

Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is an appropriate agency of the legislative arm to oversee the performance of the Bureau. Both the Office of Professional Responsibility and the Senate Select Committee should be expressly designated in their respective enabling regulations and resolutions to be a place to which Bureau subordinates may complain, confidentially and with impunity, of orders which they believe to threaten a violation of the civil rights and liberties of citizens and inhabitants of the United States.

5. It seems to us that the unauthorized malicious dissemination of investigative data from FBI files should be more than the presently prescribed misdemeanor (5 USC 552a(i)(1)). A felony penalty should be added.

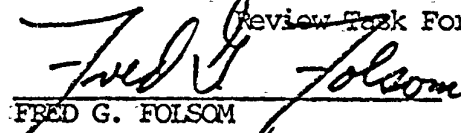
Parenthetically, it should be noted here that it should be made clear that it is improper (but not criminal)

for the Bureau to by-pass the Attorney General and deal directly with the White House.

6. The task force recommends that the FBI have no authority to engage in COINTELPRO type activities which involve affirmative punitive action following Star Chamber decisions with respect to citizens or inhabitants (See 18 U.S.C. 241 and 242). We believe that the guidelines which the present Attorney General has established to govern the FBI's domestic security investigations effectively preclude these activities. Those guidelines moreover, appear to us to permit only strictly legal investigative techniques to be employed in full scale domestic security investigations. This too we endorse.

The foregoing comprises our report and recommendations. It is respectfully submitted.

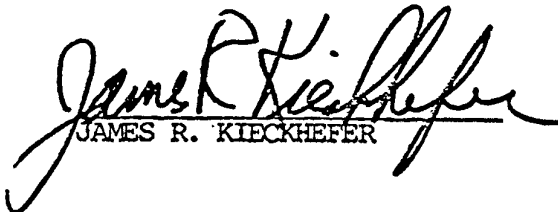
The Martin Luther King, Jr.  
Review Task Force

  
FRED G. FOLSOM

  
JAMES F. WALKER

  
JOSEPH F. GROSS, JR.

  
WILLIAM D. WHITE

  
JAMES R. KIECKHEFER

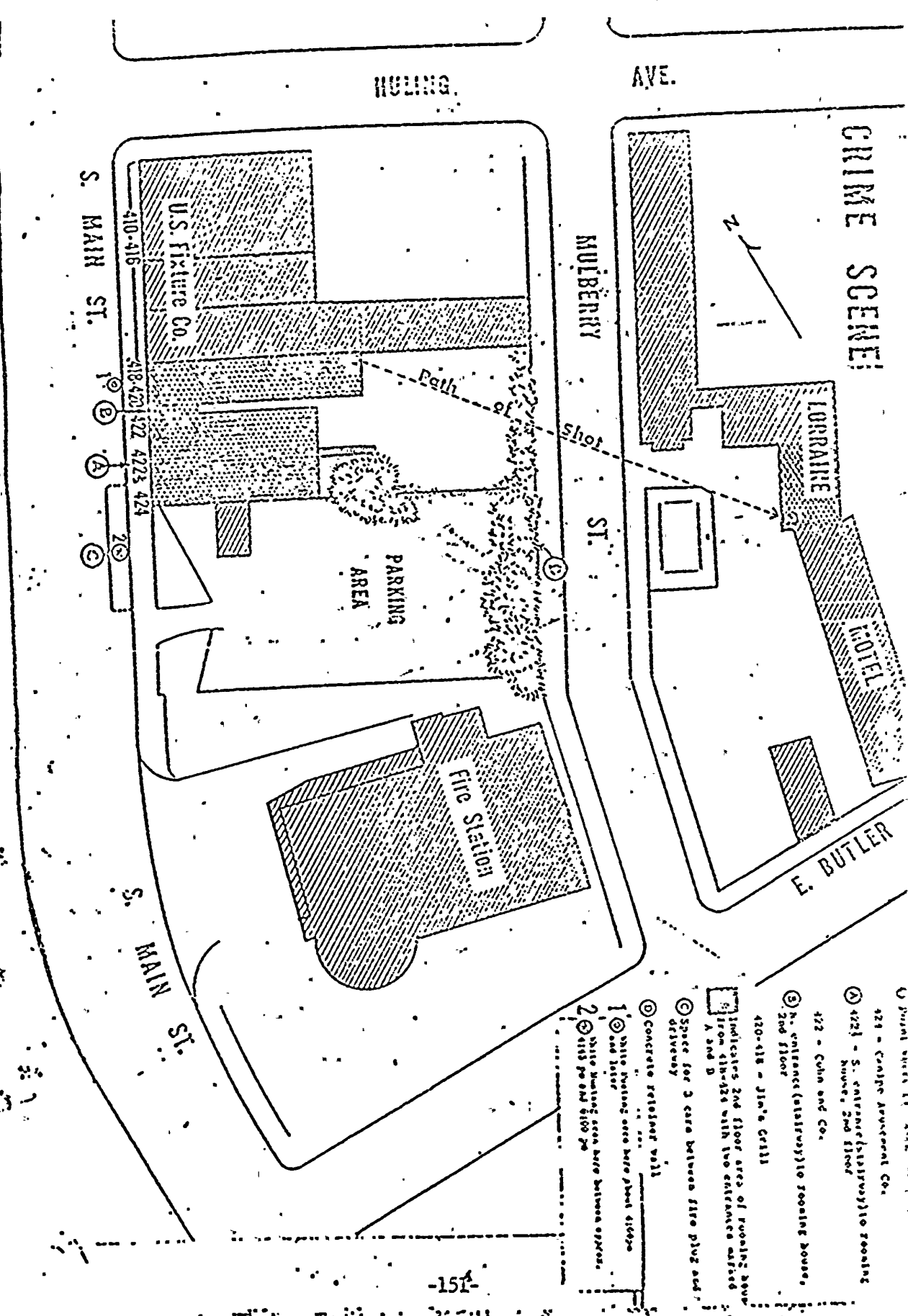
January 11, 1977

## APPENDIX A

EXHIBIT 1

Investigation  
of Hotel.

**EXHIBIT 2**



CRIME SCENE

LOBBY

MOTEL

E. BUTLER

MULBERRY ST.

