history. Before he (Attorney General Kennedy) brought it up last weekend the American people had written it off."

Senator Morse suggested to members of the Senate that they could get the answers to questions raised by Senator Goldwater by reading the secret testimony taken by his Sub-committee on Latin American Affairs.

Goldwater said that he had read it and it was the "most inconclusive testimony I have ever had the pleasure to read." Senator Goldwater demanded a full-scale investigation by the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Senator Richard B. Russell, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, said it was up to committee members to decide if such an investigation would serve a useful purpose. Senator Russell also questioned the wisdom of the Attorney General in rehashing the episode in newspapers and magazines. By implication he laid the blame on the Attorney General for giving Senator Goldwater the opportunity to ask for an investigation. Also he said he found it "a little difficult to see what the Attorney General—even if he is the President's brother—had to do with the Bay of Pigs in his official capacity."

At about this time Eugene S. Pulliam, managing editor of the Indianapolis News, and Chairman of the Freedom of Information Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, wrote to the Society's Chairman, Turner Catledge of the New York Times. Mr. Pulliam said in his letter: "We honestly feel that much information is being withheld not for security reasons, but to protect individuals in the mistaken belief that what the people don't know won't hurt them." A copy of this letter went to White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger, who replied:

"The President has stated on several occasions that only information effecting the national security will be withheld. He expects that policy to be followed throughout the administration and would welcome reports of any violation of that policy."

Well, I can't really believe that President Kennedy welcomed the publication of the story in the Birmingham Examiner—to which he had no doubt been alerted by Attorney General Robert Kennedy who had received an advance copy. The thing that really revived the Bay of Pigs issue in 1963, however, was not the publication of my story in the weekly Examiner, but the fact that Chicago's American learned of General Doster's participation in the operation at the Bay of Pigs.

For reasons best known to himself, General David Hutchinson, a regular Air Force officer, and General Doster's immediate superior, told the American that General Doster was the man they should talk to if they wanted to learn anything about the Bay of Pigs-because, General Hutchinson said, General Doster had been in charge. Of course General Doster had not been in charge, but when Chicago's American contacted him, and told him of General Hutchinson's statement, Doster, not wanting to comment further himself, referred the American to me. The result was that the story which had appeared in the weekly Examiner on February 3, appeared in Chicago's American on March 7, and was followed by another front page story on March 8.

The circulation of Chicago's American is somewhat wider than was that of the Examiner, to say the least. As a consequence, the national news media quickly learned that four Americans had lost their lives in combat at the Bay of Pigs—which seemed to be the thing that interested everyone most. While I personally did not believe this was the main issue, I felt that something worthwhile was accomplished when the President was asked a question at his news conference in March, 1963, to which he made this reply:

"Let me say this about these four men. The flight that cost them their lives was a voluntary flight and that while because of the nature of their work it has not been a matter of public record, as it might be in the case of soldiers or sailors, I can say that they were serving their country."

I don't know how much pain and anguish this may have caused President Kennedy and his administration—I would like to believe none at all. And I think it is great, and I hope they do too, that the children of the four flyers who lost their lives at the Bay of Pigs will have something to be proud of in the knowledge that their dads didn't run off and leave them in a chase after some adventurous will 'o' the whisp, but died in the service of their country. They know this is true because the President of the United States has told them so. No one has yet been able to convince me that the security of this nation has been jeapordized by this revelation, although I feel sure that if I have a file at CIA headquarters it is covered with red warning flags.

All the by-products of the Bay of Pigs have by no means been confined to Monday morning quarterbacking by Presidential advisors, members of Congress, and representatives of the press. These have been joined by the purely politically motivated. The administration responsible for the failure of the invasion at the Bay of Pigs found it expedient to pass the buck to the CIA, which must suffer all such slings and arrows in silence. A vast assortment of organizations and individuals with hay to make and axes to grind have followed suit—on the theory, I suppose, that if it's good enough for the people in charge, it's good enough for them.

Early in 1967, for instance, it was discovered that the CIA had supplied funds to an international students organization considered to be somewhat left-wing. With complete disregard for the responsibilities and functions of the CIA as an intelligence gathering agency, members of Congress, large segments of the nation's press, and free-lance guardians of the nation's "security" joined forces in an attack on the CIA for "supporting" the National Student Association. By this same line of reasoning, I suppose, payment to an informer who is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow would constitute an endorsement by the CIA of the international communist conspiracy.

But the absolute nadir of exploitation of the CIA must have been reached in New Orleans by a man who should rank high on any list of all-american political opportunists. His name is Jim Garrison. He is the District Attorney in New Orleans, Louisiana.

On February 18, 1967, Garrison announced at a news conference in New Orleans that he had been investigating the role of the City of New Orleans in the assassination of President Kennedy, "and we have made some progress—I think substantial progress. What's more there will be arrests."

A 49-year-old New Orleans pilot, David Ferrie, told newsmen that the district attorney had him "pegged as the getaway pilot" in an elaborate plot to kill Kennedy. Four days later Ferrie was found dead in his apartment, ostensibly of natural causes. He did, however, leave two suicide notes.

On March 1, Garrison announced the arrest of Clay Shaw, a New Orleans businessman, on charges of conspiring to assassinate John F. Kennedy.

Garrison's probe has not been all smooth sailing—a circumstance which he attributes to the CIA, "which knows that some of its former employees were involved in the Kennedy assassination and is doing everything in its power possible to frustrate my investigation in order to preserve the Agency's good name."

Predictably, the Agency would not comment, leaving the way clear for Garrison to proceed with his own assassination. In his eagerness, however, he has come on a little too strong, opening up a "credibility gap" of his own that even his most ardent supporters must find it difficult to span.

As a case study, however, if nothing more, Garrison's "probe" is a classic example of how the CIA can be, and is, exploited by politicians looking for ammunition that can't backfire.

Here are some of Jim Garrison's more incredible statements by which he attempts to link the CIA to the assassination of President Kennedy, at the same time identifying the Agency as one of the chief stumbling blocks in the way of his own investigation.

Says Garrison, ". . . You find anti-Castro Cuban exiles who have never forgiven Kennedy

for failing to send in U.S. air cover at the Bay of Pigs."

"They believe that Kennedy sold them out to the Communists."

". . .The link between the command level (the CIA) and the Cuban exiles was an amorphous group called the Free Cuba Committee, which with CIA sanction had begun training in Louisiana for an assassination of Castro. The group switched directions and decided to assassinate John Kennedy instead of Fidel Castro after the betrayal at the Bay of Pigs."

". . . A number of men who killed the President were former employees of the CIA involved in its anti-Castro underground activities in and around New Orleans. . "

Commenting on a story about an alleged former member of the CIA, Garrison said, "...he appeared at the home of friends in New Jersey, apparently badly shaken, and charged that Kennedy was killed by a small group within the CIA..." Garrison said that he "had been able to determine" that this individual "was not the type of man to make wild or unsubstantiated charges."

According to Garrison, "the CIA could not face up to the American people and admit that its former employees had conspired to assassinate the President; so from the moment Kennedy's heart stopped beating, the Agency attempted to sweep the whole conspiracy under the rug. The CIA has spared neither time nor the taxpayers' money in its effort to hide the truth about the assassination from the American people. In this respect it has become an accessory after the fact of the assassination."

Garrison claims to have proof that Oswald was recruited by the CIA. He also alleges that Oswald was in the pay of the CIA while he was in Russia and that he had access to information concerning the U-2. Garrison says further that he will have a witness in court who will testify to Oswald's CIA connections. This witness, says Garrison, is a former CIA "courier".

One might think Jim Garrison had been seeing too many James Bond movies. Unhappily, this is not true. Garrison knows exactly what he is doing. He knows he can make any ridiculous charge he wants to concerning the CIA. He knows there will be no rebuttal from the CIA, and that, consequently, most people will believe that everything he says is true.

I worked for the CIA for five months and I couldn't put my finger on anyone in the CIA if my life depended on it. I'm positive Garrison can't. And as far as Oswald is concerned, if he knew anything about the U-2, we may as well all throw in the towel right now and elect Jim Garrison Senator, or Governor, or whatever it is he's after—God forbid. Also, if Mr. Garrison is interested, I can at least assure him that there is no such thing as a CIA "courier".

According to Garrison, most of the attorneys for the hostile witnesses and defendents (in his probe) "were hired by the CIA". There is a conspiracy, says Garrison, "by elements of the Federal government to keep facts of this case from ever becoming known—a conspiracy by the CIA to conceal vital evidence from the Warren Commission. The CIA lied to the Warren Commission right down the line."

