BEATINGS, BURIED VIDEOS AND COVER-UPS
AT THE LOUISIANA STATE POLICE

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The Associated Press

John Jay Criminal Justice Award Entry
BEATINGS, BURIED VIDEOS AND COVER-UPS AT THE LOUISIANA STATE POLICE

1. ‘I’M SCARED’: AP OBTAINS VIDEO OF DEADLY ARREST OF BLACK MAN
May 19, 2021: After Louisiana State Police refuse to release it for more than two years, AP obtains body camera video of the deadly 2019 arrest of Ronald Greene, showing troopers stunning, punching and dragging the Black motorist as he apologizes and wails, “I’m scared!”

2. VIDEO: SHACKLED BLACK MAN ORDERED FACEDOWN IN DEADLY ARREST
May 21, 2021: AP obtains another body-camera video of Ronald Greene’s arrest showing Louisiana state troopers ordering the shackled, beaten Black man to keep lying face down, which experts said could have restricted his breathing and led to his death.

3. AP: TOP COP IN BLACK MAN’S DEADLY ARREST WITHHELD CAM VIDEO
May 24, 2021: AP uncovers documents showing that the ranking Louisiana State Police officer at the scene of Ronald Greene’s deadly 2019 arrest denied the existence of his own body camera video for more than two years in an apparent cover-up.

4. AP: LOUISIANA POLICE UNIT PROBED OVER BLACK DRIVER ARRESTS
June 9, 2021: AP exclusively reports that the Louisiana State Police convened a secret panel to screen body camera videos from officers in the same unit that arrested Ronald Greene to determine if they systematically targeted other Black motorists for abuse.

5. AP: POLICE BRASS EYED IN PROBE OF BLACK MAN’S DEADLY ARREST
Aug. 4, 2021: AP finds federal prosecutors are expanding their investigation, moving up the Louisiana State Police chain of command to determine whether top brass obstructed justice to protect troopers involved in Ronald Greene’s deadly arrest.

6. ‘PAIN COMPLIANCE’: VIDEO SHOWS TROOPER PUMMELING BLACK MAN
Aug. 24, 2021: AP obtains yet another graphic body camera video kept secret for more than two years that shows a Louisiana State trooper pummeling a Black motorist 18 times with a flashlight — an attack the trooper defended as “pain compliance.”

7. BEATINGS, BURIED VIDEOS A PATTERN AT LOUISIANA STATE POLICE
Sept. 9, 2021: AP uncovers a pattern at the Louisiana State Police of violence shrouded in secrecy, identifying at least a dozen cases in which troopers or their bosses ignored or concealed evidence of beatings, deflected blame and impeded efforts to root out misconduct.

8. AP: IN LOUISIANA, A FATHER, A SON AND A CULTURE OF POLICE ABUSE
Oct. 26, 2021: AP deconstructs how the Louisiana State Police scandal of beatings and cover-ups could have gone on for so long, interviewing dozens of current and former troopers who describe a culture of impunity, nepotism and in some cases outright racism.
‘I’m scared’: AP obtains video of deadly arrest of Black man

By JIM MUSTIAN
Associated Press

NEW ORLEANS (AP) — Louisiana state troopers were captured on body camera video stunning, punching and dragging a Black man as he apologized for leading them on a high-speed chase -- footage of the man’s last moments alive that The Associated Press obtained after authorities refused to release it for two years.

“I’m your brother! I’m scared! I’m scared!” Ronald Greene can be heard telling the white troopers as the unarmed man is jolted repeatedly with a stun

In this May 10, 2019 image from Louisiana State Trooper Dakota DeMoss' body camera, troopers hold Ronald Greene before paramedics arrived outside of Monroe, La. The video shows Louisiana state troopers stunning, punching and dragging Greene as he apologizes for leading them on a high-speed chase.
gun before he even gets out of his car along a dark, rural road.

The 2019 arrest outside Monroe, Louisiana, is the subject of a federal civil rights investigation. But unlike other in-custody deaths across the nation where body camera video was released almost immediately, Greene’s case has been shrouded in secrecy and accusations of a cover-up.

Louisiana officials have rebuffed repeated calls to release footage and details about what caused the 49-year-old’s death. Troopers initially told Greene’s family he died on impact after crashing into a tree during the chase. Later, State Police released a one-page statement acknowledging only that Greene struggled with troopers and died on his way to the hospital.

Only now in the footage obtained by the AP from one trooper’s body camera can the public see for the first time some of what happened during the arrest.

The 46-minute clip shows one trooper wrestling Greene to the ground, putting him in a chokehold and punching him in the face while another can be heard calling him a “stupid motherf------.” Greene wails “I’m sorry!” as another trooper delivers another stun gun shock to his backside and warns, “Look, you’re going to get it again if you don’t put your f------ hands behind your back!” Another trooper can be seen briefly dragging the man facedown after his legs had been shackled and his hands cuffed behind him.

Instead of rendering aid, the troopers leave the heavyset man unattended, facedown and moaning for more than nine minutes, as they use sanitizer wipes to wash blood off their hands and faces.

“I hope this guy ain’t got f------ AIDS,” one of the troopers can be heard saying.

After a several-minute stretch in which Greene is not seen on camera, he appears again, limp, unresponsive and bleeding from his head and face. He is then loaded onto an ambulance gurney, his arm cuffed to the bedrail.

In many parts of the video, Greene is not on screen, and the trooper appears to cut the microphone off about halfway through, making it difficult to piece together exactly what was happening at all times. At least six troopers were on the scene of the arrest but not all had their body cameras on.
“They murdered him. It was set out, it was planned,” Greene’s mother, Mona Hardin, said Wednesday. “He didn’t have a chance. Ronnie didn’t have a chance. He wasn’t going to live to tell about it.”

An attorney for Greene’s family, Lee Merritt, said the footage “has some of the same hallmarks of the George Floyd video, the length of it, the sheer brutality of it.”

“He apologized in an attempt to surrender,” Merritt said.

Louisiana State Police declined to comment on the contents of the video. In a statement, the agency said the “premature public release of investigative files and video evidence in this case is not authorized and ... undermines the investigative process and compromises the fair and impartial outcome.”

State Police brass initially argued the troopers’ use of force was justified — “awful but lawful,” as ranking officials described it — and did not open an administrative investigation until 474 days after Greene’s death.

“Police departments have got to stop putting roadblocks up to information that is, in the public’s eye, questionable. They have to reveal all that they know, when they know it,” said Andrew Scott, a former Boca Raton, Florida, police chief who testifies as an expert witness in use-of-force cases. “It suggests that you’re hiding something.”

While noting Greene “was not without fault” and appeared to resist the troopers’ orders, Scott said dragging the handcuffed man facedown by his ankle shackles was “malicious, sadistic, completely unnecessary.”
He didn’t have a chance. Ronnie didn’t have a chance. He wasn’t going to live to tell about it, said Greene’s mother, Mona Hardin.

“That should never have never happened,” he said. “You’ve got the guy completely compromised. He’s not hurting anybody.”

Charles Key, another use-of-force expert and former Baltimore police lieutenant, questioned the troopers’ decision to leave Greene unattended, handcuffed and prone for several minutes, calling the practice “just dead wrong.”

“You don’t leave somebody lying on the ground, particularly after you’ve had this fight,” Key said. “The training has been for a number of years that, as soon as you get someone under control, you put them on their side to facilitate their breathing ... and particularly this guy, because he was very heavy.”

Gov. John Bel Edwards allowed Greene’s family to view the same body camera footage last year and pledged to release it to the public after the federal investigation runs its course.

Greene’s family has filed a federal wrongful death lawsuit alleging troopers “brutalized” Greene, and “left him beaten, bloodied and in cardiac arrest” before covering up the cause of death. His family has released graphic photographs of Greene’s body on a gurney, showing deep bruises and cuts on his face and head.

Greene, a barber, failed to pull over for an unspecified traffic violation shortly after midnight on May 10, 2019, about 30 miles south of the Arkansas state line. That’s where the video obtained by AP begins, with Trooper Dakota DeMoss chasing Greene’s SUV on rural highways at over 115 mph.

Seconds before the chase ended, DeMoss warned on his radio: “We got to do something. He’s going to kill somebody.”

As DeMoss and Master Trooper Chris Hollingsworth rush Greene’s SUV, he can be seen appearing to raise his hands and saying over and over, “OK, OK. I’m sorry.”

Hollingsworth shocks Greene with a stun gun within seconds through the driver’s side window as both troopers demand he get out of the vehicle.

Greene exits through the passenger side as the troopers wrestle him to the ground. One trooper can be heard saying “He’s grabbing me” as they try to handcuff him. “Put your hands behind your back, bitch,” one trooper says.