ST.

S. MAIN ST.

S. MAIN ST.

FIRE STATION

PARKING AREA

U.S. Fixture Co.

410-416

418-420

422 423 424

20

1

B

A

C

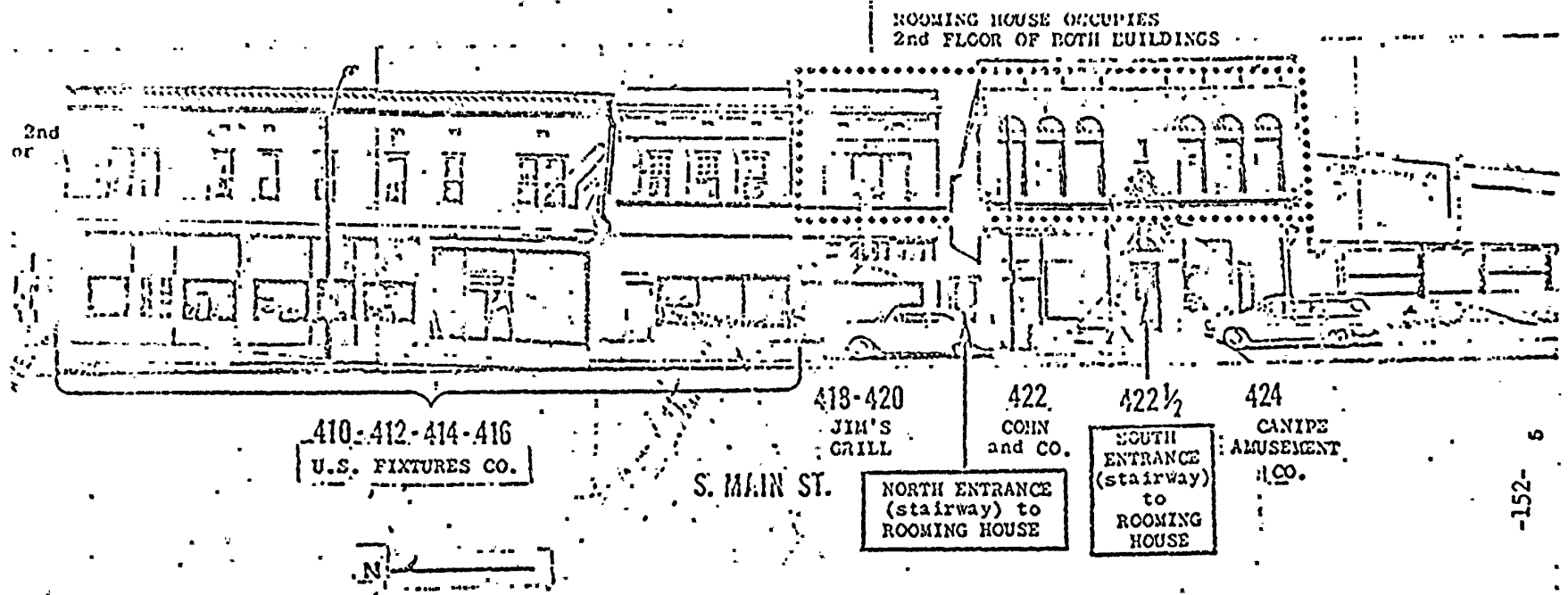


Shot

Path

D

- U point where 11 Ave. and 12
- 429 - Conipe Apartment Co.
- 421 - S. entrance (alleyway) to rooming house, 2nd floor
- 422 - Cohn and Co.
- 423 - entrance (alleyway) to rooming house, 2nd floor
- 420-418 - Jit's Grill
- Indicates 2nd floor area of rooming house from 418-424 with two entrances marked A and B
- Space for 2 cars between fire plug and delivery
- Concrete retaining wall
- White building area here about 410-415
- White building area here between 410-415 and 415-420



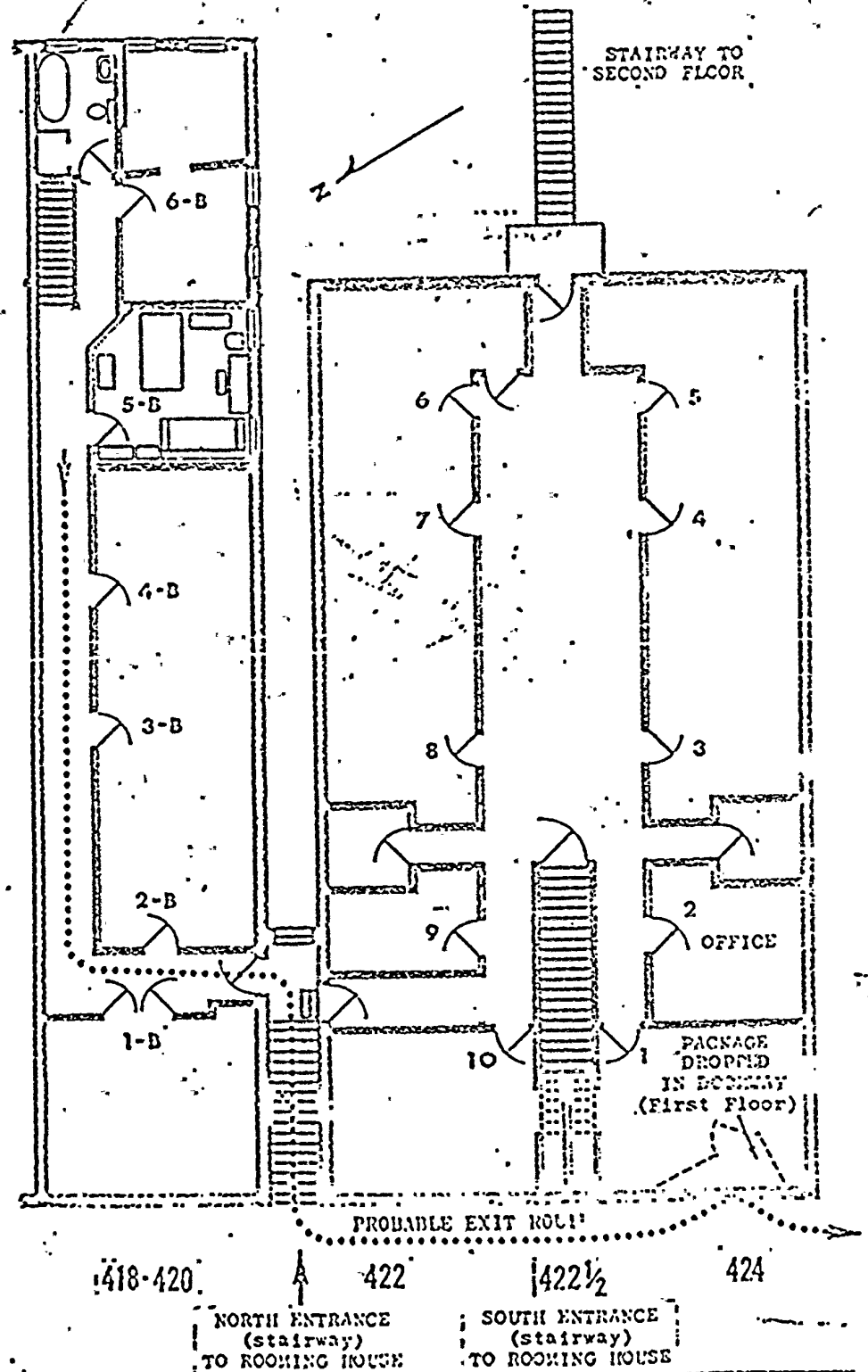
COMPOSITE PHOTO of  
410-424 S. MAIN ST.