Garrison also offers this terrifying prognosis for the American people: "In a very real and terrifying sense," he says, "our government is the CIA. I've learned enough about the machinations of the CIA in the past year to know this is no longer the dreamworld America I once believed in."

Neither, fortunately for all concerned, is it the dreamworld he has conjured up down in New Orleans. Otherwise, we would all have to start sticking pins into CIA dolls.

Mr. Garrison's fantacies would be comic—except for one thing. He can, as he well knows, say anything he wants to say about the CIA and get away with it. In the absence of a denial, or any defense on the part of his intended victim, the CIA thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of people will

believe him—which is *not* funny. Fortunately Mr. Garrison can be easily exposed. For instance:

According to Jim Garrison, one Gordon Novel worked closely with David Ferrie and the anti-Castro group in New Orleans in 1961. Also in 1961, according to Garrison, Novel, Ferrie and "a prominent anti-Castro exile leader" raided a munitions bunker in Houma, Louisiana, and the weapons seized were subsequently shipped by CIA agents to the counter-revolutionary underground in Cuba.

Does Garrison really expect anyone to believe this—that the CIA stole ammunition to ship to Cuba in 1961? I personally transported enormous quantities of arms and ammunition for the Cuban invasion forces in 1961. It was not stolen by the CIA from bunkers in Houma, Louisiana.

On March 23, 1967, Garrison ordered the arrest of Gordon Novel as a material witness in the conspiracy to assassinate President Kennedy, and subsequently sought his extradition from Ohio. Here is the story Garrison tells about Novel and his alleged CIA connections.

Garrison claims that Novel learned that the District Attorney's office was closing in on him. Novel then fled the city. When Garrison's men later searched the apartment in New Orleans where Novel had lived, they found a letter, in Novel's handwriting, addressed to his superior in the CIA. This highly incriminating letter was alledgedly discovered tucked underneath the linoleum on the sideboard by the kitchen sink.

Garrison says that the letter warned Novel's superior in the CIA that his (Garrison's) probe was about to expose Novel's ties with the Double-Chek Corporation in Miami..."A CIA front that recruited pilots and sabotuers for the Bay of Pigs and subsequent anti-Castro adventures." Garrison quotes Novel as writing: "Mr. Garrison is unaware of Double-Chek's involvement in the matter (presumably the assassination) but has strong suspisions."

Here, Mr. Garrison asks us to believe that a CIA agent, knowing that he has been ex-

posed, and in imminent danger of being arrested by Garrison's office, writes a letter in long hand to his boss in the CIA, and then, before taking it on the lam, carefully inserts the letter under the linoleum in the kitchen where it is sure to found by investigators from the District Attorney's office.

The Double-Chek Corporation in Miami was a CIA front as far back as 1961, as Mr. Garrison well knows. In fact, this was the company used to contact the widows of the four men who were killed at the Bay of Pigs. It is not, as a matter of fact, the company that recruited pilots, although it was widely publicized as such. Mr. Garrison learned about Double-Chek in exactly the same way as did I and thousands of other newspaper readers. I never heard of Double-Chek until after I returned from Nicaragua in May, 1961.

In any event, the name of this Company, Double-Chek, and its representative, Alex Carlson, were made public by the CIA itself in 1961. Mr. Garrison, as a district attorney, must have some knowledge and experience in these things—enough to know, for instance, that no matter how low an opinion he may have of the CIA, it is not going to continue to do business (certainly not business connected with the assassination of a President of the United States) through a front that was exposed, by the Agency itself, to public view six years ago!

The Novel story adds up to pure con. Whether Garrison is the perpetrator or the sucker doesn't really matter. For him to seriously present a story like this as evidence to support his accusations against the CIA is to insult the most average intelligence, and it labels his "investigation" as just what it is—unadulterated hokum.

There is real danger in this sort of thing. If the American people can be made to believe that an intelligence agency poses a threat to established institutions of government in the United States, then sooner or later pressures are bound to develop which could destroy the ability of this agency to function as it is in-

tended to function and to impair its services which are vital to the security of the nation.

Apparently the fact that the CIA does not operate in the full glare of a public spotlight suggests to some that there is something sinister afoot if the agency is involved. Well, sometimes there is, and sometimes there isn't. But in either case the ultimate goal is to protect the government and the people of the United States, not to serve the independent interests of the CIA.

Then, of course, there are some people who just can't stand not knowing all about everything that is going on. But I don't believe these people would want their frustrations repaired at the risk of emasculating the CIA.

The question is, does the United States need a Central Intelligence Agency? Most people would agree that as long as the Russians and the Chinese, and their satellites, have espionage agencies functioning in every corner of the globe, the United States will continue to have a need for organized governmental establishments for intelligence and counterintelligence operations. The Central Intelligence Agency is one of these establishments. But there is a growing fear that, somehow, the CIA poses a threat to established institutions of our government; that it has become a separate, secret government which flouts international law, and throws its weight around in support of international conspiracies, which it has hatched itself, in defiance of the U.S. government's official policies; and that it is not accountable to anyone for its actions. These fears are fed by journalists like Haynes Johnson who tells the story of the CIA chief of operations in Guatemala planned to defy orders from Washington and carry on with invasion plans in cahoots with the Cuban freedom fighters. These fears are fed by politicians like Jim Garrison with his highly publicized probe of alleged CIA connections with the assassination of a President; and they are even fed by high ranking members of the U.S. Congress like Senator Stephen Young, of Ohio who says that "the CIA is not satisfied to be our watchdog, but wants to be its own master. It has taken on the character of a second government answerable to no one."

In Congress Senator Young is not alone in his apprehensions. A few years ago 34 other senators joined in sponsoring a resolution to create a joint Congressional Committee on the CIA. There are already two congressional committees, one in the Senate and one in the House, to ride herd on the CIA, but Senator Young says in spite of this "...today you cannot directly learn anything about the CIA operation—not what it does, nor what it costs, not how efficient it is, not even when it succeeds or when it fails—until it is too late to make any useful judgement."

What Senator Young says may be true. I am not in a position to say; nor am I qualified to express an opinion about the proper role of intelligence establishments like the CIA in our democratic system of government. But when Senator Young complains about a lack of objective evaluation of the CIA's performance by elected representatives in government. it seems fair to point out that in spite of strenuous efforts by many of his colleagues in the Senate to set up a committee to investigate the Bay of Pigs fiasco, this was never accomplished. Does Senator Young suggest that it was the CIA who erected the stumbling blocks in the way of an independent Senate investigation? Or was it the White House?

If Senator Young is truly concerned about secrecy in government, and if, as he says, "it is getting progressively more difficult to know where fiction ends and reality begins." he might do well to extend the range of his interest in this subject into branches of government which lie well beyond the walls of the CIA. I am not focusing here on Senator Young to the exclusion of all other elected representatives of the American people in national government. But Senator Young has made many widely read public statements about the role of the CIA in the Bay of Pigs affair-statements which he may believe, but which, never-the-less, are not supported by the facts; and the facts that have been concealed from him have not been concealed by the CIA as he seems to believe.

Here are some of the things Senator Young has told several million Americans about the Bay of Pigs and the CIA.

He has said that the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba was an object lesson in stupidity and international policial failure. ". . .It was appalling to learn how thoroughly all the signals were confounded—the lack of coordination, the waste of manpower, the failure to provide the promised umbrella of bombers over the beaches as the Cuban freedom fighters made their landing.

"The late President Kennedy gallantly took the blame for the Bay of Pigs disaster . . . .but it was plain by that time how disgracefully faulty had been the information he was given before the April, 1961, landings, how ill-advised he had been by both the CIA and his military strategists, how mismanaged the whole affair was from beginning to end, largely by CIA bungling.

"The CIA not only deceived the President in this case; the people of the United States were also deceived, and quite deliberately."

Senator Young is one hundred percent wrong!

It was not the CIA who changed the invasion plans at the last minute.

It was not the CIA who cancelled air attacks vital to the success of the invasion.

It was not the CIA who insisted on a "quiet" landing "preferably at night", and who cut down the strength of the initial attacks against Castro's air bases.

It was not the CIA who sent the Cuban freedom fighters ashore on Monday morning without air cover.

And it was not the CIA who deceived the American people.