Hollingsworth strikes Greene multiple times and appears to lie on one of his arms before he is finally handcuffed.

At one point, Trooper Kory York yanks Greene’s leg shackles and briefly drags the man on his stomach even though he isn’t resisting.
York was suspended without pay for 50 hours for the dragging and for improperly deactivating his body camera. York told investigators the device was beeping loudly and his “mind was on other things.”

Hollingsworth, in a separate recording obtained by AP, can be heard telling a colleague at the office that “he beat the ever-living f--- out of” Greene.

“Choked him and everything else trying to get him under control,” Hollingsworth is heard saying. “He was spitting blood everywhere, and all of a sudden he just went limp.”

Hollingsworth later died in a single-vehicle highway crash that happened hours after he learned he would be fired for his role in the Greene case.

DeMoss, meanwhile, was arrested in connection with a separate police pursuit last year in which he and two other troopers allegedly used excessive force while handcuffing a motorist.

Exactly what caused Greene’s death remains unclear. Union Parish Coroner Renee Smith told AP last year his death was ruled accidental and attributed to cardiac arrest. Smith, who was not in office when that determination was made, said her office’s file on Greene attributed his death to a car crash and made no mention of a struggle with State Police.

The AP last year also obtained a medical report showing an emergency room doctor noted Greene arrived dead at the hospital, bruised and bloodied with two stun-gun prongs in his back. That led the doctor to question troopers’ initial account that Greene had “died on impact” after crashing into a tree.

“Does not add up,” the doctor wrote.
Body camera video obtained by The Associated Press shows Louisiana troopers stunning, punching and dragging a Black man as he apologizes for leading them on a high-speed chase. The arrest is the subject of a federal civil rights investigation.

May 19, 2021
NEW ORLEANS (AP) — Beaten and shackled by Louisiana state troopers, Black motorist Ronald Greene desperately tried to roll over in what may have been a struggle to breathe but was ordered to stay on his belly, according to body-camera video newly obtained by The Associated Press.

And the long-secret autopsy report, also newly secured, cited Greene’s head injuries and the way he was restrained as factors in his death. It also noted he had high levels of cocaine and alcohol in his system as well as a broken breastbone and a torn aorta.

“I beat the ever-living f--- out of him, choked him and everything else trying to get him under control,” Trooper Chris Hollingsworth can be heard
telling a fellow officer in the newly obtained batch of video. “All of a sudden he just went limp. ... I thought he was dead.”

“You all got that on bodycam?” the other officer asks over the phone, at which point Hollingsworth switches his camera off.

The footage and the autopsy report add to the growing wealth of details about Greene’s death, which has long been surrounded by allegations of a cover-up and is now the subject of a federal civil rights investigation. Louisiana State Police initially blamed his death on a car crash and made no mention of use of force by officers.

On Friday, after two years of refusing to explain Greene’s death and under mounting public pressure, the state police released all body camera footage related to Greene’s arrest, despite the ongoing investigations. Gov. John Bel Edwards, in an about-face, said he “strongly supported” the release, calling the video “disturbing and difficult to watch.”

But the AP had already obtained those materials and this week published previously unreleased body-camera footage that showed troopers converging on Greene’s car outside Monroe, Louisiana, after a high-speed chase, repeatedly jolting the 49-year-old unarmed man with stun guns, putting him in a chokehold, punching him in the head and dragging him by his ankle shackles.

Use-of-force experts say the most dangerous and troubling parts of the arrest came after the struggle, when officers left the heavyset Greene facedown on the ground with his hands and feet restrained for more than nine minutes.

At one point in a new 30-minute video, Greene can be seen struggling to
prop himself up on his side.

“Don’t you turn over! Lay on your belly! Lay on your belly!” Trooper Kory York yells before briefly dragging Greene by the chain that connects his ankle shackles.

York then kneels on Greene’s back and tells him again, “You better lay on your f------ belly like I told you to! You understand?”

“Yes, sir,” Greene replies.

“The trooper’s wrong and what he did is excessive,” said Charles Key, a use-of-force expert and former Baltimore police lieutenant. “It’s a mistake because he can’t breathe. You see Greene drawing his legs up, and that may be because he can’t freaking breathe.”

Police are highly discouraged from leaving handcuffed suspects in a prone position, particularly when they aren’t resisting, because it can greatly hinder their breathing — a point made repeatedly at the trial this spring of the former Minneapolis officer convicted of murder in the death of George Floyd.

State Police Superintendent Col. Lamar Davis, who was not in charge at the time of Greene’s death, wouldn’t comment on the conduct of the troopers involved or whether he believed they should be charged. But he said he’d spoken with Greene’s family and offered his condolences: “I can feel their pain and feel it in my heart.”

“The officers who are subject to these investigations are afforded due process,” Davis said. “You have my commitment that we will follow the facts and hold our personnel accountable.”

While the autopsy on Greene listed his cause of death as “cocaine induced agitated delirium complicated by motor vehicle collision, physical struggle,
inflicted head injury and restraint,” it did not specify the manner of death — a highly unusual move that did not make it clear whether Greene’s death could be deemed a homicide, an accident or undetermined.

Arkansas State Crime Lab pathologists Jennifer Forsyth and Frank J. Paretti, who conducted the autopsy in May 2019 for the Union Parish Coroner’s Office, found Greene had a “significant” level of cocaine in his system — 1,700 nanograms per milliliter — and a blood-alcohol content of 0.106, just above the 0.08 level that amounts to drunken driving in Louisiana.

They said it “cannot be stated with certainty” whether many of Greene’s injuries — including a fracture of the sternum, or breastbone, and a laceration of his aorta — were attributable to the car crash or the struggle with troopers.

“There were lacerations of the head inconsistent with motor vehicle collision injury,” they wrote. “These injuries are most consistent with multiple impact sites from a blunt object.”

In the latest video, Greene, his legs shackled and his hands cuffed behind his back, is prone on the ground, and two troopers can be seen hovering over him before he suddenly cries out. One of the officers tells him, “Yeah, yeah, that hurts, doesn’t it?”


It’s not clear from the video what the officer is describing, but several law enforcement officials who reviewed the footage indicated this might be the moment when one of them sprays Greene with pepper spray. A use-of-force document not previously made public shows pepper spray was used in the arrest.

“If they pepper-sprayed him at that point, that’s excessive,” Key said. “There has to be some threat. He’s handcuffed.”

Minutes after Greene’s outburst, he begins to moan and make gurgling noises as two troopers keep holding him down.

The new video, recorded on Lt. John Clary’s body camera, remained under wraps for months even within State Police but was recently turned over to the FBI as part of its investigation, according to three law enforcement officials. They were not authorized to discuss the investigation and spoke on the condition of anonymity.
At one point, after medical help arrives, a paramedic is heard saying, “He’s not getting enough air” and appears to put his blood oxygen level at 86, which Key described as critically low. Yet nobody appears to be giving Greene oxygen.

Louisiana officials had for two years rebuffed repeated calls to release footage and details about what caused Greene’s death after the chase, which began over an unspecified traffic violation. Troopers initially told his family he died on impact after crashing into a tree. State Police later released a brief statement acknowledging only that Greene struggled with troopers and died on his way to the hospital.

That secrecy extended to the autopsy, which pathologists said was hindered by the State Police’s failure to provide even the most routine documents relating to Greene’s arrest, including police reports, collision details or emergency medical records.

Andrew Scott, a former Boca Raton, Florida, police chief who testifies as an expert use-of-force witness, said Greene’s case is an example of how “stonewalling is the Achilles’ heel of law enforcement.”

“The only reason I can even conjecture that this information would not be provided to the medical examiner’s office is because they didn’t want them to see it,” Scott said. “They intentionally thwarted the facts of this case to be truly revealed.”
May 21, 2021

**AP obtains video of deadly arrest of Black man**

Body-camera footage shows troopers failing to render aid to a handcuffed Black man after a high-speed chase in Louisiana. The video and Ronald Greene’s autopsy raise new questions about the law enforcement response to his May 2019 death.
NEW ORLEANS (AP) — In perhaps the strongest evidence yet of an attempted cover-up in the deadly 2019 arrest of Ronald Greene, the ranking Louisiana State Police officer at the scene falsely told internal investigators that the Black man was still a threat to flee after he was shackled, and he denied the existence of his own body camera video for nearly two years until it emerged just last month.

New state police documents obtained by The Associated Press show numerous inconsistencies between Lt. John Clary’s statements to detectives and the body camera footage he denied having. They add to growing signs of obfuscation in Greene’s death, which the white troopers initially blamed on a car crash at the end of a high-speed chase and is now the subject of a federal civil rights investigation.