# SECOND FLOOR PLAN OF ROOMING HOUSE

BATHROOM WINDOW  
FROM WHERE  
SHOT WAS FIRED

STAIRWAY TO  
SECOND FLOOR



[S. MAIN ST.]

EXHIBIT 3

PROVISIONAL ( )

FINAL (X)

## TENNESSEE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

CASE NO. 342

## OFFICE OF THE CHIEF MEDICAL EXAMINER

COUNTY Shelby853 Madison Avenue  
Memphis, Tennessee 38103

## AUTOPSY REPORT

NAME OF DECEDENT Martin Luther King, Jr. RACE N SEX M AGE 35HOME ADDRESS Atlanta, Georgia  
NUMBER OF STREET CITY OR TOWN STATECOUNTY MEDICAL EXAMINER J. T. Francisco, M.D.ADDRESS Memphis, TennesseeDISTRICT ATTORNEY GENERAL Phil A. CanaleADDRESS Memphis, Tennessee

ANATOMICAL DIAGNOSIS Gunshot wound to body and face with:  
Fracture of mandible  
Laceration vertebral artery, jugular vein and sub-  
clavian artery, right,  
Laceration of spinal cord (lower cervical, upper  
thoracic),  
Intrapulmonary hematoma, apex, right upper lobe

CAUSE OF DEATH Gunshot wound to spinal column, lower cervical, upper  
thoracic

NARRATIVE OF FINDINGS Death was the result of a gunshot wound to the  
chin and neck with a total transection of the lower cervical and  
upper thoracic spinal cord and other structures in the neck. The  
direction of the wounding was from front to back, above downward and  
(from right to left. The severing of the spinal cord at this level  
and its extent was a wound that was fatal very shortly after it  
occurred.

The purpose of this report is to provide a certified opinion to the County Medical  
Examiner and the District Attorney General. The facts and findings to support these con-  
clusions are based on the report of the State Medical Examiner.

J. T. Francisco M.D.

853 Madison Avenue Memphis, Tennessee

THE CITY OF MEMPHIS HOSPITALS  
AUTOPSY PROTOCOL

Autopsy No. A63-252 Service No. Ex. Hospital No.   
Name Martin Luther King, Jr. Age 39 Race Negro Sex Male  
Date of Admission DOA Date and Hour of Death 4-4-68 P.M.  
Date and Hour of Autopsy 4-4-68 10:45 P.M.  
Pathologist Prs. Sprunt and Francisco Assistant   
Checked by  Date Completed 4-11-68

FINAL PATHOLOGICAL DIAGNOSISPRIMARY SERIES:

- I. Distant gunshot wound to body and face
  - A. Fracture of right mandible
  - B. Laceration of vertebral artery, jugular vein and subclavian artery, right
  - C. Fracture of spine (T-1, C-7)
  - D. Laceration of spinal cord (lower cervical, upper thoracic)
  - E. Submucosal hemorrhage, larynx
  - F. Intrapulmonary hematoma, apex right upper lobe

SECONDARY SERIES:

1. Remote scars as described
2. Pleural adhesions
3. Fatty change liver, moderate
4. Arteriosclerosis, moderate
5. Venous cut-downs
6. Tracheostomy

LABORATORY FINDINGS:

Blood Alcohol - 0.01%

EXHIBIT 4

JAMES EARL RAY

Some Known Expenditures: April 23, 1967 - June 8, 1968

<u>Section</u>	<u>Serial</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Date</u>
71	5246	Rent for one week at 2731 N. Sheffield; Chicago	\$13.61	4/30/67
74	5448	1959 Chrysler; Chicago	\$200.00	6/5/67
74	5413	1962 Plymouth; East St. Louis	\$209.50	7/14/67
74	5437X	Bourgarde Motel; Dorion, Canada	\$17.28	7/17/67
19	2192	Rent for Apt. at Harkey, Apts., 2585 Notre Dame Street, Montreal at \$75/mo; Montreal	\$150.00	7/19/67
60	4692	Suit at English Scotch Woolen Company; Montreal	\$75.06	7/21/67
19	2192	Book ordered from Futura Books in Inglewood, Calif.; Montreal	\$9.00	7/24/67
17	2068	Correspondence course at Locksmithing Institute in New Jersey; Montreal	\$17.50	7/28/67
74	5402	Grey Rocks Inn from 7/30 to 8/5; Canada	\$195.15	8/5/67
19	2192	Formula for making glass purchase by money order to E.Z. Formula; Montreal	\$1.00	8/9/67
74	5400	Granada Hotel; Birmingham	\$4.50	8/26/67
21	2324	Room and board for one week	\$22.50	8/26/67
6	628	1966 White Ford Mustang; Birmingham	\$1,995.00	8/30/67
21	2324	Room and board; Birmingham	\$22.50	9/2/67
21	2324	Room and board; Birmingham	\$22.50	9/9/67
21	2324	Dance lessons; Birmingham	\$10.00	9/12/67