Senator Young has also told millions of Americans that "Ambassador Adlai Stevenson was supplied with CIA propaganda that was false. . .he was subjected to humiliation in the United Nations. . .he was misinformed, in fact, duped, by CIA officials. . . ."

It was not the CIA who failed to keep Ambassador Stevenson informed of what was go-

ing on in the Caribbean, and it was White House aid McGeorge Bundy, not the CIA, who made a belated trip to New York Sunday night, April 16, to let Ambassador Stevenson in on the deal.

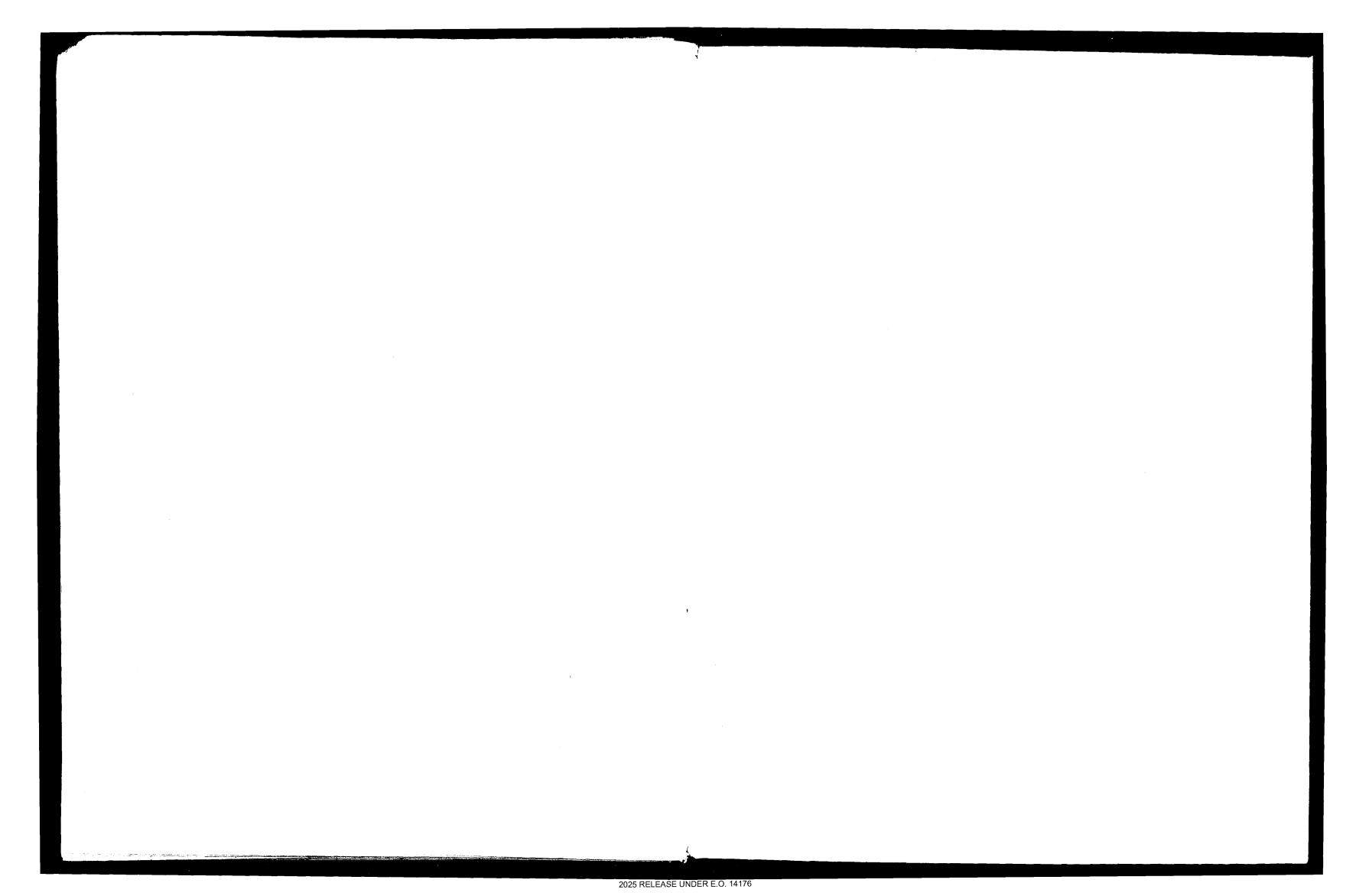
Senator Young himself has said that the CIA "...cannot talk about either their failures or their successes; they cannot put out press releases explaining or justifying what they have done. Like the heroes in the spy movies, they must keep their mouths shut, even under the torture of public criticism." Admitting, as he does, that the CIA must remain silent as he tightens the screw, is it not worthy of comment that it never seems to have occurred to Senator Young that he *might* be plowing in the wrong field?

With all due respect to Senator Young and other critics of the "invisible government", it was not my old friends Vic and Connie and their superiors in the CIA who dreamed up the Bay of Pigs. The invasion of Cuba by a brigade of exile Cuban freedom fighters was conceived by the President of the United States, Dwight Eisenhower. It was ordered by the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy. On these orders, it was implemented by the CIA and the Pentagon. Win, lose or draw, to CIA pilots Vic and Connie it was a job-a job which offered no promise of personal reward, no fame, no recognition. For them there was nothing but a capsule to crunch between their teeth, and a closed file back in Arlington, Virginia, if they had been shot down over the Bay of Pigs on Monday afternoon.

I don't know if Vic and Connie are typical of the people who work for the CIA. My feeling is, however, that if the majority of the American people knew who and what they are, they would count themselves lucky in this day and time to know that they have a couple of guys around who are willing and able to do the kind of jobs they do.

It seems to me, that if Senator Young and his colleagues in Congress could find a way to keep the people who are running the store up front honest, then we have nothing to fear from the CIA and its "invisible government."

THE END

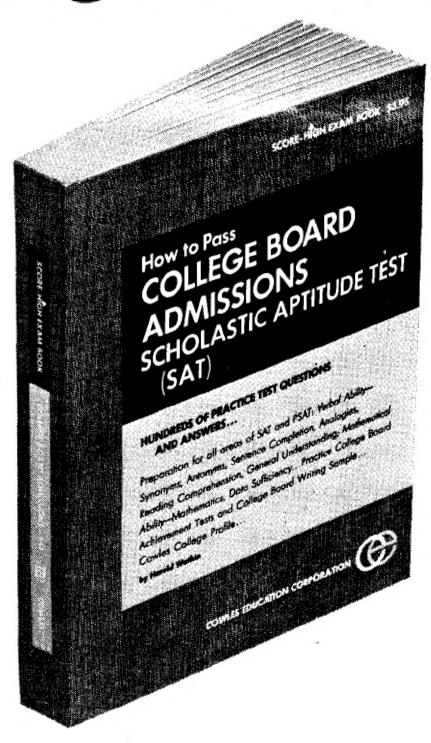


,	
	" If we have to get rid of these men, it is much better to dump them in Cuba" JFK
	By overruling the CIA and the Pentagon, and by requiring them to develop new plans, almost overnight, President Kennedy cut the chances for success at the Bay of Pigs to an irreducible minimum
	New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison's accusations against the CIA insult the most average intelligence, and label his investigation as just what it is_unadulterated hokum
	The Bay of Pigswas an absolute tragedy of errors, indecision and timidity, with all kinds of cooks stirring away at the pot and trying to cover up the mess when it was all over
	How much loss of world support for our efforts in the Far East have we suffered, and how many Americans will lose their lives there because the power and the prestige of the United States were buried in the sands at the Bay of Pigs?

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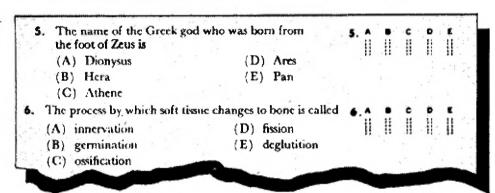
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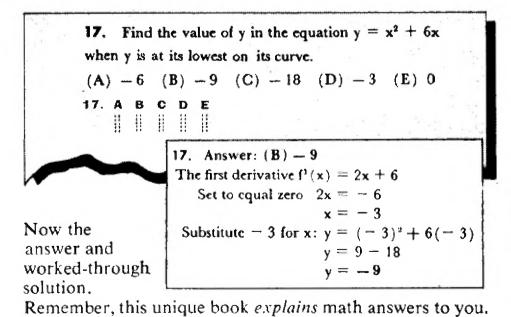
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DRING a de DRING A de Nove start and that assignment of the start and the start and that assignment of the start and the start and that assignment of the start and the

This is the third in a series of articles on James Earl Ray and the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., by William Bradford Huie, the eighth-generation Southerner who solved the murder of Emmet Till and was a friend of Dr. King. At the time of his first two reports. Mr. Huie believed that the evidence then available to him pointed to a conspiracy. There remained, however, unanswered questions that led him to months of further investigation and the current conclusions he presents here.