The highly secretive case has drawn national attention since last week when the AP began publishing graphic body camera videos that showed troopers repeatedly jolting Greene with stun guns, putting him in a chokehold, punching him and dragging him by his ankle shackles. And like George Floyd’s death a year ago, it once again highlighted the importance of video as key evidence in police misconduct cases.

“Video doesn’t lie, and the best way to protect the integrity of law enforcement agencies is with body camera footage,” said Rafael Goyeneche, a former prosecutor who is president of the Metropolitan Crime Commission, a New Orleans-based watchdog group.

But Clary, the highest-ranking officer among at least six state troopers at the scene of Greene’s May 10, 2019, arrest, told investigators later that day that he had no body camera footage of the incident — a statement proven to
be untrue when his 30-minute body camera video of the arrest emerged last month.

Clary, who arrived at the scene just seconds after troopers stunned, choked and punched Greene to get him into handcuffs, told investigators that Greene “was still, yelling and screaming ... and he was still resisting, even though he was handcuffed. He was still trying to get away and was not cooperating.”

Investigators wrote in a six-page report filed less than three weeks ago that Clary’s description of Greene’s demeanor after he was cuffed on a dark roadside near Monroe was clearly a mischaracterization. Though they did not state it explicitly, the false statements were apparently intended to justify further uses of force by troopers against the prone Greene that included dragging him facedown by his ankle shackles and spraying him in the face with pepper spray.

“The video evidence in this case does not show Greene screaming, resisting or trying to get away,” Detective Albert Paxton wrote in the new report.

“The only screams revealed by the video were when Greene responded to force applied to him.”

The report added that Clary’s own video, published last week by the AP and later released by the state, shows Greene “lying on the ground, face down, handcuffed behind his back, leg shackles on his ankles, uttering the phrases, ‘I’m sorry’, or ‘I’m scared’ or ‘Yes sir’ or ‘Okay.’”

Clary’s video shows troopers ordering the heavyset, 49-year-old Greene to remain facedown on the ground with his hands and feet restrained for more than nine minutes — a tactic use-of-force experts criticized as dangerous and likely to have restricted his breathing. Greene can be seen on Clary’s footage struggling to prop himself up on his side.

“Don’t you turn over! Lay on your belly! Lay on your belly!” Trooper Kory York yells before briefly dragging Greene by the chain that connects his ankle shackles.

“Lt. Clary’s video clearly shows Greene to be suffering,” Paxton wrote in the new report, adding that the handcuffed man can be heard “gasping for air.”

Though what happens to Greene next cannot be seen on the video, investigators wrote that “Greene’s eyes are squeezed shut as he shakes his
head back and forth moaning in pain, movements consistent with having been sprayed in the face with (pepper) spray.”

The records noted that around this time Trooper York asked Greene if he has his attention now and a local deputy assisting in the arrest added, “Yeah, that sh-- hurts, doesn’t it?”

Another false statement noted in the report was when Clary told investigators that his troopers sat Greene up and “immediately held his head up so he could get a clear airway.”

Clary’s video, however, showed troopers saying they didn’t want to sit Greene up because they were afraid he would spit blood on them.

“Then don’t do that,” Clary tells them.

Even after Greene became unresponsive and troopers sat him up, his head was slumped down on his chest and they did not make a move to lift his head to make a clear airway for nearly six minutes.

“The officers have the duty and obligation to ensure that he is capable of breathing ... and they chose not to do that,” said Andrew Scott, a former Boca Raton, Florida, police chief who testifies as an expert in use-of-force cases.

“When he was in handcuffs, he was completely compliant. The only thing he wanted to do was turn over onto his side,” Scott added. “He couldn’t resist. He was incapable of resisting.”
Clary, who has been with the Louisiana State Police for 31 years, has not faced any discipline for his role in the Greene case. He did not return phone and text messages seeking comment Monday.

State police spokesman Capt. Nick Manale said internal reviews are ongoing to determine why the Clary video was not identified during the original criminal investigation.

Union Parish District Attorney John Belton, who is pursuing a state investigation of the troopers’ actions, told the AP he only became aware of Clary’s footage recently.

Clary cannot claim he was unaware his body camera was recording, the investigators noted, citing a moment on his video when he points to his own camera in an apparent warning to one of his troopers at the scene of Greene’s arrest. At another point, the records say, a trooper “pointed out that Lt. Clary’s body camera was recording, causing Lt. Clary to immediately turn it off.”

The concealed video is only the latest anomaly in the law enforcement response to Greene’s death. Troopers initially told Greene’s family he died in a car crash, and later the state police issued a brief statement acknowledging there was a struggle with officers and that Greene died on the way to the hospital. There was no mention made of any use of force by troopers.

State police also did not open an administrative investigation into the troopers’ use of force until 474 days after Greene’s death. And Louisiana officials from Gov. John Bel Edwards on down repeatedly refused to publicly release any body camera video of Greene’s arrest for more than two years, until last week after AP began publishing videos it obtained.

The AP last week also obtained a 10-page autopsy report that shows state police failed to turn over to forensic pathologists even the most routine documents relating to Greene’s arrest, including police reports, collision details or emergency medical records.

“The lack of transparency reeks of a potential cover up,” Goyeneche said. “If the Louisiana State Police were vigilant and on top of its game, there would have been discipline and terminations years ago in this case.”
Top cop withheld video of Greene's deadly arrest

In perhaps the strongest evidence yet of an attempted cover-up in the deadly 2019 arrest of Ronald Greene, the ranking Louisiana state trooper at the scene falsely told investigators the Black man was still a threat to flee after he was shackled.
June 9, 2021

AP: Louisiana police unit probed over Black driver arrests

In this Saturday, May 23, 2020 image from Louisiana State Police body camera video, an unidentified law enforcement officer applies an electric weapon to the back of motorist Antonio Harris as he and other officers restrain him on the side of a road after a high speed chase in Franklin Parish, La.

By JIM MUSTIAN
Associated Press

BATON ROUGE, La. (AP) — The same Louisiana State Police unit whose troopers stunned, punched and dragged Ronald Greene on video during a deadly 2019 arrest is now under internal investigation by a secret panel over whether its officers are systematically targeting Black motorists for abuse.

The panel, whose existence was confirmed to The Associated Press by four people familiar with it, was set up in response to Greene’s death as well as three other violent stops of Black men: one who was punched, stunned and hoisted to his feet by his hair braids in a body-camera video obtained by the AP, another
who was beaten after he was handcuffed, and yet another who was slammed 18 times with a flashlight.

“Every time I told him to stop he’d hit me again,” said Aaron Bowman, whose flashlight pummeling left him with three broken ribs, a broken jaw, a broken wrist and a gash to his head that required six staples to close. “I don’t want to see this happen to nobody — not to my worst enemy.”

The panel began working a few weeks ago to review thousands of body-camera videos over the past two years involving as many as a dozen white troopers, at least four of whom were involved in Greene’s arrest.

The review is focused on Louisiana State Police Troop F, a 66-officer unit that patrols a sprawling territory in the northeastern part of the state and has become notorious in recent years for alleged acts of brutality that have resulted in felony charges against some of its troopers.

“You’d be naïve to think it’s limited to two or three instances. That’s why you’re seeing this audit, which is a substantial undertaking by any agency,” said Rafael Goyeneche, a former prosecutor who is president of the Metropolitan Crime Commission, a New Orleans-based watchdog group. “They’ve got to identify these people and remove them from the organization.”

Other than the federal civil rights investigation into Greene’s death, the state police panel is the only known inquiry into possible systemic abuse and racism by its troopers.
Its seven members, drawn from officials from across the State Police, are not only scouring the videos for signs of excessive force, the people told the AP, but also examining whether troopers showed racist tendencies in their traffic stops and pursuits, and whether they mislabeled body-camera videos, turned off their cameras or used other means to hide evidence from internal investigators.

It’s not clear if the panel has a deadline or if it plans to expand the inquiry to the eight other troops in the 1,200-officer state police.

The State Police did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Secrecy has permeated the Greene case from the beginning.

Soon after Greene’s May 10, 2019, death, troopers told his relatives he died in a crash following a chase on a rural road near Monroe. Later, State Police issued a one-page statement saying that troopers struggled with Greene during his arrest and that he died on the way to the hospital.

For more than two years, Louisiana officials from Democratic Gov. John Bel Edwards down rebuffed repeated requests to release the body-camera video of Greene’s arrest.

