100-3-116-253X).

The Director's comment had a resounding effect on Mr. Sullivan. Seven days later, he replied:

"The Director is correct. We were completely wrong about believing the evidence was not sufficient to determine some years ago that Fidel Castro was not a communist or under communist influence. In investigating and

writing about communism and the American Negro, we had better remember this and profit by the lesson it should teach us." (Memo from Sullivan to Belmont, August 30, 1963, App. A, Ex. 8).

Even more importantly, Mr. Sullivan also said in response to the action that he now believed was necessitated in determining communist influence in the civil rights movement:

"Therefore, it may be unrealistic to limit ourselves as we have been doing to legalistic proof or definitely conclusive evidence that would stand up in testimony in court or before Congressional committees that the Communist Party, USA, does wield substantial influence over Negroes which one day could become decisive." (idem.)

The FBI hierarchy had no written comments on this memorandum either supporting or negating the Assistant Director's proposed line of action.

Then, in September, 1963, Mr. Sullivan recommended "increased coverage of communist influence on the Negro" (Memo from Baumgardner to Sullivan, September 16, 1963, App. A, Ex. 9). The Director refused and commented:

"No I can't understand how you can so agilely switch your thinking and evaluation. Just a few weeks ago you contended that the Communist influence in the racial movement was ineffective and infinitesimal. This - notwithstanding