In the Tennessee State Prison at Nashville, James Earl Ray now regards himself as a political prisoner. When, early in the presidential campaign of 1968, he shot and killed Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Ray took what he regards as a political action approved by millions of Americans. Ray thinks he fired the first shot in a social or racial conflict, a second Civil War, which will eventually result in his being freed. He therefore feels fulfilled: he believes he is liked, respected, even admired. And he is confident that political developments in the United States will cause him to be freed in two to four years.

James Ray, who is 41, along with his brothers Jerry, 34, and John, 37, believed that George C. Wallace would be elected President on November 5, 1968, and that President Wallace would promptly pardon the murderer of Dr. King. James Ray thought that by murdering Dr. King, he would aid Wallace's cause. When Wallace was not elected, all three Ray brothers took comfort in the Republican victory. They figured they had gained something. The trial was set to begin on November 12, 1968. One of the reasons why James Ray changed attorneys on the eve of his trial, thereby forcing a postponement of several months, was that he thought he'd have a better chance if his trial were held after January 20, 1969.

Jerry Ray, who told me that his own police record began when he was a juvenile, said of the delay: "Jimmy's friends are just bound to have more power after Nixon becomes President."

James Ray wrote to me that he didn't have much

to fear from any jury in Shelby County, Tenn., because, in his words, "70 percent of the voters of this county [the Memphis area] voted for either Wallace or Nixon." He added that certainly he didn't have to fear a death sentence because "no white man has ever been given in a recial billion."

a death sentence in a racial killing."

The Ray brothers believe that Jimmy is supported not only by millions of individual Americans but also by certain newspapers and newspapermen. On November 1, 1968, when he thought the trial might start on November 12, Jerry Ray came to Alabama and talked with me. One of his worries, he said, was that "nobody but liberal reporters" could get a seat assigned in the courtroom for the trial. Jerry wanted me to use my influence to get "some conservative reporters like Paul Harvey and Fulton Lewis assigned seats, so we can have some friends who'll tell Jimmy's side of it."

One reason why it was hard to convince James Ray that he was likely to get the electric chair if he went to trial was that in his environment, in his heavily guarded cell, he received some of the approbation he had killed Dr. King to get. A deputy sheriff told him: "That jury ain't gonna turn you loose till they've fined ya two dollars for shootin' a coon outa season."

To counter such advice, Ray had to be told: "Boy, you pay attention to these half-assed jailers and you'll wind up in the chair. These guards and deputies are nigger-haters like you, and they'll---- in your ear about how you saved the white race by killing Martin Luther Coon. But jailers don't sit on juries. If you go to trial, three or four of your jurors will be Negroes, and the eight or nine white men or women damn sure won't be jailers or bailiffs. That jury will burn yore ass, and you better believe it, and let me make a deal if you want to go on living."

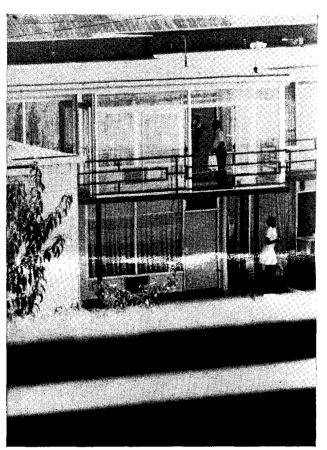
In August, 1968, when I began work on this case—when I began sending in questions to Ray via his lawyers and receiving his answers—Ray gave this account of the actual murder: he said that he carried the rifle to Memphis, and that at 3:15 p.m. on April 4, he rented the room at the rooming house. He said that he bought the binoculars about 4:30 p.m. But he said that when the shot was fired at 0:04 p.m., he was in the Mustang, on Main Street; that the "other man" came running down the stairs, threw the rifle on the sidewalk, jumped into the back seat of the Mustang and covered himself with a sheet, while he (Ray) drove away. Eight blocks from the murder scene, Ray said that the "other man" jumped out at a traffic light, and he (Ray) drove on to Birmingham and Atlanta.

sidewalk, jumped into the back seat of the Mustang and covered himself with a sheet, while he (Ray) drove away. Eight blocks from the murder scene, Ray said that the "other man" jumped out at a traffic light, and he (Ray) drove on to Birmingham and Atlanta.

Month after month, I sought evidence to support this account, while I urged Ray to reveal more about the "other man." I found no supporting evidence I could believe. I had to conclude that, in all likelihood, the "other man" wasn't there, that Ray



Through this window of a drab Memphis rooming house, the assassin fired a single .30-06 bullet.



Dr. King occupied Room 306, now kept as a memorial, on the upper floor of the Lorraine Motel. The bullet traveled 205 feet to its target on the balcony.

alone went to the rooming house and shot Dr. King. I told both James and Jerry Ray last fall that, in my opinion, James Ray had no defense to the charge of murder. I told them further that if James Ray went to trial pleading not guilty, he would be in grave danger of the electric chair. Since he was a habitual criminal, widely suspected of being a hired killer, he couldn't count on the solid support of white supremacists, not even of Ku Klux Klan members or sympathizers (who do not kill for cash).

Ray's decision to plead guilty and accept the 99year sentence was not easily reached. He feared that a guilty plea might cause him to lose status "among the prison population." As a criminal who has spent 13 years in prison and who knows he will spend more years there, Ray first wants status among criminals and their guards. I now believe he killed Dr. King to achieve such status. Only secondly is he concerned about status among people who don't inhabit prisons. And he hungered for the drama of a trial. He sustained himself with a fantasy in which he took the witness stand "before the world" and performed masterfully. He surrendered this fantasy and agreed to plead guilty, I feel sure, only after he decided that, despite his guilty plea, he will now be an important person in prison, and that he will yet win freedom in some dramatic manner.

Ray's pleading guilty to murdering Dr. King does not answer all the questions that continue to trouble me and many Americans. These questions are:

- 1. Who, if anyone, assisted Ray, financially or otherwise?
- 2. Did Ray make the decision to kill, or did someone else make it?
  - 3. When was this decision made?
- 4. Exactly why was it made? What were the motives of Ray and his possible assistants?
- 5. Is there any connection, however remote, between the murders of John F. Kennedy and Dr. King?

I believe I know partial answers to these questions, and I believe I may yet find complete answers. But in August, September and October of 1968, as I sought these answers in Chicago, California, Canada

continued

and Mexico, I was handicapped by what I now regard as several misconceptions. Other people, I realize, will disagree with me emphatically, and in detail. I believe, however, that if this tragedy is to be understood, if ever all the questions are to be answered and the answers widely accepted, these misconceptions must be dispelled.

The first misconception is that Ray's flight through Canada after the murder and his obtaining a Canadian passport by using the names of living citizens of Toronto were complex feats that he could have accomplished only with assistance. After retracing this trip, and studying Ray's account of it. I believe the feat was within his capabilities. No assistance was necessary. Here's how he did it:

Leaving Memphis I had to drive slow and careful so as not to attract attention or get arrested for speeding. I drove south into Mississippi for a while, then turned east across Mississippi and Alabama, through Birmingham to Atlanta. I got to my room in Atlanta about 6 a.m. on April 5th. I parked the Mustang and left it and sure hated I didn't have time to sell it for at least \$1,000. Upon leaving my room, on the table I left a letter to me from the John Birch Society telling me how to get information about the English-speaking countries of Africa. I wanted the FBI to investigate this letter while I got away.

I took a bus from Atlanta to Cincinnati. It was due to leave Atlanta about 11:30 a.m., but it left about 1 p.m. I arrived in Cincinnati about 1:30 a.m. of the 6th of April. I had about an hour and a half layover, so I went to a tavern as I didn't want to stay in the bus station. I think the taverns close there at 2:30 a.m. I arrived at Detroit about 8:00 a.m., still the 6th of April. I then caught a cab to a train station, where I was told I'd have to take a cab to Windsor, Canada. I got a shave in a barbershop across from the train station. I remember I had troubte as the barber said he didn't shave customers any more.