But that changed last month after the AP released footage it obtained showing troopers converging on Greene’s car, repeatedly jolting the 49-year-old unarmed man with stun guns, putting him in a chokehold, striking him in the head and dragging him by his ankle shackles. Greene can be heard apologizing to the officers, telling them he is scared and moaning and gasping for air.

One 30-minute clip, which a supervisor denied having for two years, shows troopers ordering the heavyset Greene to remain facedown with his hands and feet restrained for more than nine minutes — a tactic use-of-force experts criticized as dangerous and likely to have restricted his breathing.

An autopsy report obtained by AP lists Greene’s cause of death as “cocaine induced agitated delirium complicated by motor vehicle collision, physical

SECRET PANEL 3 of 6
The review is focused on Louisiana State Police Troop F, a 66-officer unit that patrols a sprawling territory in the northeastern part of the state and has become notorious in recent years for alleged acts of brutality.

No troopers have been charged in Greene’s arrest. Trooper Kory York, who was seen dragging Greene, was suspended without pay for 50 hours. Master Trooper Chris Hollingsworth, who was recorded on his body camera bragging that he “beat the ever-living f---” out of Greene, was told he would be fired last year just hours before he died in single-vehicle car crash.

While none of the other beatings that prompted the broader review of Troop F resulted in deaths, all led to felony charges against some of the troopers involved. And like Greene, all the suspects were driving alone, were unarmed and didn’t appear to resist after troopers closed in.

State police have not released body-camera video of any those cases, but AP obtained footage from the May 2020 arrest of Antonio Harris, who sped away from a traffic stop and led troopers through rural Richland Parish at speeds topping 150 mph before his car was finally stopped with a spike strip.

He can clearly be seen on the video surrendering next to a cornfield by lying on the ground with his arms and legs outstretched before at least seven officers converged.

Dakota DeMoss, a trooper involved in the Greene arrest, can be seen striking Harris in the face and later, after he was handcuffed, yanking him onto his feet by his dreadlocks. Another trooper, George Harper, uses a fist reinforced by his flashlight to punch Harris in the head and threatens to “punish” him while Trooper Jacob Brown pulls the man’s hair.

An unidentified officer also can be seen in the footage shocking Harris with a stun gun.

“I hope you act up when we get to the f------ jail,” Harper can be heard saying. “What the f----- is wrong with you, stupid motherf------.”

Internal investigators found that troopers produced “wholly untrue” reports saying Harris resisted and that they sought to conceal the existence of body-camera video. Troopers also exchanged 14 text messages peppered with “lol” and “haha” in which they boasted about the beating.

“He gonna be sore tomorrow for sure,” Brown texted. “Warms my heart knowing we could educate that young man.”

State police arrested Brown, Harper and DeMoss on charges of simple
Above right: this May 30, 2019 photo provided by his attorneys shows Aaron Bowman at the St. Francis Medical Center in Monroe, La. “I thought I was going to die that night — I bled so much,” Bowman says. “It’s hard to deal with. I can’t function half of the time. It’s just hard for me to think now.”

battery and malfeasance in Harris’ case.

Another beating happened in late May 2019 — 20 days after Greene’s death — when a Ouachita Parish deputy sheriff tried to pull over Bowman for a traffic violation a block from his Monroe home. The deputy reported that Bowman failed to pull over and continued into his driveway, where he was ordered out of his vehicle.

Brown, the trooper charged in the Harris incident, quickly responded to the arrest and, according to court documents, can be seen on his own body-camera video pummeling Bowman with a flashlight designed for shattering car glass, striking him 18 times as he was being handcuffed and not resisting.

“I thought I was going to die that night — I bled so much,” Bowman told the AP. “It’s hard to deal with. I can’t function half of the time. It’s just hard for me to think now.”

For months, state police were not aware footage of Bowman’s arrest existed because Brown misclassified it and failed to document any use of force, according to court records. Brown was charged with aggravated battery and malfeasance.

Brown also faces charges in yet another beating of a Black motorist — the July 2019 arrest of Morgan Blake, who was pulled over for a traffic violation on Interstate 20 in Ouachita Parish.
Troopers said Blake had 13 pounds of marijuana concealed in a locked compartment of the vehicle and was taken into custody. At some point, he complained that his handcuffs were too tight, and Brown took him to the ground.

Body-worn camera captured Trooper Randall Dickerson punching Blake five times and kneeling him. State Police determined that Blake “was not resisting, attempting to escape or being aggressive,” and that the troopers failed to document their use of force in any reports.

Dickerson and Brown were charged with simple battery and malfeasance.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Louisiana on Wednesday called for a “top-to-bottom federal investigation” of the State Police.

“This is not a matter of a few bad apples,” the group said, “this is a systemic issue that demands a systemic and transparent response.”
Monroe, La. (AP) — Federal prosecutors are investigating whether Louisiana State Police brass obstructed justice to protect the troopers seen on long-withheld body camera video punching, dragging and stunning Black motorist Ronald Greene during his fatal 2019 arrest.

It marks a significant expansion of the federal inquiry that began as a blow-by-blow examination of the troopers’ violence against Greene and their apparent efforts to cover it up. Investigators are now moving up the
chain of command, probing allegations that supervisors disregarded the video evidence, quashed a recommendation to arrest one of the troopers and recently pressed a state prosecutor not to bring any charges, according to documents obtained by The Associated Press and a half dozen people familiar with the case.

“Their investigation is far beyond just use of force,” said Ron Haley, an attorney for Greene’s family, who met with federal authorities at length last month. “They’re casting a very wide net.”

The development comes as federal prosecutors are preparing to present their findings to a grand jury by the end of the summer, which could bring the first charges of any kind in a case that’s long been shrouded in secrecy.

Greene’s deadly arrest on May 10, 2019, came after he eluded a stop for a traffic violation and led troopers on a chase near Monroe at speeds topping 115 mph. Troopers initially told Greene’s relatives the 49-year-old died from a crash at the end of the chase, despite his car showing little damage, and only later did state police acknowledge a struggle.

It took 474 days for state police to launch an internal inquiry and officials from Gov. John Bel Edwards on down refused to release body camera video for more than two years. That was until the AP obtained and published it in May, showing white troopers beating Greene and dragging him by his ankle.

In this May 10, 2019 image from Louisiana State Trooper Dakota DeMoss’ body camera, troopers hold Ronald Greene before paramedics arrived outside of Monroe, La. The video shows Louisiana state troopers stunning, punching and dragging Greene as he apologizes for leading them on a high-speed chase.
shackles, even as he pleaded for mercy and wailed, “I’m your brother! I’m scared! I’m scared!”

A key point under scrutiny in the federal investigation came just a day after the AP published the video, when the head of the state police, Col. Lamar Davis, and his chief of staff, Lt. Col. Doug Cain, made a hastily arranged attempt to dissuade state prosecutors from charging troopers in the Greene case, according to several people familiar with the investigation who spoke on condition of anonymity because they weren’t authorized to discuss it.

Davis and Cain traveled to District Attorney John Belton’s office in Ruston — more than 200 miles north of Baton Rouge — on May 20 to review the video frame by frame and make the case that the troopers’ actions were justified. Belton, who told colleagues he was deeply disturbed by the footage, referred the case to federal authorities in September 2019 but has not ruled out prosecuting the troopers at the state level.

Capt. Nick Manale, a state police spokesman, said the agency is continuing to cooperate with the federal investigation and “intends to release all documents and investigative files at the appropriate time.” He said the federal inquiry “prevents the release of further information.”

Davis has declined repeated interview requests. Cain did not respond to messages seeking comment.

“Why would the top command people be so adamant on protecting their officers when it’s apparent that the officers didn’t do everything right?” said Andrew Scott, a former Boca Raton, Florida, police chief who testifies as an expert witness in use-of-force cases. “There’s a culture and a custom and practice that this type of behavior is condoned or winked at by command staff and has been allowed to perpetuate itself over the course of many years.”

Of particular interest to federal investigators is why the state police failed to arrest Chris Hollingsworth, a veteran trooper who can be seen on the video stunning Greene and was later recorded boasting to a colleague that he choked Greene and beat the “ever living f—- out of him.”

Seven days after Greene’s death, on May 17, 2019, state police detectives told their superiors that Hollingsworth should be arrested for turning off his dashboard and body cameras before the high-speed pursuit and later when he

Investigators are now probing allegations that top brass disregarded video evidence, quashed a recommendation to arrest one of the troopers and pressed a state prosecutor not to bring any charges.
realized one of the devices was recording him talking about beating Greene, according to notes written by the lead investigator, Det. Albert Paxton.

But state police commanders in Monroe pressured their detectives to hold off, the notes say. Among those present at the meeting were Capt. John Peters, the regional troop commander, and Bob Brown, then the major over statewide criminal investigations.