<u>Section</u>	<u>Serial</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Date</u>
21	2324	Room and board; Birmingham	\$22.50	9/16/67
21	2324	Room and board; Birmingham	\$22.50	9/23/67
9	1135	Camera equipment, Superior Bulk Film Co.; Birmingham	\$337.24	9/28/67
18	2118	Room only; Birmingham	\$17.50	9/20/67
55	1422	.38 Caliber, Liberty Chief Revolver	\$65.00	10/1/67
75	5496	Hotel San Francisco - 10/10; Acapulco	\$6.00	10/11/67
75	5496	Pancho Villa - 10/15; Guadalajara	\$3.20	10/16/67
75	5496	Pancho Villa - 10/18; Guadalajara	\$3.20	10/19/67
69	5150	Hotel Rio at \$4.80/day- 10/19-11/6; Puerto Vallarta	\$91.20	11/6/67
69	5150	Elisa Arellano to rent apt.; Puerto Vallarta	\$48.00	11/ /67
69	5150	Hotel Tropicana at \$7.20 day - 11/7-11/13; Puerto Vallarta	\$43.20	11/13/67
6	668	Rent at 1535 N. Serrano;	\$127.50	11/19/67
6	668	Utilities at 1535 N. Serrano; Los Angeles	\$10.00	11/20/67
52	4143	Appointment with Dr. Mark Freeman; Beverly Hills	\$25.00	11/27/67
52	4143	Appointment with Dr. Mark Freeman	\$25.00	11/30/67
52	4143	Appointment with Dr. Mark Freeman	\$25.00	12/4/67
52	4143	Dance lessons at National Dance Studio; Los Angeles	\$29.00	12/5/67
52	4143	Appointment with Freeman	\$25.00	12/6/67
52	4143	Dance lessons	\$29.00	12/7/67

<u>Section</u>	<u>Serial</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Date</u>
52	4143	Appointment with Freeman	\$25.00	12/11/67
52	4143	Dance lessons	\$29.00	12/12/67
6	745			
22	2325	Dance lessons	\$100.00	12/14/67
52	4143	Appointment with Freeman	\$25.00	12/14/67
74	5399	Provincial Motel - 12/17-12/19; New Orleans	\$24.00	12/19/67
6	745			
22	2325	Dance lessons	\$364.00	12/21/67
22	2325	Locksmithing Institute; Los Angeles	\$15.00	1/8/68
22	2325	International School of Bartending; Los Angeles	\$20.00	1/19/68
22	2325	International School of Bartending; Los Angeles	\$105.00	1/20/68
22	2325	Rent at St. Francis Hotel; Los Angeles	\$85.00	1/21/68
12	1500	Free Press of Los Angeles	\$4.25	1/29/68
22	2325	Locksmithing Institute	\$7.50	1/31/68
12	1500	C.M. Hedgpeth, mail forwarding service	\$3.00	2/1/68
6	668	Rent at St. Francis Hotel	\$85.00	2/21/68
12	1500	Futura Books	\$6.44	2/26/68
12	1500	Tiffany Enterprises	\$9.98	2/26/68
22	2325	Locksmithing Institute	\$7.50	2/26/68
22	2325	Locksmith Ledger	\$5.25	2/26/68
12	1428	Locksmithing Institute	\$15.00	3/8/68
8	1033	Room/week at 113 14th St.; Atlanta	\$10.00	3/24/68



<u>Serial</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Date</u>
5502	Flamingo Motel 3/22; Selma	\$8.00	3/23/68
1428	Locksmithing Institute; Atlanta	\$7.50	3/28/68
5725	Travelodge Motel; Birmingham	\$8.48	3/29/68
432	Purchase of rifle Birmingham	\$248.59	3/29/68
1033	Room in Atlanta	\$10.00	3/21/68
630	Rexall Drugstore; Whitehaven, Tenn.	\$1.83	4/3/68
327	Rooming house on Main St.; Memphis	\$8.50	4/4/68
46	Binoculars; Memphis	\$41.55	4/4/68
4454	Rent/week at 962 Dundas St.; Toronto	\$9.00	4/16/68
4454	Round trip airplane ticket; Toronto	\$345.00	5/2/68

**EXHIBIT 5**

JAMES EARL RAY

Known Income: April 23, 1967 - June 8, 1968

<u>Section</u>	<u>Serial</u>	
68	5100	Payroll checks from Indian Trail Restaurant Winnetka, Illinois
		May 7               \$ 57.69
		May 14             84.89
		May 21             84.89
		May 28             84.89
		June 4              89.63
		June 11            89.63
		June 18            95.19
		June 25            77.53
		<hr/> \$664.34

**EXHIBIT 6**

# READING BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bishop, Jim. The Days of Martin Luther King, Jr. G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1971.

Frank, Gerold. An American Death. Doubleday & Company, New York, 1972.

Hoch, Paul, and Scott, Peter, and Stetter, Russell. The Assassinations, Dallas and Beyond. Random House, 1976.

Huie, William Bradford. He Slew the Dreamer. Delacorte Press, New York, 1968.

McMillan, George. The Making of an Assassin. Little Brown & Co., 1976.

Seigenthaler, John. A Search for Justice. Aurora Publ., Nashville, 1971.

**EXHIBIT 7**

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : MR. A. ROSEN *John*

DATE: May 22, 1961

FROM : MR. G. H. SCATTERDAY *John*

SUBJECT:

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.;

*OK*  
Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Memorandum to Mr. Rosen

Martin Luther King, Jr. \*

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., prominent integrationist who led bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, and "sit-in demonstrations," has been associated with National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Congress of Racial Equality. King has not been investigated by the FBI.