I took a cab to Windsor and got there about 10 or 11 a.m. The train left for Toronto about 20 minutes after I got there. I arrived in Toronto about 5 p.m. on the 6th of April [Saturday], and 1 rented the room at 102 Ossington about 6 p.m. for \$10. The people who ran the rooming house were immigrants [Polish]. The woman couldn't speak hardly any English and the man not much better. I never gave them a name as they never asked me for one.

On Monday I went to the newspaper office and went through the old files looking for two names to use to apply for a passport. I got about ten names from the paper, including Paul Edward Bridgman and Ramon George Sneyd. [Ray got these names from births reported in 1932. He wanted men about his own age. Ray was born in 1928, but he thought he looked younger than that, so he claimed 1931 as his birth year. Using the Toronto telephone directory, he confirmed that the men he had selected from the birth reports were still living, and in Toronto.]

Posing us an employee of the Bureau of Internal Affairs, Pass; ort Division I they are three these men to see if they had ever had a passport. I couldn't use the name of anyone who had ever had a passport as his picture would be on file. Bridgman told me that he had had a passport about eight years ago, but Sneyd said he had never had a passport. [The real Sneyd and the real Bridgman remember the telephone calls about their passports. Bridgman thought the call was "strange" because it came during the early evening, after normal working hours for gov. ernment employees.] At that time I thought that the man applying for a passport had to have another man who'd swear that he had known him [the applicant] for two years. So I decided to let Sneyd apply for the continued on page 106 "ON BALANCE, I FEEL RAY WAS HELPED."

## FOR CONSPIRACY

BY ARTHUR J. HANES FIRST ATTORNEY FOR JAMES EARL RAY



WHY DID James Earl Ray murder Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.? I still believe that Ray killed Dr. King because he was directed to do it. Despite his plea of guilty in court, I also feel that Ray did not carry out the murder entirely alone. On balance, both my son and partner, Arthur, Jr., and I feel that, at the very least, Ray was helped. This means that we believe there was what the law calls a conspiracy.

Between July 5, 1968, when, at Ray's request, I first saw him in London and became his attorney, and November 10, 1968, when he discharged me, my son and I, separately and together, talked with Ray for more than one hundred hours. It was a baffling experience because Ray never gave us his confidence on critical issues. Preparing his defense was like preparing for moot court in law school. We worked, but we had no defendant to work with us.

At all times, Ray was courteous and respectful. Of moderate size, with a sensitive, nonassertive personality, he is a man who would go unnoticed anywhere. Probing for motivations, I often attempted to discuss race or politics with him. He is well informed, but his views are neither extreme nor bitterly held. I never heard him express or saw him display resentment, hatred or malice toward anyone.

At each conference with Ray, we had to consider first a written list of topics he had prepared, some relevant to the case, some not. His questions were serious to him, and he seemed interested in my responses. He showed most interest in such personal matters as my bringing him shirts and ties for his courtroom appearances. On a human-to-human basis, we seemed to be close. But when I began asking the questions, he changed in attitude and demeanor. He insisted that his accomplice, Raoul, actually fired the

became tense and devious. Each time I saw him, I felt I had to make a new start at trying to gain his confidence. I never met a man quite so alone, quite so certain that he was his only keeper.

I believe his Raoul story to this extent: I think he met somebody like Raoul in Montreal in August, 1967; and I think Raoul may be Ray's name for one, two or three persons who directed or assisted him between August, 1967, and his escape through Canada.

Here are some of the reasons why my son and I feel that there was direction or help:

1. My son spent a week studying the rooming houses, the businesses and the people in the area of the murder. Unless Ray actually walked through and

had at least some time to study the rooming-house complex from which the fatal shot is alleged to have been fired, we can't believe that Ray could have known that he would have an unobstructed line of fire at Dr. King from the room he rented, or from the bathroom the state claims the shot was fired from. Since there is no evidence that Ray ever entered this house until 3:15 p.m. on the day of the murder; and since when he did enter it, he didn't go through the house looking out of various windows, but merely indicated what room he wanted, we believe that someone must have told him which house to enter and which room to rent.

2. Twenty feet below the bathroom window from which the shot is alleged to have been fired, there is a vacant lot, which at that time was covered with bushes 12 to 15 feet high. Dr. King's chauffeur, Solomon Jones, told reporters a few minutes after the shooting that "just after the shot was fired, a man with a sheet over his head ran out of the bushes heading south." Another witness, "Cornbread" Carter, said that he saw "the man" fire the shot from the bushes and then "take off."

From a concealed position in a firehouse just south of Bessie Brewer's rooming house, police were watching the area of Dr. King's room, trying to protect him from what they thought was the most serious threat to him: possible attack by Negro militants. A Negro policeman who could recognize the most dangerous of these militants was at a peephole and actually saw Dr. King fall. Both firemen and policemen who were in the back of the fire station heard the shot, and they all thought that it came from the bushes, not from any window 20 feet above the bushes. So I find the "bushman theory" of this shooting hard to dismiss.

3. The star state witness is Charlie Stephens, 46 years old, who lived in the room next to the bathroom. He said he heard the shot and saw a man who looked like Ray run out of the bathroom. But Stephens' common-law wife, Grace Hays Stephens, said that Charlie was drunk and saw nothing; that she saw the man run out of the bathroom, and he wore an Army jacket and was much shorter and lighter than Ray, we glying no more than 125 pounds. (Ray is 5711" and weighs about 160 pounds.)

4. When Ray's abandoned Mustang was found and searched in Atlanta, in its trunk was a man's clothing, much too small for Ray. It would fit a man who weighs 125 pounds. Moreover, the car's ashtrays brimmed with cigarette butts, and Ray does not smoke. And in the back seat was a sheet, like the one Solomon Jones' bushman was wearing.

5. The state has no conclusive ballistics evidence. A .30.06 bullet was recovered from Dr. King's cervical vertebra, but no ballistics expert could say positively that that bullet was fired from the Remington rifle purchased by Ray at the Aeromarine Supply Company in Birmingham and found on the sidewalk near

continued on page 106

# Ask the man whose agent borrowed an ambulance —about Ætna.



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the Main Street entrance to the rooming house.

6. When the man who fired the shot emerged from the rooming house onto Main Street, Ray's Mustang was parked to his right. Yet, according to witnesses in the ground-floor Canipe Amusement Co. who saw the rifle dropped, the man with the gun turned left, or south, away from the Mustang, dropped the rifle, and continued walking south.

7. Two white Mustangs were parked on Main Street near the entrance to the rooming house. The one that did not belong to Ray was said to have a "whiplash" antenna, indicating radio-broadcast equipment. Within a few minutes after Dr. King fell, there were mysterious radio reports about shots being fired from a Pontiac at a fleeing Mustang. I listened to polinious comings of these reports, and they remain a mystery to me. All I know is that they could not have emanated from the Mustang owned by Ray,

which had only an ordinary car radio.

8. I know the father and son who own and operate the Aeromarine Supply Company in Birmingham. They sold two hunting rifles to Ray, and talked with him on successive days. They told me that the man who bought these rifles "seemed to know very little about guns."

9. Finally, in all my conversations with Ray, I kept asking myself: Why would this man have killed Dr. King? He was doing all right as a fugitive. He was staying out of jail, finding girls, drinking a little beer and vodka, driving his Mustang to places like Acapulco, New Orleans and Los Angeles, apparently enjoying himself, and paying his way with various illegal activities. Why then would be gravely jeopardize himself by the senseless murder of a worldfamous figure? As far as I have been able to learn, he got no big final payment for it, and may not have expected any, though he has made contradictory statements on this point. So I simply can't think of any motive that clearly satisfies me in this case.

This is not to imply that I think I can disprove that Ray killed Dr. King. I'm as puzzled as anyone else. The state had a formidable circumstantial case against Ray. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, for which I once worked as an agent, has done its usual masterful job. I admire Mr. Foreman, who is a great criminal lawyer. I know and respect Mr. Huie, with whom I have spent many hours puzzling over this case; and certainly he writes persuasively about Ray's motivations.

But as of this moment, I simply cannot agree that James Earl Ray was not helped in murdering Dr. King. There are too many unanswered questions in my mind. In months to come, I hope that Mr. Huie, with Ray's help, can answer these questions.