The meeting became “very heated,” the notes say, with the commanders warning that charging Hollingsworth would cause investigators to “have issues with patrol.”

The detectives also suggested Hollingsworth be charged with aggravated battery. Peters responded, “What is evidence and who decides?”

Hollingsworth was never arrested and was only fired in September after he admitted to bashing Greene’s head with a flashlight — a use of deadly force internal investigators said was unjustified. The 46-year-old died in a single-car highway crash in Monroe hours after he learned of his firing.

Also under scrutiny, according to those familiar with the probe, is why the state police failed to provide the body camera video and even the most basic police reports for the official autopsy. It listed Greene’s cause of death as “cocaine induced agitated delirium complicated by motor vehicle collision, physical struggle, inflicted head injury and restraint.” The forensic pathologists, however, say the lack of supporting materials left them unable to determine whether the crash or excessive police force caused his most severe injuries.
The FBI recently asked the pathologist to make another attempt at such a conclusion accounting for the evidence state police initially failed to provide.

As federal prosecutors home in on possible obstruction charges, state police leaders have redoubled their hunt for leaks in a case that’s steeped the agency in controversy and divided its ranks.

At least six high-ranking state police officials — including Peters, Brown and Col. Kevin Reeves, the head of the state police at the time of Greene’s death — have retired amid the growing fallout from the case.

Last month, Peters announced his departure as head of the Monroe-based Troop F — which has become notorious for its harsh treatment of Black suspects — with an email saying, “Shamefully, we have now seen there are those within our own ranks tearing this agency apart from the inside.”

Peters didn’t mention in his email that he recently received a 32-hour suspension for signing off on a use-of-force report without reviewing the body camera footage of his troopers beating yet another Black motorist, according to state police records. Peters, who was among the commanders to sign off on the use-of-force reports in Greene’s case, told investigators it was “common practice” for him to approve such documents without reviewing the materials. He declined to comment to AP.

Leading the federal inquiry is Assistant U.S. Attorney John Luke Walker, a Lafayette-based prosecutor who won accolades for his role in a sprawling child exploitation case that resulted in dozens of convictions.

Walker is also investigating Louisiana state troopers’ beatings of at least two other Black motorists. They include Aaron Larry Bowman, who was pulled over near his Monroe home just 20 days after Greene’s death and was struck 18 times with a flashlight, leaving him with a broken jaw, ribs and wrist, and a gash to the head.

Trooper Jacob Brown, the son of Bob Brown, was arrested in December on second-degree battery and malfeasance charges in Bowman’s beating. Brown did not respond to requests for comment.

Bowman’s lawyer, Donecia Banks-Miley, said federal prosecutors met with her and her client in June and showed them Brown’s 2019 body camera footage for the first time.

“It’s been covered up for so long,” Banks-Miley said. “It’s just been covered up.”
Aug. 25, 2021

‘Pain compliance’: Video shows trooper pummeling Black man

By JAKE BLEIBERG and JIM MUSTIAN
Associated Press

MONROE, La. (AP) — Graphic body camera video kept secret for more than two years shows a Louisiana State Police trooper pummeling a Black motorist 18 times with a flashlight — an attack the trooper defended as “pain compliance.”

“I’m not resisting! I’m not resisting!” Aaron Larry Bowman can be heard screaming between blows on the footage obtained by The Associated Press. The
May 2019 beating following a traffic stop left him with a broken jaw, three broken ribs, a broken wrist and a gash to his head that required six staples to close.

Bowman’s encounter near his Monroe home came less than three weeks after troopers from the same embattled agency punched, stunned and dragged another Black motorist, Ronald Greene, before he died in police custody on a rural roadside in northeast Louisiana. Video of Greene’s death similarly remained under wraps before AP obtained and published it earlier this year.

Federal prosecutors are examining both cases in a widening investigation into police brutality and potential cover-ups involving both troopers and state police brass.

State police didn’t investigate the attack on Bowman until 536 days after it occurred — even though it was captured on body camera — and only did so weeks after Bowman brought a civil lawsuit.

The state police released a statement Wednesday saying that Jacob Brown, the white trooper who struck Bowman, “engaged in excessive and unjustifiable actions,” failed to report the use of force to his supervisors and “intentionally mislabeled” his body camera video.

Before resigning in March, Brown tallied 23 use-of-force incidents dating to 2015 — 19 of them targeting Black people, according to state police records.

Aside from the federal investigation, Brown faces state charges of second-degree battery and malfeasance in Bowman’s beating. He also faces state charges in two other violent arrests of Black motorists, including one he boasted about last year in a group chat with other troopers, saying the suspect is “gonna be sore” and “it warms my heart knowing we could educate that
young man.”

On the night Bowman was pulled over for a traffic violation, Brown came upon the scene after deputies had forcibly removed Bowman from his vehicle and taken him to the ground. The trooper later told investigators he “was in the area and was trying to get involved.”

Wielding an 8-inch aluminum flashlight reinforced with a pointed end to shatter car glass, Brown jumped out of his state police vehicle and began bashing Bowman on his head and body within two seconds of “initial contact” — unleashing 18 strikes in 24 seconds, detectives wrote in an investigative report.

“Give me your f------ hands!” the trooper shouted. “I ain’t messing with you.”

Bowman tried to explain several times that he was a dialysis patient, had done nothing wrong and wasn’t resisting, saying, “I’m not fighting you, you’re fighting me.”

Brown responded with: “Shut the f--- up!” and “You ain’t listening.”

Bowman later can be heard moaning, still on the ground. “I’m bleeding!” he said. “They hit me in the head with a flashlight!”

Brown, 31, later said Bowman had struck a deputy and that the blows were “pain compliance” intended to get Bowman into handcuffs. Investigators who reviewed Brown’s video months after the fact determined his use of force was not reasonable or necessary.

Brown did not respond to several messages seeking comment.

Bowman, 46, denied hitting anyone and is not seen on the video being violent with officers. But he still faces a list of charges, including battery of a police officer, resisting an officer and the traffic violation for which he was initially stopped, improper lane usage.

Brown not only failed to report his use of force but mislabeled his footage as a “citizen encounter” in what investigators called “an intentional attempt to hide the video from any administrative review.”

Bowman’s defense attorney, Keith Whiddon, said he was initially told
there was no body-camera video.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Louisiana said the video was further impetus for federal authorities to conduct a so-called “pattern and practice” investigation of the state police.

“In the absence of federal oversight, LSP will continue to put Louisianans at risk of constitutional rights violations,” said the group’s executive director, Alanah Odoms.

Robert Tew, the district attorney in Monroe, declined to discuss Brown’s case or anything to do with the state police. “We’ll see what the DOJ has to do,” he said during a brief interview outside his home.

Bowman himself hadn’t seen the footage until recently, when prosecutors from the U.S. Justice Department showed it to him and his civil attorney.

“I kept thinking I was going to die that night,” Bowman told the AP through tears in a recent interview. “It was like reliving it all over again. By watching it, I broke down all over again.”

“I don’t want nobody to go through that.”
Aug. 25, 2021

**ONLY ON AP: Video shows US trooper pummeling Black man**

Man speaks out after encounter with police leaves him with broken bones and a head gash that required six staples to close.
Sept. 9, 2021

Beatings, buried videos a pattern at Louisiana State Police

March 2, 2019 image from police dashboard camera video obtained by The Associated Press, Louisiana State Trooper Jacob Brown slams motorist DeShawn Washington against the hood of a police cruiser during a traffic stop in Ouachita Parish, La., after troopers found marijuana in the trunk of Washington's car.

By JIM MUSTIAN and JAKE BLEIBERG
Associated Press

MONROE, La. (AP) — The most violent videos languished for years, lost or ignored in a digital vault. Louisiana State Police troopers and top brass alike would often look the other way, even as officers took to official messaging channels to banter about their brutality.

In one video, white troopers can be seen slamming a Black man against a police cruiser after finding marijuana in his car, throwing him to the ground and repeatedly punching him — all while he is handcuffed.

In another, a white trooper pummels a Black man at a traffic stop 18 times with a flashlight, leaving him with a broken jaw, broken ribs and a gash to his head. That footage was mislabeled and it took 536 days and a lawsuit for
An AP review of internal investigative records and newly obtained videos identified at least a dozen cases over the past decade in which Louisiana State Police troopers or their bosses ignored or concealed evidence of beatings, deflected blame and impeded efforts to root out misconduct.

And yet another video shows a white trooper coldcocking a Hispanic drug trafficking suspect as he stood calmly by a highway, an unprovoked attack never mentioned in any report and only investigated when the footage was discovered by an outraged federal judge.