Bureau files reveal: King thanked Socialist Workers Party (cited by Attorney General) for support of bus boycott; attended meetings of Progressive Party (cited by Subcommittee of Senate Judiciary Committee); and was honorary chairman of Young Socialist League campaign on behalf of victims of racist terror. \*

King in 1950's mentioned as potential victim of assassination plot and in 1957 attended Communist Party training school seminar and reportedly gave closing speech. King President of

*See me have more details*



Memorandum to Mr. Rosen

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (to further Negro vote registration) and advised "The Civil Rights law...is meaningless unless we go out and make use of it." King thanked Benjamin Davis, Jr., Communist Party official, for giving blood when he was in a hospital following assault. King in 1960 indicated his support for Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell (cited by House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) as communist front) and in 1961 wrote article in "The Nation" which called for integration of FBI to help speed integration. King attended meetings with integration leaders in Montgomery, Alabama, 5-21-61.

**EXHIBIT 8**

**EXHIBIT 9**

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 30, 1963

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
IS - C

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

Reference is made to the enclosed material on which the Director has written: "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 re King, et al as having only an infinitesimal effect on the efforts to exploit the American Negro by the Communists.'"

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. On investigating and writing about communism and the American Negro, we had better remember this and profit by the lesson it should teach us.

I do think that much of the difficulty relating to the memorandum rightly questioned by the Director is to be found centered in the word "influence." We do not have, and no Government agency or private organization has, any yardstick which can accurately measure "influence" in this particular context, even when we know it does exist such as in the case of the obvious influence of

over Martin Luther King and King's influence over other Negro leaders. Personally, I believe in the light of King's powerful demagogic speech yesterday he stands head and shoulders over all other Negro leaders put together when it comes to influencing great masses of Negroes. We must mark him now, if we have not done so before, as the most dangerous Negro of the future in this Nation from the standpoint of communism, the Negro and national security.

On determining membership of Negroes in the Communist Party, we are not confronted with the same problem. We do have here accurate yardsticks for establishing membership. Of course, our standards are very exacting. This means there are many Negroes who are fellow-travellers, sympathizers or who aid the Party, knowingly or unknowingly, but do not qualify as members. These we must not ignore. The old communist principle still holds: "Communism must be built with non-communist hands." Therefore, it may be unrealistic to limit ourselves as we have been doing to legalistic proof or definitely conclusive evidence

Enclosure

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
100-3-75

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.

The memorandum which the Director penetratively questioned, while showing in the details the communist impact on Negroes, did suffer from such limitations. These limitations we will make every effort to lift in the future. The great amount of attention this Division is giving to communist activities directed toward the Negro should enable us to do this.

For example, here at the Seat of Government, the Negro - communist question takes up as a whole the time of one supervisor and during the past few weeks four men have been so occupied. Additionally, (1) specialized instructions are regularly given the field on communist infiltration of the Negro; (2) monographs have been written on the subject and widely disseminated; (3) regularly disseminated are memoranda and reports; (4) August 21, 1963, we devoted the entire Current Intelligence Analysis to the communist plans for the Negro March of August 28, 1963, (149 copies of this Analysis were disseminated to 44 agencies of the Government); (5) much material on the issue is given to Agents at In-Service; and (6) an SAC Letter is under preparation in this Division now giving the field the benefit of what we learned from the Negro March on Washington and issuing instructions for increased coverage of communist influence on the Negro.

As the memorandum pointed out, "this Nation is involved in a form of racial revolution and the time has never been so right for exploitation of the Negroes by communist propagandists." Nineteen million Negroes constitute the greatest single racial target of the Communist Party, USA. This is a sombre reality we must never lose sight of. We will do everything possible in the troubled future to develop for the Director all available facts relating to Negro membership in the Communist Party, plus the more complex and difficult to ascertain influence of communist organizations and officials over the leaders and masses of Negroes.

We regret greatly that the memorandum did not measure up to what the Director has a right to expect from our analysis.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 16, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA.  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNISTTolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

This memorandum recommends increased coverage of communist influence on the Negro. The history of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), is replete with its attempts to exploit, influence and recruit the Negro. The March on Washington, 3-28-63, was a striking example of such Communist activity as Party leaders early put into motion efforts to accrue gains for the CPUSA from the March. Well-documented information concerning the Party's influence on a principal March leader, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., is but an example. The presence at the March of around 200 Party members, ranging from several national functionaries headed by CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall, to many rank-and-file members, is clear indication of the Party's favorite target (the Negro) today.

All indications are that the March was not the "end of the line" and that the Party will step up its efforts to exploit racial unrest and in every possible way claim credit for itself relating to any "gains" achieved by the Negro. A clear-cut indication of the Party's designs is revealed in its plans to hold a highly secretive leadership meeting in November, 1963, which will deal primarily with the Negro situation. This meeting is to be preceded by a Gus Hall "barnstorming" trip through key areas of the country to meet Party people and thus better prepare himself for the November meetings.

The entire field is being alerted to this situation in a proposed SAC Letter (attached). The field is being instructed to intensify our coverage of communist influence on the Negro by giving fullest consideration to the use of all possible investigative techniques. In addition, the field is being told to intensify its coverage of those communist fronts through which the Party channels its influence and to intensify its investigations of the many Party members and dupes who engage in activities on behalf of the Party in the Negro field. Further, we are stressing the urgent need for imaginative and aggressive tactics to be utilized through our Counter-Intelligence Program--those designed to attempt to neutralize or disrupt the Party's activities in the Negro field. Necessity for prompt handling of all facets of this matter to insure timely dissemination to the Department and other interested agencies is also being emphasized.

100-3-116

1 - 100-3-76 (CPUSA, Negro Question)

OCT 16 1963

-167-

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
[100-3-116]

The proposed SAC Letter requires key security offices to submit to the Bureau, within 30 days, an analysis of their current coverage of communist activities in the Negro field plus details of their plans for intensification. Also, those 16 offices participating in the Counterintelligence Program on a regular basis are being required to include in their next monthly letters due 10-15-63 their plans to neutralize or disrupt Party activities in the Negro field.

RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, attached SAC Letter go forward apprising the field as above and urging full implementation so that the desired results may be achieved. Also attached for approval are necessary Manual changes.