### WILLIAM BRADFORD HUIE CONTINUED

### RAY TOLD HUIE: "I WAS GOING TO FRANCE TO TRY TO GET IN THE MERCENARIES."

passport and let Bridgman be his witness, and I'd be both Sneyd and Bridgman. So I applied for birth certificates in both these names.

I then told the Poltsh lady on Ossington Street that my name was Paul Bridgman, I wrote it out for her on a piece of paper, because I expected muit as I had applied for the birth certificate under that name. Then I went to the Dundas Street address and rented a room as Ramon George Sneyd. I told the Chinese lady I worked nights. I was going to spend days at Dundas Street as Sneyd, and nights at Ossington Street as Bridgman.

I then went to Brown's Theatrical Supplies on Yonge Street and bought a makeup kit. This was so I could apply for the passport as Sneyd, then I could change my appearance and go back to the passport office as Bridgman and sign as a witness for Sneyd. In this way I could be Bridgman vouching for Sneyd.

In the meantime I had been stopped by a policeman and given a jaywalking ticket so I had to destroy all my Galt 1.D. [This included his Alabama driver's license and all other papers identifying him as Eric S. Galt.] I then went to the travel agency and applied for a passport for Ramon George Sneyd. It was there and then that I found out that I had gone to a lot of extra trouble. If you don't have anyone to swear they have known you for two years, you can still get a Canadian passport simply by swearing that you are a Canadian citizen. I did this and was told I'd get my passport in

I didn't need Bridgman any more, so I checked out of the Ossington Street room and kept the Dundas Street address for Sneyd's passport to be mailed to. Then I went to Montreal to check on some ships in case the passport deal fell through. In Montreal I got a room on Notre Dame West, all the way across town from Notre Dame East where I had lived in August, 1967. If I didn't get the passport, I was going to rent passage on a ship that sailed around the coast of South Africa and try to slip in at one of the stops. I found a Scandinavian line that had ships going to Mozambique. The price for a ticket was \$600. But they wanted a passport number, so I gave up on that.

While I was in Montreal the police must have had a tip that I might be there because several people were arrested. I remember reading in a paper where two males were arrested in a white car with a dog. For this reason I never left the room except for meals and when I went to the shipping office. I returned to Toronto after being gone nine days, and next day I called the travel agency and was told that my passport had just arrived. When I picked up the passport I found the name was spelled wrong. [It was SNEYA instead of SNEYD. Ray prints when he writes, and his triangular D can easily be mistaken for an A. On his application for the passport, the D in Sneyd looks like an A.] There wasn't time to get it changed, so I had to leave Toronto with a faulty passport.

is nen I got back to Toronto from Montreal I had about \$800. I wanted to go to an English-speaking country in Africa, so I could get employment, but the price of a round trip ticket was \$820. You can't get in one of those countries without a round-trip ticket. So I bought a round-trip ticket to London, but I didn't expect to stay in England because it has too close police and other ties with the U.S.

Upon my arrival in England I called the Portuguese Embassy and asked them how long it would take to get a visa. They told me one day. I then used my return ticket to Canada to go to Portugal that day. In Portugal I spent all my time looking for a ship to go to Angola. I finally found one. The price was 3,777 escudos one way, about \$130. The ship was leaving in two days. I then went to get the visa and was told it would take seven days. I then returned to England as I was getting short of money. [In London, he held up a food store and got about \$300.]

I was going from England to France to try to get in the mercenaries. But they were having riots in France, and planes were not landing there. I finally contacted a newspaper reporter who told me the mercenaries had an office in Brussels. He gave me the address. I then bought a ticket to Brussels, and I was going there when I was caught at the London airport. They shook me down and found the .38. I also had a blueprint on how to make a silencer for a pistol.

That is a remarkable account and, as far as I can determine, a true one. The man who wrote it requires no assistance to travel anywhere. Ray had spent seven years in the Missouri State Penitentiary studying how to escape from prison and from the United States. He had read books and listened to other prisoners. In July and August, 1967, three months after his escape from the Missouri prison, he had practiced that trip from Detroit to Windsor to Toronto to Montreal.

Ray has an amazingly retentive criminal mind. He can draw an accurate diagram of any place he has ever visited. He knows his way around. He may have had assistance in his escape after the murder, but he probably didn't need it, and I now don't believe he had it. He's too proud of having done it alone.

The second misconception is that Ray's finding the rooming house in Memphis from which he shot Dr. King, the precise timing, his "knowing where King would be at a certain time," and his escape from a murder scene crawling with police and police cars-that all this required assistance, that "one man just wasn't capable of doing all this by hisself, he just had to have somebody to help him."

But did he have to have help? Here is the progression of events, along with an explanation partially based on Ray's statements to me:

HE FINAL DECISION to kill Dr. King, made by Ray or someone else, appears to have been reached on March 16 or 17. Dr. King was in Los Angeles on those days, his movements and statements reported by newspapers, radio and television. On Saturday the 16th, he addressed the California Democratic Council in convention at Anaheim and "called for the defeat of President Johnson." On Sunday the 17th, he spoke at the Second Baptist Church in Los Angeles. The subject: The Meaning of Hope. He said that hate had become the national malady, that he had seen hate on too many faces, "on the faces of sheriffs in the South and on the faces of John Birch Society members in California." He closed by saying: "Hate is too great a burden to bear. I can't hate."

Literally while Dr. King was delivering that sermon, at a post office three miles away, Ray was filing a card changing his mailing address from the St. Francis Hotel, Los Angeles, to General Delivery, Atlanta, Ga. Next morning, Dr. King left Los Angeles for Mississippi, and Ray left too. Ray, driving the Mustang, stopped in New Orleans; then on March 22. he was at the Flamingo Motel in Selma, Ala., when Dr. King was 40 miles away recruiting for the Poor People's March. Dr. King returned to Atlanta. Rav spent the night of March 23 in Birmingham; then on March 24, he paid a week's rent on a room in Atlanta at 113 14th Street.

On March 24-27, Dr. King was in the New York area. Ray used these days to locate and observe Dr. King's home, his office at SCLC headquarters, and his

### WILLIAM BRADFORD HUIE CONTINUED

church, Ebenezer Baptist. On a map found in Ray's Atlanta room by the FBI after the murder, all three of these locations were circled. Ray's fingerprints were on the map. On Thursday, March 28, Dr. King led striking garbage workers in Memphis on the march that a few young black militants turned into a riot. On the same day, Ray or someone else decided he should buy a rifle.

Ray told me that he decided to buy the rifle in Birmingham, rather than in Atlanta, because "I had I.D. in Alabama." On March 29, Ray drove to Birmingham, registered as Eric S. Galt at the Travelodge, Five Points; then went to the Aeromarine Supply Company at the Birmingham Airport and, as Harvey Lowmyer, bought a .243-caliber rifle with a Redfield scope. (He said he had come to Birmingham to buy the rifle because "I had I.D. in Alabama." Yet he bought the rifle under an alias for which he had no identification.) Dr. King, on the 29th, returned to Atlanta deeply depressed because, for the first time, a few marchers led by him had resorted to violence. Newspapers, radio and television publicized his pledge to return to Memphis "next week."

On Saturday, March 30, Ray went back to the Aeromarine Company and exchanged the rifle he had bought on Friday for a heavier rifle: a Remington .30-06 slide-action rifle, with a 2-to-7-power variable Redfield scope. This rifle package, with 20 Peters High Velocity, 150-grain, Soft Point cartridges, cost Ray \$265.85. Dr. King held a staff meeting at the Ebenezer Baptist Church during which he considered calling off the Poor People's March in the face of the "rising tide of hate in America."

On Sunday, March 31, Dr. King preached at the

Washington Cathedral, and Ray drove back from Birmingham to Atlanta.

On Monday, April 1, after an SCLC staff meeting in Atlanta, it was announced that Dr. King would return to Memphis on April 3. Ray left Atlanta late that afternoon, drove northwest and spent the night in a motel near Florence. Ala.

On Tuesday, April 2, Dr. King rested at his home, while Ray moved to a motel near Corinth, Miss. On a side road leading off of U.S. Highway 78 in Mississippi, Ray practiced with his new rifle. He fired several of the Peters Soft Point cartridges he had bought in Birmingham, and several Army .30-06 cartridges he had acquired somewhere else.

N Wednesday, April 3, Dr. King flew to Memphis on a plane that was delayed while it was searched after a bomb threat. He went to the Lorraine Hotel and Motel and was given Room 306. He had stayed at this place before, always in one of the new, more comfortable motel rooms fronting on Mulberry Street. Photographers took pictures of him, and on television that evening, the number 306 could be seen above Dr. King's head.

