

INVADERS

Rt. 21, Frederick, Md. 21701
6/24/77

Mr. Jay Fred Diredman
Suite 406
147 Jefferson
Memphis, Tn. 38103

Dear Jay,

What you call your letter of the 22d, rambling and disjointed, is very helpful. I do appreciate it and the time you took from your own busy affairs for it.

So you can better understand my interest, which is not limited to a book by any means, I'll fill you in on other details. For the time being I'd like you to keep this confidential. I've not gone public with any of it although some is known.

I don't recall if I was able to bring you and Les Payne together. I know you met Lesar briefly when the State was trying to lean on me. Les is a fine person and a first-rate reporter. As minority affairs reporter for *Newsday* and its syndicate he was able to open up black Memphis sources who would not talk to me. We work together as closely as our circumstances permit. He is based on Long Island.

In about November 1975, after my first venture away after release from the hospital was a bit much, Les went to Memphis to follow up on some of these leads. I can't imagine anyone ever doing better, rarely as much as he accomplished on that trip. The last time I saw you he and I were there together, staying at the Downtown "holiday inn, which had all the rooms around ours marked "Out of Order." But there was talk and toilet-flushing next to my room. He was as little concerned as I. We laughed about it. With his other fine attributes he is a man of exceptional courage. He has just returned from two months in southern Africa, a black American reporter going where no blacks are allowed as well as as where officials permitted. His paper has printed about 30 of his series of stories in tabloid size if you would care to read them. I do not know if this is within your field of interests.

I go into this because I think he will be going there soon. Probably would have by now if he had not sprained a foot. I will suggest that he see you for what you can tell him about the whole Invaders business and your part in the defense and for any other lawyers to whom you can refer him if he want to follow that farthur. I will be interested in copies of anything not lawyer-client precluded and I know you have at least one file in which McCullough pretty clearly faked a case against a fellow black when he was a narc.

Les first came back with his name. That was a euphoric moment for me that I share with you and your wife if it will interest her. I had sort of recovered from the first trip on which I had had to be loaded singly at the Nashville airport but I was taking it easy. I thus did not go with Les. At the same time I made a speech in the South and we were able to rendezvous on our return, at the Nashville airport. He had opened up several of the Invaders. All I have learned since says they were honest with him. I have learned much and will learn much more. To learn that all I'd figure out was correct and that Les could get all this supporting proof was so exciting! What he learned included the basic on McC. He did not mention McC's name in two stories that were syndicated the end of January 1976 and in February, if not both in February.

Meanwhile, I've been fighting the DJ and the FBI for suppressed records on this case since 1969. I got a summary judgement in 1970 and since 1975 have been after them again. About a dozen and a half hearings and calendar calls, etc. I am getting records I believe to be without precedent. Since October perhaps 18,000-20,000 pages. They will make an archive political sciences will be studying for years and law students should study, especially those going into criminal law.

It is an incredible story, one I'll tell you when we are together again or in a book

for which I'm fighting to find time. With all your experiences in criminal law I think you will still be surprised. With a willing criminal lawyer down there Jim and I could reasonably hope to accomplish much.

In the course of this, by various means under FOIA and from various sources, we have out quite a story on McC together, all from official sources. They confirm what we knew, meaning that officials, of course, knew, more that the units for which he worked. He was a policeman, not an informant, at the time he was in the Invaders. You are absolutely correct in believing he was a provocateur. I began with this before they went there for the first time. I had newspaper sources who knew. It appears that he was also a college student as a policeman. Les learned that the Invaders caught on to him, decided to kill him but none would do it.

There are varying official account of how many police agents and of what kind there were in the Invaders. The members totalled about 15. About half were police agents. The FBI included. If the one you defended could write out any suspicions he may have this could be helpful. I will receive records but the names will be obliterated. I have begun to receive them. I'll be getting about 1,000 more sheets of them tomorrow. I am making a separate Invaders file. Les also has some sources. Whether or not it would now be of value to you and other criminal lawyers in Memphis I cannot say but in recording the history of that great tragedy and the ensuing tragedies it will mean much. This is an integral part of the story of the assassination even though I am certain that neither the Invaders nor the police killed King. If I could get down there after I have all the records I'm going to get and could speak to some of those still around it might be useful. So also could it be to learn which have since received official jobs. Separating sheep from goats could be of some value in sorting it all out and putting it all together.

Your estimate of the State's case is not at all unkind to the State. This is why there has been such fascination for me in Foreman. The simplest explanation is that he saw no money and wanted out. I have some suppressed records holding this opinion. I can see more. Of anything else I have no proof.

On Stephens going out into the country I have a record saying it was with a relative. Hi, cousin.

The story the whores like Mark Lane and the crazy committee are spreading about Holloman are initial stolen then exaggerated and distorted to where they are what is hard to conceive defamations of the FBI. I think they are unfair to Holloman. I've never met him. Personally I'd like it if Holloman were to make an effort at law to do something. I suppose he'll figure it will all go away in time. If I had children and grandchildren I'd think otherwise. Redditt was not there as part of any security. Richmond remained there despite the lies he has been telling. And it had nothing at all to do with the killing.

Your records that I asked you about show McC with the Secret Service. Others indicate CIA. Last year he was in Washington. I think he is still there. When he was interviewed by an official last year it was at a building I do not know, the Safeway Building. Unless it is the old Safeway chain's bakery, which I knew years ago. It is about 1st or 2d and R Sts, NE. Safeway's bakery and office needs have to have outgrown that building.

If my memory is correct these kinds of operations were under your Inspector Fines and SA Robertson in the FBI.