*No. I can't understand how you can so easily switch your thinking of evaluation. Just a few weeks ago you contended that the Communist influence in the racial movement was ineffective & infinitesimal. This notwithstanding many memos of specific instances of infiltration. Now you want to load the field down with more coverage in spite of your recent memos deprecating its influence in racial movement. I don't intend to waste time & money until you can*

*Don't see how you can understand the situation really*

EXHIBIT 10



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

9/18/63

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

While the attached memorandum bears the initials of Mr. Baumgardner, it was prepared from a rough-draft furnished to him by Mr. Sullivan.

It should be understood that Sullivan, Baumgardner, Sizoo and Belmont read the memorandum and agreed with it prior to its submission.

REC-5

100-2-107-2537

Enclosure

22 DEC 5 1963

Clyde Tolson

CT:LCB

ENCLOSURE

*I have certainly been misled by previous reports which clearly showed a complete penetration of the racial movement. The attached is a transcript of all that we are hearing from the movement. It is a very serious situation.*

EXHIBIT 11

To: Mr. A. H. Belmont

Date: September 25, 1963

From: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

Re: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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

Predication:

Reference is made to the enclosed memorandum dated 9/16/63 and to the attached proposed SAC Letter.

On returning from a few days leave I have been advised of the Director's continued dissatisfaction with the manner in which we prepared a Brief on the above-captioned matter and subsequent memoranda on the same subject matter. This situation is very disturbing to those of us in the Domestic Intelligence Division responsible for this area of work, and we certainly want to do everything possible to correct our shortcomings. We absolutely will not be stubborn about admitting any mistakes we have made or be stiff-necked and unbending concerning our analysis of this matter. The Director indicated he would not approve our last SAC Letter until there was a clarification and a meeting of minds relative to the question of the extent of communist influence over Negroes and their leaders. In this memorandum I will seriously and sincerely try to clarify a most regrettable situation. It is prepared not on official office memorandum but rather on plain bond believing that this discussion need not be made a matter of official record.

Common Agreement:

First, I am sure we all are in agreement on the following which was in both the cover memorandum and the detailed brief attached: (1) for the past 44 years the Communist Party, USA, has spent enormous sums of money and ceaseless efforts to influence Negroes and to make communists out of them; (2) the 19 million Negroes in the country today constitute the greatest single racial target of the Communist Party, USA; (3) Negro leader Martin Luther King, \_\_\_\_\_ does have as an extremely important advisor \_\_\_\_\_; (4) we are right now in this nation engaged in a form of social revolution and the time has never been so right for exploitation of the Negroes by communist propagandists; and (5) the Communist Party could in the future make prodigious strides and great successes with the American Negro to the serious detriment of our national security. In addition to the above, the material furnished contained many pages of specific examples of communist policies, programs and activities.

Enclosures *sent 9-26-63*

REC-40

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

NEGRO QUESTION

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS .

showing communist involvement in Negro racial matters in this nation, relative to which we can all agree.

Essence of the Situation:

The essence of the situation seems to be this: We presented what facts there are in our files in the Brief in question and I know that the Director certainly would not want us to do other than this. The position taken at the time the Brief was written was that, while there is communist influence being exerted on Negroes and Negro leaders, it has not reached the point of control or domination. This historically has been the position of the Bureau in this matter in light of file reviews going back ten to twenty years. *Certainly this is not true with respect to the King case.*

The Historical Position:

For example, in a detailed document prepared on Communist Party and the Negro in 1953, we find the statement referring to "the failure of the Communist Party to attract even a significant number of Negroes in the United States to its number." Another example is to be found in an analysis in this same field prepared by the Bureau in 1956 to the effect that communist efforts have been "unsuccessful on a state or national level" in infiltrating "legitimate Negro-fraternal, protest and improvement organizations," although they made limited success in some "isolated chapters." The Director's book, Masters of Deceit, published in 1958, states: "It became obvious that the Party, despite great efforts, had failed to win over even a significant minority of Negroes." In 1960 the Director's statement to The Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, reads: "It is no secret that one of the bitterest disappointments of communistic efforts in this Nation has been their failure to lure our Negro citizens into the Party." In 1962 similar public statements were made. On page seven of the Brief submitted to the Director under the date of August 23, 1963, this historical position was restated and it was said, "One of the bitterest disappointments of the communists has been their single failure to lure any significant number of our Negro citizens into the Party." This statement was set forth again in the cover memorandum which the Director marked.

The point I wish to make here is this: The fact that this has been our historical position in the Bureau for many years is no reason to assume that it is the correct position at this time, as the Director has clearly explained. Times and conditions change and, as the evidence mounts, naturally we need to change our position along with this evidence.

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Interpretation:

As we know, facts by themselves are not too meaningful, for they are somewhat like stones tossed in a heap as contrasted to the same stones put in the form of a sound edifice. It is obvious to us now that we did not put the proper interpretation upon the facts which we gave to the Director.

Martin Luther King:

We have been aware of the communist influence for nearly two years on Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and in the comprehensive memorandum entitled "Communist Party, USA, Negro Question," dated 8/23/63 we set out information to the effect that a number of Negro leaders in this country have had subversive connections in their backgrounds and that Martin Luther King, Jr., has been dealing with

As previously stated, we are in complete agreement with the Director that communist influence is being exerted on Martin Luther King, Jr., and that King is the strongest of the Negro leaders. As we have stated before in a memorandum, we regard Martin Luther King to be the most dangerous and effective Negro leader in the country. In addition, we know the Party is directing a major effort toward strengthening its position among the Negroes inasmuch as we have information the Party plans to intensify its efforts to exploit the racial situation for the purpose of gaining influence among the Negroes.

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

SAC Letter to the Field

I would like to set forth here briefly why I think that the enclosed SAC Letter, which was returned to us by the Director, should be sent to the field offices. My first reason is this: We need to renew our efforts and keep the pressure on and leave no stone unturned to develop every and all facts which exist in this matter. Some of these facts may not yet have been unearthed by our field offices, and will not be unless we follow up this matter evermore closely with them. My second reason why I think the SAC Letter should be sent is related to the present changing situation in the Communist Party - Negro relations area. During the past two weeks in particular there have been sharp stepped-up activities on the part of communist officials to infiltrate and to dominate Negro developments in this country. Further, they are meeting with successes. This should be no surprise to us because since the Negro march on Washington on August 28 communist officials have been doing all possible to exploit the very troubled racial situation. As they said weeks ago, the end of the Negro march would be the beginning of evermore systematic activities on their part to penetrate and influence Negroes and Negro leaders. They are now in full force acting upon this intention of theirs expressed weeks ago. The field should be alerted to this fact and given instructions to investigate exhaustively new communist - Negro activities. The SAC Letter in question will be a great help toward this end, and it should result in our developing important facts relating to the current changes and pertinent activities going on during the past few weeks in this entire field.