As the Louisiana State Police reel from the fallout of the deadly 2019 arrest of Ronald Greene — a case blown open this year by long-withheld video of troopers stunning, punching and dragging the Black motorist — an Associated Press investigation has revealed it is part of a pattern of violence kept shrouded in secrecy.

An AP review of internal investigative records and newly obtained videos identified at least a dozen cases over the past decade in which Louisiana State Police troopers or their bosses ignored or concealed evidence of beatings, deflected blame and impeded efforts to root out misconduct.

AP’s review — coming amid a widening federal investigation into state police misconduct — found troopers have made a habit of turning off or muting body cameras during pursuits. When footage is recorded, the agency routinely refuses to release it. And a recently retired supervisor who oversaw a particularly violent clique of troopers told internal investigators this year that it was his “common practice” to rubber-stamp officers’ use-of-force reports without reviewing body-camera video.

In some cases, troopers omitted uses of force such as blows to the head from official reports, and in others troopers sought to justify their actions by claiming suspects were violent, resisting or escaping, all of which were contradicted by video footage.

“Hyper-aggressiveness is winked upon and nodded and allowed to go on,” said Andrew Scott, a former Boca Raton, Florida, police chief and use-of-force expert who reviewed videos obtained by AP. “It’s very clear that the agency accepts that type of behavior.”

Most of those beaten in the cases AP found were Black, in keeping with the agency’s own tally that 67% of its uses of force in recent years have targeted Black people — double the percentage of the state’s Black population. AP
In this July 16, 2019 image from police dashboard camera video obtained by The Associated Press, Louisiana State Trooper Jacob Brown throws motorist Morgan Blake to the ground following a traffic stop in Ouachita Parish, La.

reporting revealed that a secret panel the state police set up this year to determine whether troopers systematically abused Black motorists was just as secretly shut down, leaving the agency blind to potential misconduct.

The revelations come as civil rights and Black leaders urge the U.S. Justice Department to launch a broader, “pattern and practice” investigation into potential systemic racial profiling by the overwhelmingly white state police, similar to other probes opened in recent months in Minneapolis, Louisville and Phoenix.

“These things are racially motivated,” said Alanah Odoms, executive director of the ACLU of Louisiana. “It doesn’t seem you could have this level of criminality going on without it being something much more sinister.”

It’s not clear how the Louisiana State Police rate of force against Black people compares to that of other states because there is no national benchmark and definitions of uses of force differ between jurisdictions. Activists, however, say it points to a clear problem.

“Driving while Black is still a crime in Louisiana,” said Eugene W. Collins, president of the Baton Rouge branch of the NAACP, adding that the numbers “prove our assertion that our communities are woefully over-policed.”

Col. Lamar Davis, the state police superintendent, declined requests for an interview but said in a statement that the agency has completely revised its excessive force policies and practices and implemented numerous reforms in the 11 months since he took office.

“No instance of excessive force is acceptable,” he said, “and when the
department learns of such misconduct, an immediate review is launched leading to administrative and/or potential criminal investigations.”

Davis said transparency is a priority but “ongoing criminal and civil litigation prevents the immediate release of videos and investigative details in many of these incidents.”

He said he doesn’t believe a federal pattern and practice investigation is needed “at this time.” The Justice Department did not answer questions about whether it’s considering one.

The state police have been under intense scrutiny since May when the AP published previously unreleased body camera footage of Greene’s May 10, 2019, arrest at the end of a high-speed chase near Monroe. It showed white troopers stunning, beating and dragging Greene as he pleaded for mercy. One clip that a supervisor denied having for two years showed troopers leaving the heavyset Greene prone and shackled facedown for more than nine minutes. Among the 49-year-old’s last words: “I’m your brother. I’m scared! I’m scared!”

It was a jarring rush of images in a death that troopers initially blamed on a car crash and that took 474 days to prompt an internal investigation. Gov. John Bel Edwards was among the officials who repeatedly rebuffed requests to release the video.

“These are tactics they’ve been using forever and we’re tired of it,” said Terrance Key, an Army veteran who grew up with Greene in northern Louisiana. “They’ve been getting away with this s--- for so long.”

Recently, a federal investigation into Greene’s death was broadened to

In this Saturday, May 23, 2020 image from Louisiana State Police body camera video, Trooper Dakota DeMoss approaches motorist Antonio Harris lying on the ground on the side of a road after a high speed chase in Franklin Parish, La.
include allegations of obstruction of justice involving Louisiana State Police brass. Among the incidents under scrutiny is the shutdown of the secret panel state police set up to investigate possible systemic abuse of Black motorists.

The seven-member panel had been focused on reviewing thousands of hours of body camera footage from about a dozen specific troopers in northern Louisiana’s Troop F, including some of those involved in the beatings of Greene and three other Black motorists.

But according to several people familiar with the matter who spoke to AP on condition of anonymity, the panel was abruptly disbanded in July after just a few months’ work following leaks about its existence. State police did not immediately act on the panel’s recommendations, but Davis said the agency has since referred some of the problematic incidents to internal investigators.

He did not identify those incidents.

Among the cases identified by AP’s review is a March 2019 arrest in northeastern Louisiana’s Ouachita Parish where a trooper was caught on dash-camera video grabbing Black marijuana suspect Deshawn Washington by his hair and slamming the 20-year-old into the hood of a police cruiser, a use of force omitted from the police report. At one point, Washington’s friend, Shomari King, a 21-year-old who was also arrested, asked, “Why y’all being so rough?”

In another case from August 2019, Darrell Smith, a white motorist who fled a traffic stop near Baton Rouge, contended in a lawsuit that troopers caught up with him and beat him beyond recognition, causing him to be hospitalized with temporary kidney failure. A use-of-force report leaves unchecked whether body-camera video exists and lists Smith’s injuries as “nonincapacitating.” Smith’s lawsuit says troopers shared a photo of him after the beating with his eyes swollen shut and the caption: “This is what happens when you run from the police.”

Sometimes, videos have been left out of materials turned over to state prosecutors. That was the case last year after a high-speed chase ended near a Franklin Parish cornfield, where body cameras captured troopers beating Black motorist Antonio Harris and hoisting him to his feet by his hair braids.

Afterward, the troopers bragged about it in LOL-peppered group text messages, saying Harris is “gonna have nightmares” and is “still digesting that ass whoopin’.”
Capt. John Peters, the regional troop commander, recently retired after acknowledging he approved troopers’ use-of-force reports that glossed over Harris’ beating without reviewing their body-camera video, disciplinary records show. Peters, who was also among the commanders to sign off on the use-of-force reports in the Ronald Greene case, told investigators that approving such documents without watching the video was his “common practice.” He declined to comment to AP.

“The ultimate responsibility is mine,” records show Peters wrote in an internal email about the approvals last year. “I failed.”

One former trooper, Jacob Brown, was perhaps the agency’s most prolifically violent officer in recent years. Records show he tallied 23 uses of force dating to 2015 — 19 on Black people — and he faces charges in three separate beatings.

Video and police records show he beat Aaron Larry Bowman 18 times with a flashlight after deputies pulled him over for a traffic violation near his Monroe home in May 2019. State police didn’t investigate the attack until 536 days later, and only did so after a lawsuit from Bowman, who was left with a broken jaw, ribs and wrist, as well as a gash to his head that required six staples to close.

“I thought I was going to die that night,” Bowman told AP.

Brown, who resigned in March, failed to report his use of force and
mislabeled his body-camera footage in what investigators described in internal records as “an intentional attempt to hide the video.” He did not respond to messages seeking comment.

Another video obtained by the AP involving Brown shows the 2019 arrest of Morgan Blake, who was handcuffed by the side of a Louisiana interstate after troopers found 13 pounds of marijuana in his car.

When Blake repeatedly begged Brown to adjust the cuffs, saying they were irritating an old elbow injury, the trooper refused and slammed Blake twice against a police cruiser and then hurled him to the ground.

Two more troopers jumped on Blake, who was still handcuffed, in the roadside grass. “Stop resisting,” one of them yelled. Footage shows Trooper Randall “Colby” Dickerson punching Blake five times and kneeling him in the side. Dickerson, who faces state charges in the case, declined to comment.

After the beating, Brown told another trooper that Blake’s right handcuff hadn’t been on, that he was resisting and, “Hell, he’s trying to get away” — all statements investigators concluded were false.

AP also obtained previously unreleased footage of a state trooper hitting a Hispanic truck driver in 2010 along Interstate 12 in Tangipahoa Parish, north of New Orleans.