Ray came into Memphis on the morning of April 3. I assume he scouted the murder scene and could note that the doorways of all the Lorraine Motel rooms are visible from the back windows of the rooming house, which has its entrance at  $422\frac{1}{2}$  South Main Street. Ray got a haircut, purchased a shaving kit at a Rexall Drug Store, then registered as Eric S. Galt at the Rebel Motel inside the Memphis city limits.

At 3:15 p.m. on April 4, as John Willard, Ray

rented Room 5B at the rooming house. About 4:00 p.m., he purchased Bushnell binoculars and case from the York Arms Company a few blocks away on South Main Street. He took the rifle and the binoculars to his room. At 6:01 p.m., when Dr. King came leisurely out of his room and leaned on a railing, Ray killed him with one Soft Point bullet, which mushroomed on contact.

Did Ray have help in arranging this? He may have. But again, he could have done it without help.

The third misconception is that the fatal rifle shot could have been fired only by a practiced, experienced, expert marksman.

The Aeromanine Supply Company sold me the same rifle, same ammunition, same scope mounted in the same manner, that they sold Ray. Then I reconstructed the shot that killed Dr. King.

The distance was 205 feet. Dr. King was standing to Ray's right at an angle of about 20 degrees. He was standing, because of the terrain, about 15 feet below Ray. So Ray was firing down and to his right. Dr. King, unlike John Kennedy, was not a moving target. He was standing still. Ray was firing from a bathroom, with the rifle at rest on the windowsill. Through the scope, Dr. King appeared to be standing no more than 30 feet from the end of the rifle barrel.

I hadn't fired a heavy rifle in 25 years. On my first shot, I hit a circle the size of a silver dollar. Any 12-year-old boy familiar with a .22 could have killed Dr. King from that position with that weapon.

Ray had Army training. He was in the Military Police. He had practiced with guns. So the shot was easy for him.

The fourth misconception is that Ray is stupid continued



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### WILLIAM BRADFORD HUIE CONTINUED

and inept. It's true that some of his earlier crimes were ludicrously inept. He couldn't pull a simple holdup without running down a blind alley or losing his shoes or dropping his wallet as he ran. But during his seven years in the Missouri State Penitentiary, he evidently matured as a criminal. His escape from there on April 23, 1967 was well planned and well executed. He somehow persuaded at least two men who are still there to take the risks of aiding his escape. Instead of being inept, Ray has become crafty.

The fifth misconception is that Ray could not have supported himself and his travels between April 23, 1967, and June 8, 1968, and therefore must have had financial assistance.

In Montreal, about August 1, 1967, Ray held up a food store and got \$1,450. In reply to my written queries, he first told me that he got this money by holding up a whorehouse, and I published his account of it. Then he told me that it had really been a food store, and that he told me it was a whorehouse because he didn't want a "hold" waiting for him in Canada when he got out of prison in Tennessee.

E TOLD ME many stories about a 30-odd-yearold French-Canadian or "Latin" named "Raoul" whom he met in Montreal. Ray said he twice carried narcotics for him across the border at Windsor-Detroit and was paid \$750. Then Raoul came to Birmingham and gave him \$3,000 to buy the Mustang and some camera equipment. Later, according to Ray, he met Raoul in New Orleans and in Laredo. There were probably several Raouls, accomplices of Ray in holdups and other money crimes. Ray bought a large quantity of marijuana in Mexico and disposed of it in some fashion.

But there is nothing in Ray's behavior to indicate, nor has he ever claimed, that either he or Raoul or anybody else got any money for the last big job he was supposed to pull. I believe that Ray wanted to murder Dr. King for reasons other than money.

Since Ray apparently got no money after the murder, in seven months of dealing with him, I waited for him to show some sign of feeling that he was cheated, that he didn't get what he had been promised. Instead of bitterness or resentment, Ray has evidenced only an expanding self-satisfaction.

Ray seems to have spent about \$12,000 between April 23, 1967, and June 8, 1968. There were a number of unsolved robberies of banks, loan companies and supermarkets in the areas through which Ray moved. Getting that much money would have been as easy for him as killing Dr. King from 205 feet.

I can't prove that no one gave him money to kill Dr. King. But I can prove that he could have gotten it in other ways.

The sixth misconception is that Ray, having been in prison so much of his life, is not a "racist" or "nigger-hater" and therefore could have been motivated only by money.

The record indicates to me that he is a "niggerhater," even though he never evidenced this to Mr. Hanes. On April 5, 1958, Ray was released from the Federal prison at Leavenworth, Kan., with this item in his report: "On September 12, 1957, he was approved for our Honor Farm but was never actually transferred to the farm due to the fact that he did not feel that he could live in an Honor Farm Dormitory because they are integrated. He was therefore never given Honor status. He was assigned to our bakery where he has remained until his Conditional Release."

Bitter anti-Negro actions or remarks by Ray were reported to me by persons who knew him in Canada, Mexico and California.

A seventh possible misconception is that Ray is not a "killer" and is therefore probably incapable of

continued

""RAY WANTED TO WIN RECOGNITION."

BY PERCY FOREMAN SECOND ATTORNEY FOR JAMES EARL RAY



IF, IN THE DEAD OF NIGHT, I ever summon a physician, and he arrives at my bedside and asks, "Are you sick?" I shall use my remaining energy to leave my bed and throw the fool out of my house. So when a man accused of murder sends for Percy Foreman, I show him the courtesy of assuming he is guilty and that he hopes I can save him from excessive punishment. Else why would

he be preparing to divide his worldly goods, or hope of same, with me?

When, last November, the brothers of James Earl Ray sought me out and handed me a letter from him, beseeching me to represent him, I didn't fly to the Shelby County Jail in Memphis and run a gamut of guards to ask: "Jim, did you do it?" Because on Thursday, April 4, 1968, James Ray was prowling the vicinity of  $422\frac{1}{2}$  South Main with a deer rifle, and that is not one of the Volunteer State of Tennessee's several game preserves.

I assumed that Ray had sent for me not to spring him, but to try to save his life. I then, over several weeks, spent 40 hours in conversation with him, endeavoring to bring him to believe that I knew more about the law than he did, after which I saved his life in the only way I thought it could be saved. I consider this no mean achievement.

Why did Ray kill Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.? In public discussion, I normally leave the question of why to doctors of philosophy. If they won't defend criminals, I won't write essays, Here, I break my rule and offer a few pointed remarks.

The mouth-filling word "assassination" has been popularized by people who have forgotten its meaning. Others have defined it: An assassin is a secret killer for hire. Under the popular but incorrect definition, the deaths of President John E Kennedy, Dr. King and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy are called assassinations. But they were not assassinations, they were killings; and Lee Harvey Oswald, James Earl Ray and Sirhan Bishara Sirhan were and are not assassins, but killers.

Why did they kill? They each wanted the world to hear of them. They wanted credit. Top billing. Headlines. Front-page pictures. A by-line. Self-realization. A shortcut to fame. To exercise the ego. To them, notoriety and fame are synonymous. What other men study, plan and struggle a lifetime to achieve. these killers thought they could win with lead.

What did they have to lose? They were social re-

jects: dropouts from the school of achievement, all of them afflicted by burning pride. They had energy, nerve, ambition, but they had more motor than brakes. And a defective steering apparatus. They belonged to the race of men that don't fit in.

They killed neither secretly nor for hire. True, after killing President Kennedy, Oswald fled. The instinct of self-preservation momentarily overcame that of self-realization. But Oswald was a pamphlet peddler. He had boasted to his wife of trying to murder Gen. Edwin A. Walker. Had he lived, he would have boasted of killing a President.

For a few hours, I represented Oswald's killer, Jack Ruby. He was a frustrated showman, successful only at showing off the backsides of itinerant girls. To perform before 50 million television viewers was a chance he couldn't resist.

Sirhan tells us in his diary that "we believe that the glorious United States of America will eventually be felled by a blow of an assassin's bullet. . . .'

Before he fled the murder scene, James Earl Ray, carefully watched by three witnesses, deposited on the sidewalk the murder rifle that he had wrapped in his own laundry-marked bedcover to protect his fingerprints on the rifle from obliteration. He also left a canvas bag containing his laundry-marked shirt and underwear, along with a transistor radio on which the FBI found his identification number as a prisoner at the Missouri State Penitentiary.