Subject of Deep Concern

May I repeat that our failure to measure up to what the Director expected of us in the area of communist - Negro relations is a subject of very deep concern to us in the Domestic Intelligence Division. We are disturbed by this and ought to be. I want him

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Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA.  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

to know that we will do everything that is humanly possible to develop all facts nationwide relative to the communist penetration and influence over Negro leaders and their organizations.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That the Director reconsider giving approval for sending the enclosed SAC Letter to the field.

V. O.H.  
H

(2) In order that other agencies and prominent government officials will be aware of the determined efforts of the Communist Party to exploit the racial situation, if the Director approves we will prepare a concise document setting forth clearly those attempts to penetrate, influence, and control the Negro movement. By setting these facts forth, succinctly and clearly, the reader cannot help but be impressed with the seriousness of the communist activities.

O.H.  
H

**EXHIBIT 12**  
**(Classified)**



**EXHIBIT 13**

*001.124 - Negro Movement  
Negro Movement - Political Matters*

10/17/63  
FILE

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

MR. TOLSON:

The attached analysis of Communism and the Negro Movement is highly explosive. It can be regarded as a personal attack on Martin Luther King. There is no doubt it will have a heavy impact on the Attorney General and anyone else to whom we disseminate it. It is labeled TOP SECRET. However, even such a high classification seems to be no bar today to a leak, and should this leak out it will add fuel to a matter which may already be in the cards as a political issue during the forthcoming Presidential campaign.

The memorandum makes good reading and is based on information from reliable sources. We may well be charged, however, with expressing opinions and conclusions, particularly with reference to some of the statements about King.

*We must do our duty.*

This memorandum may startle the Attorney General, particularly in view of his past association with King, and the fact that we are disseminating this outside the Department. He may resent this. Nevertheless, the memorandum is a powerful warning against Communist influence in the Negro movement, and we will be carrying out our responsibility by disseminating it to the people indicated in the attached memorandum.

*I am glad that this memorandum is being filed in the file on H. H. Belmont*  
*last filed in file on H. H. Belmont*  
AHB:CSH

801-X

100-3-111-415

6 OCT 23 1963

EXHIBIT 14

DEC 15 1976

, FGF:JFW:vek

Mr. James Earl Ray  
Post Office Box 73  
Brushy Mountain Penitentiary  
Petros, Tennessee 37845

Dear Mr. Ray:

In May of 1976 the Attorney General of the United States created a task force for the purpose of reviewing the FBI's investigation of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The task force is now in the process of winding up its inquiry before submitting a final report to the Attorney General. However, we feel that our inquiry will not be complete unless we give you an opportunity to state your participation, or lack of participation, in the murder of Dr. King.

Accordingly, we hereby request, through your attorney, James H. Lesar, Esquire, your consent to an interview by members of the task force. If you should agree to talk to us, our time schedule requires us to arrange for the interview to take place not later than December 31, 1976.

Please let us know immediately whether you desire to be interviewed.

Sincerely,

Fred G. Folsom  
Director  
Martin Luther King, Jr., Task Force

cc: James H. Lesar, Esquire

**EXHIBIT 15**



Brushy Mountain Penitentiary  
Petros, Tennessee 37845

Mr. James H. Losar  
Attorney at Law  
1231 fourth Street, S.W.  
Wash. D.C.

December 20, 1976

re: Ray v. Tenn. cr. Indictment no. 16645;  
Shelby county, Tennessee. (1968)

Dear Jim:

In respect to your letter saying that a justice department attorney, Mr. James F. Walker, would like to interview me concerning the above indictment, 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. If they had wanted to interview the defendant, under oath, justice had ample opportunity in the 1974 H.C. hearing in Memphis, Tennessee, through their surrogate, W. Henry Haile; and I understand no representative from justice appeared as a witness at the hearing.

At the present I believe the only body I should testify before is a jury.

I understand you to say justice has not read any of the trs. of prior hearings & suits. Therefore I'll include in the cc copy of this letter to justice a copy of a Complaint that speaks to the MLK jr. matter with attached Ex--A, althoe I doubt if justice or their publishing associates will be interested in the Complaint contents.

Sincerely: James e. Ray #65477

P.O. Box--73

Petros, Tenn. 37845.

cc: James F. Walker, Esq. J.D. ✓

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF TENNESSEE  
WESTERN DIVISION

JAMES E. RAY,  
Plaintiff

vs.

TIME INC.  
GEORGE McMILLIAN  
W. HENRY HAILE  
WILLIAM BRATFORD HUIE  
GEROLD FRANK  
HON. ROBERT M. McRAE  
BRENDA PELLICCIOTTI  
Defendants

Civil Action No. C-76-274.

COMPLAINT

1. ALLEGATION OF JURISDICTION:

(a) Jurisdiction of the parties in the herein subject matter is based upon diversity of citizenship and the amount in recovery.

Plaintiff, acting pro se, is a citizen of the State of Tennessee under "operation of Law" in the subject matter; defendant TIME Inc. (here-in-after, TIME) is a citizen of the State of New York; defendant George McMillian (here-in-after, McMillian) is a citizen of the State of Massachusetts; defendant W. Henry Haile (here-in-after, Haile) is a citizen of the State of Tennessee; defendant William Bratford Huie (here-in-after, Huie) is a citizen of the State of Alabama; defendant Gerold Frank (here-in-after, Frank) is a citizen of the State of New York; defendant Hon. Robert M. McRae (here-in-after, Judge McRae) is a citizen of the State of Tennessee; defendant Brenda Pellicciotti (here-in-after, Pellicciotti) is a citizen of the State of Tennessee. The matter in controversy exceeds, exclusive of interest and costs, the sum of ten thousand dollars.