The driver, Alejandro Soliz, had been transporting more than 20 kilograms of cocaine and waited on the side of the road as troopers searched his tractor-trailer. Trooper Jason LaMarca can be seen approaching Soliz and, without provocation, delivering a blow to the head that sent the man crumbling to the ground.

“There is absolutely no legitimacy in that type of force,” policing expert Scott said after viewing the footage.

LaMarca, reached by phone, referred questions to a police spokesman, who did not respond.

The federal judge who sentenced Soliz on drug charges five months after the arrest was so troubled by the video that he wrote letters to federal prosecutors and Col. Mike Edmonson, then-superintendent of the state police. The use of force had not been documented in any reports, the judge wrote, adding the video also showed “three other troopers laughing at this act.”

Edmonson ultimately suspended LaMarca for 12 hours, saying the punishment was tempered by what he considered an “outstanding” seizure of $2 million worth of cocaine.

At a disciplinary hearing, Edmonson talked about wanting to send LaMarca a message that striking Soliz was “not why we wear this badge.”

The trooper’s suspension was overturned on appeal.
Louisiana arrests reveal violence, cover-ups
Beatings, buried videos a pattern at Louisiana State Police.
In Louisiana, a father, a son and a culture of police abuse

MONROE, La. (AP) — Growing up in the piney backwoods of northern Louisiana, where yards were dotted with crosses and the occasional Confederate flag, Jacob Brown was raised on hunting, fishing and dreams of becoming a state trooper.

But within weeks of arriving at the Louisiana State Police training academy in Baton Rouge, instructors pegged Brown as trouble. One wrote that he was an arrogant, chronic rule breaker with “toxic” character traits that should
disqualify him from ever joining the state’s elite law enforcement agency.

Fortunately for Brown, the state police was known as a place where who you knew often trumped what you did, and where most introductory chats eventually got around to a simple question: Who’s your daddy?

Jacob Brown is the son of Bob Brown, then part of the state police’s top brass who would rise to second in command despite being reprimanded years earlier for calling Black colleagues the n-word and hanging a Confederate flag in his office. And the son would not only become a “legacy hire” but prove his instructors prophetic by becoming one of the most violent troopers in the state, reserving most of his punches, flashlight strikes and kicks for the Black drivers he pulled over along the soybean and cotton fields near where he grew up.

When friends and colleagues would ask Bob Brown how his first-born was getting along as a trooper, he’d respond with a seemingly innocuous boast:

“He’s knocking heads.”

The Browns’ story is woven throughout the recent history of the Louisiana State Police and represents what dozens of current and former troopers have described to The Associated Press as a culture of impunity, nepotism and in some cases outright racism.

It illustrates the dynamics that have made the agency the focus of a sprawling federal investigation that initially examined the deadly 2019 arrest of Black motorist Ronald Greene and has since expanded to include a string of other cases — several involving Jacob Brown — in which troopers are accused of beatings and cover-ups, even when they are caught on video.

“If you’re a part of the good ol’ boy system, there’s no wrong you can do,” said Carl Cavalier, a Black state trooper who was once decorated for valor but recently fired in part for criticizing the agency’s handling of brutality cases.

It’s an us-versus-them culture, they say, in which many troopers and higher-ups are more interested in covering for each other than living up to the agency’s image of honor, duty, courage and “doing the right thing.”

It’s a culture in which troopers who gather for backyard barbecues and church on Sundays feel so insulated from scrutiny that they can banter about their brutality on official channels, including texting each other photos of a battered and bloodied suspect with the quip “he shouldn’t have resisted.”

It’s a culture in which 67% of troopers’ uses of force in recent years...
targeted Black people — double the percentage of the state’s Black population — and in which troopers kept their badges after sending overtly racist emails with such headings as “Proud to be White.”

And it’s a culture in which state police academy instructors faced with a widespread cheating scandal sought to dismiss an entire recent class of cadets — including the “legacies” of several high-ranking police officials — yet nearly all were allowed to graduate to jobs on the force.

“There’s a corruption that allows the reprobates in state police to just sort of do as they damn well please,” said W. Lloyd Grafton, a use-of-force expert who is consulting on the Greene family’s civil case and served on the Louisiana State Police Commission. “Nobody holds them accountable.”

’WE’VE GOT TO FACE THIS HEAD ON’

A potential reckoning in the Louisiana State Police came in the wake of Greene’s death on a rural roadside near Monroe on May 10, 2019 — a fatality troopers initially blamed on a car crash at the end of a high-speed chase.

State police later acknowledged Greene was involved in a “struggle” with troopers but officials from Gov. John Bel Edwards on down refused for more than two years to publicly release the body camera video. When it was eventually published by the AP this spring, the footage showed white troopers swarming Greene’s car, stunning, punching and dragging him by his ankle shackles, even as he appeared to surrender, wailing, “I’m your brother! I’m scared, I’m scared!”

Fallout brought federal scrutiny not just to the troopers but to whether top brass obstructed justice to protect them, according to documents and people familiar with the case. Investigators have focused on a meeting that the elder Brown attended in which state police commanders pressured their own detectives to hold off on arresting a trooper seen on body-camera video striking Greene in the head and later boasting, “I beat the ever-living f--- out of him.”

Greene’s death was among at least a dozen cases in the last decade
identified by the AP in which state troopers or their bosses ignored or concealed evidence of beatings, deflected blame and impeded efforts to root out misconduct.

Many of those cases involve the state police’s Monroe-based Troop F, which has become notorious for its treatment of Black motorists and counted Jacob Brown among its troopers. In one long-suppressed video, he can be seen pummeling a Black motorist with a flashlight, in another he slams a Black motorist into a police cruiser, and in yet another Brown and other troopers beat a Black man and hoist him to his feet by his dreadlocks. That was followed by troopers exchanging “lol”-peppered text messages bragging that the “whoopin” would give the man “nightmares for a long time.”

“They’re not the people you think they are,” said John Winzer, Greene’s nephew, who shudders every time he sees a state trooper on the highway. “It’s no different than organized crime. They hang together. They eat together and ride at night together. And s--- like this happens.”

Even the agency’s superintendent acknowledged that the state police have lost the public’s trust, due in part to an “old-fashioned culture” in Louisiana’s northern parishes in which some troopers are conditioned to punish anyone who runs from them or disrespects the badge.
“It’s uncomfortable to hear, ‘You guys are bullies.’ It’s uncomfortable to hear, ‘We thought y’all were better than this,’” Col. Lamar Davis, a veteran Black trooper brought in a year ago as a reformer, told AP in an interview. “We’ve got to face this head on,” he said. “We have to change quite a few things in our agency.”

Davis has reorganized his staff, overhauled use-of-force policies and mandated all troopers attend training on intrinsic bias. But he acknowledged it may not be enough to stave off growing calls for a U.S. Justice Department “pattern and practice” probe of potential racial profiling by a nearly 1,000-trooper force that’s more than three-quarters white men.

One of Davis’ most uncomfortable reform duties came just weeks into his tenure when he called Bob Brown, a man he once worked for, to tell him “out of respect” that he had ordered the arrest of his son Jacob and three other troopers on state charges in the separate beatings of three Black men. “It wasn’t pleasant,” Davis said, declining to detail the conversation.

'A SOUVENIR'

Bob Brown grew up in Lake Providence, a farming town on the Louisiana side of the Mississippi River.

By the 1990s, he was raising his children in a farmhouse about 20 miles outside Monroe. He began working for the Monroe police before joining the state police as a trooper, investigating car crashes on the same rural roads his son would later patrol.

Former colleagues described him as a loyal friend and skilled investigator who brought country canny to his policing. When a young trooper got his cruiser stuck in the mud, Brown towed him out with his tractor. He was well connected and understood the politics of state police, serving as a sergeant over narcotics before being promoted to a major overseeing statewide criminal investigations.

The elder Brown’s file with the State Police Commission, which acts as a civil service board, makes no mention of any accusations of excessive force. State police so far have not released his full personnel file.

“He was good at what he did but he wasn’t a glory hound,” said Lee Harrell, the former sheriff of Richland Parish who worked alongside the elder Brown at state police. “He wouldn’t talk to the media about his biggest drug bust.”

But in 2000, just months before the state police would name their first Black superintendent, Brown’s choice of words drew a formal complaint from
Brown was overheard in the office commiserating with colleagues over the results of a state police promotional exam. Some troopers were mad about how they’d scored and felt the test was flawed.

“I don’t understand how those ‘n-----s’ could pass this test,” Brown was quoted as saying, according to state police disciplinary records. “They’re not smarter than us.”

When questioned by internal affairs investigators, Brown said that while he didn’t recall making the remark, it was possible because the slur remained a part of his vocabulary.