Both rifle and bag he could have carried a few feet further and placed in his white Mustang. But that might have prevented his identification. He wanted to escape, but he didn't want to lose credit. As further precaution against such dreaded loss, he left his fingerprints in the side room that he had rented, and his palm print in the bathroom from which he fired the shot. All this by a man to whom fingerprinting had become a way of life.

A jury must consider the mental state of a defendant in determining his degree of guilt. So a defense lawyer must present his client's thinking as to the act charged. Had I not obtained a waiver of the death penalty for Ray, it would have been my duty to offer testimony as to Ray's beliefs about his victim, even though none of these was my own.

I think Ray believed Dr. King was a Communist; that his crusades had opened the Pandora's box of riot; and that, though he preached nonviolence, by indirection he created Black Muslims, Black Panthers and Invaders. Ray thinks that the war between the races is imminent, and he wanted to fire the first shot. The shooting of Dr. King, to him, was the Pearl Harbor of that war. He didn't tell me any of this: it is what I believe he thinks.

I don't believe there was any conspiracy. James Earl Ray wanted to win recognition. He hoped that by killing Martin Luther King, he could make the rest of his futile, boring life exciting.

### WILLIAM BRADFORD HUIE CONTINUED

having killed Dr. King. It's true that there is no previous murder in his record. But in 1966, Ray was given a thorough, six-weeks' psychiatric examination at the Fulton (Missouri) State Hospital. He was diagnosed as a "sociopathic personality, antisocial type with anxiety and depressive features."

The superintendent of the hospital at Fulton is Dr. D. B. Peterson. I asked him if James Earl Ray is capable of planned killing for money.

"Certainly he is," replied the Doctor, "Any man who commits armed robbery indicates that he may be willing to kill for gain if necessary. There is very little difference between armed robbery and planned killing for money."

I then asked: "Is Ray capable of killing in the hope of winning distinction? Approval? Is he capable of killing in the hope of relieving his anxiety, enhancing his self-respect?"

"Perhaps. He is so consumed with self-consideration that he is incapable of respecting the rights of any other individual."

When the misconceptions have been dispelled, at least partially, these questions still remain:

Was there a conspiracy?

Well, there are large conspiracies and little conspiracies. In large conspiracies, rich and/or powerful men are involved. Small conspiracies involve only little men. Last October, after working with Ray for two months, I thought that powerful men probably had made the decision to kill Dr. King. To date, I have found no confirmation of Ray's insinuations about this. Nor have I found believable evidence of any link between the murders of Dr. King and President Kennedy.

I believe that one or two men other than James Earl Ray may have had foreknowledge of this murder, and that makes a little conspiracy. But if there was a conspiracy, I now believe that James Earl Ray was probably its leader, not its tool or its dupe.

Is there a chance that other questions may yet be answered?

Yes, I think so. Remember that there are still many fundamental unanswered questions.

And finally: What was Ray's real motivation? Why did he want to kill Dr. King?

A clue to the ultimate answer, I think, lies in this circumstance. On April 21, 1967, two days before his escape from the Missouri State Prison, Ray bought a six-transistor Channel Master radio in the prison commissary. He carried this radio with him when he broke out, and listened over it for the announcement of his escape. He then carried it with him on all his travels and adventures for over a year.

After he shot Dr. King, Ray rushed down the stairs, and threw the rifle on the sidewalk. Then, deliberately, he threw down beside the rifle a blue zipper bag in which there were several items, including his old companion in loneliness, the transistor radio, which still bore his prison I.D. No. 00416. He also left his fingerprints on the rifle, on the binoculars and in the room upstairs.

In short, he purposefully left his calling card, telling the FBI that JAMES EARL RAY WAS HERE. That was his glory. He wanted the FBI and all of us to know that James Earl Ray, that poor, contemptible little man with a price of \$50 on his head, had killed one of the great Americans of this century.

This is the state of our knowledge up to this point. But, more than a year after the murder of Dr. King, there still remain certain basic, nagging, unanswered questions, the result in good part of the deliberately elusive silence of James Earl Ray, who in this respect if no other is a remarkable man. Mr. Huie plans to continue his investigation, communicating with Ray, face to face if possible, and, as he uncovers further answers, will report on them in Look.

### Which is the new word?

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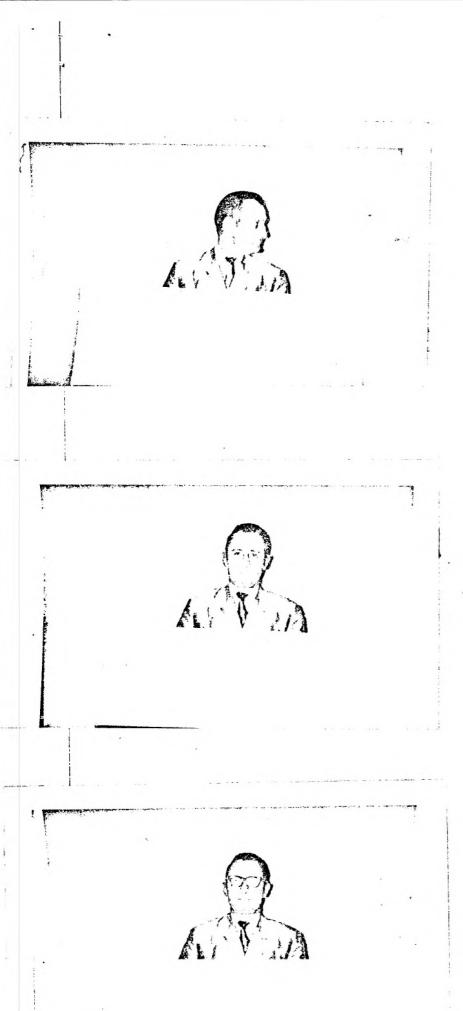
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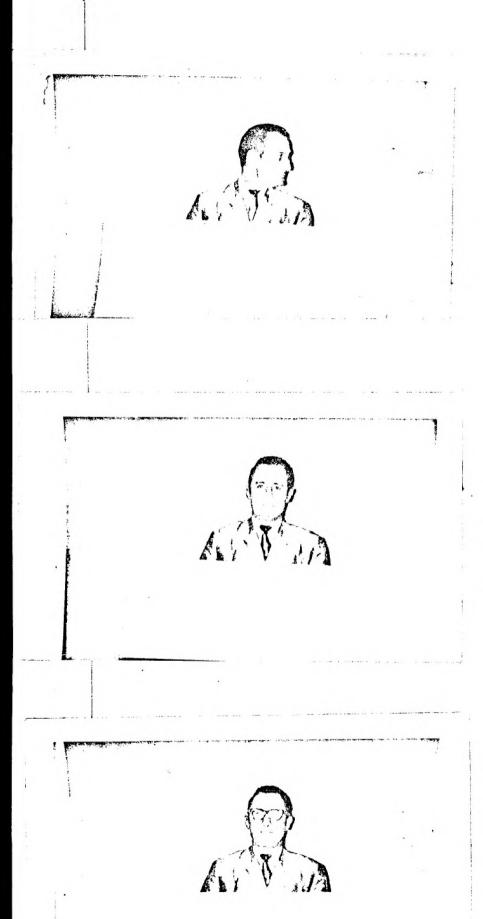




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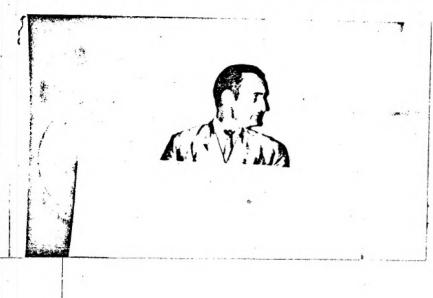




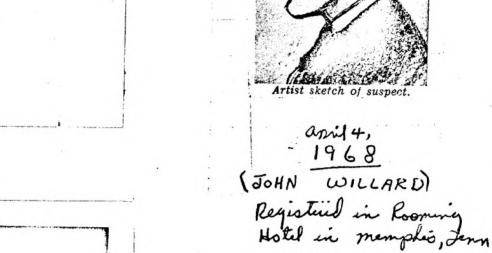
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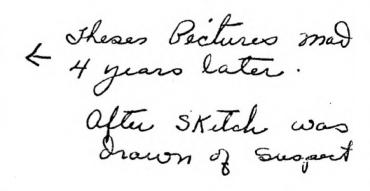
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