(b) Jurisdiction founded in the existence of a federal question and the amount in controversy:

The action arises under the fifth, sixth, and fourteenth, amendments to the United States constitution; U.S.C. Title 28 § 1331 (a), as here-in-after more fully appears. The matter in controversy exceeds, exclusive of interest and costs, the sum of ten thousand dollars.

(c) Jurisdiction founded on the existence of a question arising under particular statute:

The action arises under Act 42 U.S.C.A. § 1983; U.S.C. Title 28 § 1343 (4). As here-in-after more fully appears.

THIS IS AN ACTION IN LIBEL & CIVIL RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

GENERAL BACKGROUND:

On April 4th 1968, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., was shot and killed in, Memphis Tennessee; in May 1968 the plaintiff was indicted by the Shelby county grand jury (cr. indictment no. 16645) for said shooting; on March 10th 1969 plaintiff, allegedly through coercion by his attorney, Percy Foreman & the prosecution, entered a guilty plea to said cr. indictment; on February 2nd 1974 the U.S. 6th circuit court of appeals ordered an evidentiary hearing into the circumstances of said plea, Ray v. Rose 491 F2d 285 (C.A.6, 1974; on February 27th 1975 after hearing said evidentiary proceedings the U.S. District court for the W.D. of Tennessee, Hon. Robert M. McRae, presiding ruled against plaintiff, Ray v. Rose, C-74-166; on May 10th 1976 the U.S. 6th circuit court of appeals upheld Judge McRae's ruling in said evidentiary hearing. Ray v. Rose, C-75-1795.

Plaintiff, JAMES E. RAY, sues

Defendants, TIME INC.; GEORGE McMILLIAN; W. HENRY HAILE; WILLIAM BRATFORD HUIE; GEROLD FRANK; ROBERT M. McRAE; BRENDA PELLICCIOTTI, and alleges:

2. That while awaiting trial in the aforementioned cr. indictment the plaintiff copied down from recollection information he had gained in his 1967 associations, associations which lead to plaintiff being charged under said indictment.

3. That a brief summary of said recollections and their subsequent disposition by plaintiff are as follows:



- (a) during one period of plaintiff's confinement in 1968 he wrote down on a money receipt issued forth from the Sheriff's office of the Shelby county, Tennessee, jail information which plaintiff believed had a direct bearing on said cr. indictment. See, Ex--A.
- (b) the information consisted of telephone numbers & one name & address; all numbers were written down backwards, including the address.
- (c) the two telephone numbers were listed next to the word "Sister", the first being listed in, New Orleans, Louisiana; the second being in, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
- (d) the address is listed under the name, Vera C. Staples.
- (e) the telephone number listed under the Baton Rouge address was furnished to plaintiff's attorney, Percy Foreman, who was representing plaintiff in said cr. indictment.
- (f) the address was not investigated until plaintiff was incarcerated upon pleading to said indictment; a compendium of the post trial investigation would indicate: the information cited above was given to a St. Louis, Missouri, labor leader, and informed it pertained to the MLK jr. case, who apparently in turn furnished said information to a Nashville, Tennessee, ex-Attorney to investigate; said Attorney had sources in the State of Louisiana investigate the matter and thereafter said Attorney reported the Baton Rouge listed number resident was under the influence of the Teamsters union; and the New Orleans listed number resident was among other things an agent of a mideast organization disturbed because of Dr. King's reported forthcoming, before his death, public support of the Palestine Arab cause. (References to the address if any was unclear.)
- (g) the plaintiff had come by said name & address shortly before crossing the border in November 1967 from Tijuana, Mexico, into the United States; the name was Randolph Erwin Rosen, 1180 N.W. River Drive, Miami, Florida; other reference was made to a LEAA; a check through the Miami directory in 1970 indicated no Rosen listed with the above first & second name; in 1973-74 a Chicago, Illinois, reporter was quired as to the name of a Rosen who was an official in the Progressive Labor Party, the reporter later responded said Rosen, or Rosens, activities were mainly in the New York, New York, area; shortly thereafter said reporter was substantiated by material plaintiff received indirectly from the Hon. Richard Ichord a congressman from

Missouri; thereafter an Attorney in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, was furnished the Rosen name and asked if he could find any information re the subject in, New Orleans, and informed the subject might have a cr. record; the Attorney reported back that the subject's last name most likely was, Rosehson, and that he had a cr. conviction in New Orleans, Louisiana, federal court for a narcotics violation; thereafter a Tennessee licensed Attorney procured the tr. of said conviction; subsequently another check was made through the, Miami, telephone directory which did list a "Randy Rosenson" but with an address discrepancy.

4. That plaintiff intended the above information for exclusive use, after a through investigation, in a jury trial under said cr. indictment--rather than for commercializing in the communications industry--and in consequence withheld parts thereof from plaintiff's cr. Attorneys, who were enmeshed with defendant (novelist) William Bradford Huie in commercial publishing ventures: 1st) Attorney Arthur Hanes sr., who immediately upon entering the suit contracted with defendant, Huie and 2nd) Attorney Percy Foreman, who while not entering into literary contracts with Mr. Huie until January 1969, two months after Foreman's entering the suit, Mr. Foreman did not question plaintiff about said information or other aspects of the cr. indictment--because of his (Foreman's) admitted trial preparation methods--until February 1969.

5. That in February 1969, after Percy Foreman had entered into literary contracts with defendant, Huie, plaintiff furnished Attorney Foreman with the above mentioned, Baton Rouge, phone number and asked him to investigate in connection with the MLK jr. homicide. Shortly thereafter Mr. Foreman replied in effect that if there were to be any telephone numbers referred to in court he (Foreman) would furnish them through contacts in interstate gambling--Mr. Foreman mentioned a, Mr. Meyer Lansky, as his source.

6. That subsequently, after the prosecution and Percy Foreman had maneuvered plaintiff into entering a plea to said indictment, the plaintiff on March 11th 1969 was checked into the Tennessee State penitentiary--Nashville Branch--and therein all plaintiff's personal property including the paper herein attached as EX-A, and including incoming legal & personal letters mailed to said prison, were confiscated from plaintiff. Two or three days later after discussing briefly with State corrections commissioner, Harry Avery, the letters including EX-A were returned to plaintiff by said,