The same complaint noted Brown hung a Confederate flag behind his office door, though it was not clear how long it had been there before it drew scrutiny. State police in northern Louisiana were sometimes called upon to remove Confederate flags that people would drape over highway overpasses, and Harrell said Brown held on to one of them “as a souvenir.”

The former sheriff, who is white, insisted that no one working in the state police’s Monroe office, including himself, objected to the flag’s placement.

“It’s history,” Harrell said, gesturing as he spoke to a Confederate battle flag flapping in his neighbor’s yard.

Brown escaped with a reprimand, and many of his white colleagues said they were unaware of the incident, even after then-Col. Kevin Reeves, a close family friend, promoted him to second in command of the state police in a coalition of Black troopers.
2020, citing his “phenomenal leadership at every level through the ranks.”

But the story was well known among Black troopers, who passed it on to new Black recruits as part of state police lore.

“Everyone was of the same accord that he was racist and open and out about it,” Cavalier said.

Brown, who has since retired, refused repeated interview requests, telling an AP reporter on one occasion that “a lot has been reported that is wrong.”

“I gave 30 years to this state,” the now 60-year-old Brown said before hanging up.

'TOXIC EMPLOYEE'

A decade after the Confederate flag in Brown’s office came down, his son followed him into law enforcement.

Jacob Brown grew up with three siblings in Monroe, playing baseball and basketball at a Catholic school. He had perfect attendance for 12 years and volunteered at vacation Bible school. He showed an early interest in enforcing rules, working as an umpire, and loved hunting so much he got a tattoo of 10 flying ducks on his right shoulder.

“My father taught me at a very young age how to be a successful hunter,” he once wrote to a prospective employer. “He has taught me lessons that I wish to pass on one day.”

After high school, he spent two years at community colleges but didn’t graduate and worked for a time as a roofer. In 2010, he was hired by the Ouachita Parish Sheriff’s Office, where he spent two years in corrections before becoming a patrol deputy.

Brown applied to the state police in 2014, writing that he aspired to be a trooper because the agency was the most highly respected in the state and “I like helping others and doing the right thing.”

At the training academy in Baton Rouge, however, Brown quickly demonstrated the type of trooper he would become.

Sergeants scouring the military-style barracks for banned items, such as cellphones, asked Brown if he had any contraband and he said no, according to an instructor’s memo recounting the incident. Then, after a sergeant pulled two bags of chewing tobacco from the ceiling tiles near his bunk, Brown lied again, claiming he had not shared any of it with his classmates.

Sgt. Len Marie, who oversaw the cadet class, said the issue wasn’t about banned tobacco so much as it was about integrity. And Marie was certain Brown had none.
“He is willing to cut corners and express himself in a disrespectful and deceptive manner,” Marie wrote in seeking to have Brown kicked out. “These are traits of a toxic employee that should not be allowed to continue with his training.”

“These character flaws are a strong indication of the type of trooper Cadet Brown will ultimately become,” he added.

Marie, who declined to comment, was chastised by higher ups in state police for writing the memo, according to several people who worked with him. Nothing ever came of his request to kick Brown out.

“No one from up above ever said, ‘We’re not terminating him because he’s related to someone,’ but that’s certainly what you were led to believe,” said David Ryerson, a retired lieutenant who worked closely with Marie at the academy. “It’s all about who you know.”

Other cadets caught breaking the rules were treated far more harshly, said Cavalier, who went through the same class with Brown and described him as “untouchable.”

“A select few cadets in the academy carried themselves with a certain swagger, a vibe that said they were sure they’d make it through,” Cavalier said. “They didn’t have any doubts.”

Before resigning last year, Brown racked up 23 uses of force dating to 2015 — 19 on Black people — tying him for the most recorded by a state trooper in that period.
With a shaved head and often clad in a leather jacket, Brown cut an imposing figure for his 5-foot-10 stature, and his disciplinary file shows he was repeatedly counseled for unprofessional conduct and profanity as he enforced what he once described as the state police’s “code of righteousness.”

“Why the f--- are you going so god--- fast,” he asked one motorist traveling 92 mph in a 55-mph zone.

In May 2019, Brown responded to a traffic stop in Monroe and struck Black motorist Aaron Larry Bowman 18 times with a flashlight, leaving him with a broken jaw, three broken ribs, a broken wrist and a gash to the head. Brown then mislabeled his body camera footage in what investigators concluded was “an intentional attempt to hide the video.”

When that video eventually was obtained and published by AP earlier this year, it showed Bowman on the ground pleading for mercy and repeatedly shouting between blows, “I’m not resisting!”

Brown, 31, pleaded not guilty this month to a federal civil rights charge in Bowman’s beating and has not responded to repeated requests for comment. Said his attorney Scott Wolleson, “We will reserve our comments for the courtroom.”

‘THEY’RE OUT THERE WORKING’

Favoritism toward the family members of top brass is so entrenched in the Louisiana State Police ethos that it is a part of state law. In 2017, the Legislature carved out an exception to Louisiana’s nepotism ban to allow a trooper to remain on the force after his father becomes superintendent.

It was passed specifically for then-Superintendent Kevin Reeves and his son, Kaleb, who would go on to be suspended for 4 ½ months without pay this year for causing a rear-end crash that killed two sisters, ages 18 and 11. Investigators determined Reeves had been driving recklessly, including going 22 mph over the speed limit, yet he was not prosecuted.

Some at the state police training academy say another glaring example came with the class of 2019, when instructors sought to dismiss more than 50 cadets — including at least five with high-ranking relatives in the agency — after a search of laptops turned up signs of possible cheating that included widely shared answer keys and copies of exams on law, use of force and ethics.

Documents obtained by AP and interviews with officials showed some of the material dated to 2014, suggesting to instructors that cadets may have been cheating for years.

But in a meeting with the instructors, Kevin Reeves refused to kick out the
whole class.

“That’s not going to happen,” he told them, according to several people who were there. “I’d rather take a sniper rifle approach than use the shotgun method.”

State police internal affairs issued a report three months later, just before graduation, that rejected the idea that the cheating was widespread.

Even though records show two cadets were fired for cheating and another who was under scrutiny quit, investigators concluded that the tests and answers cadets obtained from classmates, troopers and even a state judge were merely “study materials.”

Mark Richards, a retired captain who oversaw the training academy in 2019, said the cheating “was covered up” and the agency never adequately examined whether years of troopers skated through the academy with pilfered test questions.

“There’s a laundry list probably of cadets in the last six classes that got by, got through by cheating,” Richards said. “And they’re out there working.”

State police spokesman Capt. Nick Manale disputed that characterization, saying there was no indication the cheating was widespread and that the investigations were conducted “in accordance with policy and procedures.”

‘FAIL POINTS’

Davis, the current head of the state police, says the actions of a few bad troopers shouldn’t overshadow the good work done by the majority of his agency every day. But he acknowledged to the AP that he still doesn’t have a full grasp of how pervasive excessive force may be among his officers.

That’s in part because supervisors have for years failed to review thousands of hours of body camera footage, including that of Brown and other troopers with troubling records. It’s one of the “fail points” Davis listed among the “overwhelming” array of problems he confronted when he took over last year.

Asked whether he is confident there isn’t another Ronald Greene case out there that state police brass — and the public — don’t yet know about, Davis didn’t hesitate.

“No, I’m not,” he said. “We’ve not looked at every video.”
An Associated Press investigation has found a Louisiana State Police culture mired in patronage, impunity and, in some cases, racism. Amid a federal investigation of the 2019 beating and death of a Black motorist, some say the LSP is broken.
SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIAL

LOUISIANA STATE TROOPER CHARGED IN PUMMELING OF BLACK MAN

LOUISIANA POLICE BOSS SAYS HE’S OPEN TO FEDERAL OVERSIGHT
https://apnews.com/article/sports-college-football-racial-injustice-baton-rouge-racial-profiling-c4a9bcfcef24360f9da20ba40b93afe0

‘STOPPED THE NEWS IN ITS TRACKS’: MSNBC’S RACHEL MADDOW ON VIDEO OBTAINED BY AP
May 19, 2021: https://on.msnbc.com/3BgG5mD

OUR VIEWS: THINGS HAVE TO CHANGE AT STATE POLICE AND GOVERNOR, SUPERINTENDENT MUST LEAD
Sept. 19, 2021: https://www.theadvocate.com/baton_rouge/opinion/our_views/article_d5f68c72-06b8-11ec-aad8-1bc4a63f885f.html

OPINION: THE GRAPHIC VIDEO OF RONALD GREENE’S DEATH SHOWS — AGAIN — THE URGENT NEED FOR POLICE REFORM

WHITE TROOPERS POLICING BLACK BODIES
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