There was an odd incident at the WmLen Hotel at the time of the King assassination. I know it was rundown. Did it have any special connections with criminal activity then, if you know?

My believe is even more strongly that Memphis can clean all of this up and would benefit enormously if it did. I mean by this including the Establishment. I think it would have a salutary effect on the city. It would heal. But I do not believe the Crumpian lunkheads will be able to see this.

Many thanks and best to you all. Apologies for the typing. Sincerely,

Jay Fred Friedman

ATTORNEY AT LAW

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June 22, 1977

Mr. Harold Weisberg
Route 12 - Old Receiver Road
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Dear Harold:

Pleasure hearing from you, and apologize for being dilatory in responding.

In regard to this fellow McCulloch, some of what I have is fact and some hear-say, but it does appear that about the time of the King assassination he had been employed in some capacity by either local or federal law enforcement as an agent provocateur, and perhaps simply as an informer in some instances. Prior to the King assassination it would appear, from what I gather, that he simply worked as an informer keeping reports coming in as to what was going on in the black community. I believe that he probably got close to a guy named John Smith who was very much involved in the civil rights movement back in the mid to late 60's, and who subsequently became one of the leaders of the group called the "The Invaders". My real connection and knowledge stems from the days of the invaders, and defending one of them at trial for the ambush shooting of a couple of police officers. This happened after the King assassination. It would appear that McCulloch was a member of this group, and from what I recall probably was the source and inspiration for the idea to create an incident to gain notoriety and publicity for their cause. It also seems in my recollection that he was the person who came up the idea and apparently sold it to the group, to shoot the police officers, and may have been one of the persons who furnished or found a way to come up with the weapons. He of course was never directly involved and was mysteriously unavailable when the plan was to be put into execution and consummated. Of course he was not prosecuted.

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Brother McCullogh and his activities remain a mystery to me for the next couple of years after the invader trial which was about 1969. He emerged in the early 70's as an undercover agent for the local narcotics bureau. These people here, and I suspect elsewhere are totally soul-less individuals who do not even pretend to have any honor or decency. They are far more dis-honest and dangerous than the people whom they seek to apprehend, and in truth society is more in need of protection against them than the "dope fiends". Irregardless of my personal feelings McCullogh apparently operated successfully undercover for some period of time and after emerging became a member of the metro narcotics unit as a regular officer. He remained with them for a couple of years after this until somewhere around 1974. At that time he left and became a member of the U. S. Secret Service, or probably was simply connected through the treasury department into the drug enforcement or such. His exact job assingment, location and who he is working for has always been sort of shrouded in mystery locally, and I have had a least three different versions from the narcotics people as well as the Attorney General locally.

It would seem apparent that Brother McCullogh has since his youth been some type of under cover operative for either local or federal agencies. He also seems to have been a willing and anxious agent provocateur. This is evidenced by my recollection of his part in the invader business, as well as the way he handled himself while an undercover agent for the drug people and as later on a regular member of the narcotics bureau. If you could ever get the truth out of such a guy it would curl the hair on even a lot of bald heads. However I suspect the truth is something that is foreign to such a person. I don't know that what I am telling you is of any particular benefit to you and while not necessarily common knowledge, it is no particular secret. There's an awful low below the surface which we will probably never know about.

Switching gears somewhat, I don't know what these idiot committe's and other folks have to say about poor old Charlie Stevens, but just for the record, it would seem apparent that Charlie was in the final analysis nothing more than a rather harmless alcoholic who was drunk and sleeping off a drunk right about the time King was shot. What if anything he saw is at best doubtful, and his value as a witness should have been realistically evaluated as a minus rather than a positive factor.

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Apparently his common law wife did see something and identified somebody other than Brother Ray. She was of course, quickly spirited off and placed in a mental institution and has apparently been held there almost every since. I don't understand all I know about it, and most of what I do think I know about it is based on what Steven's has told me and some other folks who have been close to the thing. I have in reviewing what little I know of the case and what has come out in the various publications and your book and through other sources, come to the rather firm opinion that Ray, was at best a red herring, and this fact was known or should in the exercise of any intelligence have been known to all persons connected with law enforcement. I am morally satisfied that a whole lot of cover up and perhaps a running of a bluff was done by the F.B.I. and particularly our local prosecutors office, and apparently to some extent by our then Public Defender. They tried to make Steven's into something he wasn't, and took a rather poor circumstantial evidence case and on the surface of it backed down a guy like Foreman. I know Foreman is not yours nor a lot of other people's favorite lawyer, but with all due deference the case the State had against Ray was one Foreman could have won hands down about half way through his first year in law school. I am still rather curious and would some day hope to find out just what someone had on or what pressure they were able to bring to bear on Foreman to get him to handle the thing the way he did. However the thought does occur to me that Foreman being a very economically motivated animal, might have decided that there just really wasn't enough money in the thing to make it worth his while, and handled it accordingly. I don't mean to malign the man but I think it's a reasonable and perhaps fair inference to be drawn from the facts.

I have heard nothing of from or much about the committee, and suspect that the last thing in the world they ever really seek to find is the truth. I believe your observation is an apt and appropriate one, that they are looking for the quick momentary sensation in order to justify their existence. I truly believe that with the authority and money they have available that they should be able to come up with correct answers, assuming they really want to. There are innumerable officials locally, who must have known and had a hand in covering up the true facts in the matter. I only hope that somewhere along the line before we are all dead and gone that some of the truth does ultimately come out.

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I know this has been rather rambling and disjointed but I sought to respond as best possible to your letter, and trust that some of this is of use or benefit. I hope that we again have the opportunity to get together, and look forward to doing so.

Kindest personal regards,

Jay Fred Friedman
Attorney at Law

JFF:bf