

SPECIAL REPORT FROM
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
8½ RAYMOND ST., NW
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

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WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ALABAMA POLICE BRUTALITY ?

The March 8 edition of the New York Times headlined the story of Selma, Alabama, and what occurred there on March 7 with the following words:

"ALABAMA POLICE USE GAS AND CLUBS TO ROUT NEGROES"

The story's first paragraph read:

"Alabama state troopers and volunteer officers of the Dallas County Sheriff's office tore through a column of Negro demonstrators with tear gas, nightsticks and whips here today to enforce Gov. George C. Wallace's order against a protest march from Selma to Montgomery."

The CBS news program on the evening of March 7 showed the pictures which proved to all who saw that the Times story was in no way an exaggerated account of what took place in Selma.

The question which the people of the U.S. must ask themselves now is: Who is responsible for this extreme brutality by Alabama and Dallas County "law enforcement" officers ?

A clue to where the answer lies was provided, ironically, on the same evening, March 7. The ABC network presented their Sunday Night Movie, "Judgment at Nuremberg." The movie is the story of the war crimes trials held in Germany after World War II. The trials attempted to fix the blame for the murder of 6 million Jews in the Nazi gas chambers. The movie points out that the best educated, most respectable, most prestigious and most powerful of Germany's industrial, political and financial elite must bear the major portion of guilt, for they were the ones who could have stopped the massacre, and didn't.

Using this clue, it is fruitful to explore the array of forces behind the Alabama State and Dallas County "law officers" whose brutal tactics, while they may have shocked the nation, are an old and familiar story to Alabama Negroes.

We shall make no attempt to do a definitive analysis

of the structure of economic power which lies behind, aids, abets and approves such police brutality. The evidence is so near the surface of everyday life in America that no definitive analysis is required.

On December 4, 1964, in the Municipal Stadium at Selma, Alabama, "law enforcement officers from the city /Selma/, county /Dallas/, and state /Alabama/ ... were guests of honor at a barbeque given by Liberty National Insurance Company." (Selma Times-Journal, Dec. 6, 1964)

These guests who were honored by the insurance company included "law enforcement officers" from Al Lingo's State Police, Dallas County Sheriff Clark's deputy force and posse, and the Selma police department. Officials and employees of Liberty National, attired in their fastidious business suits (protected by colorful aprons) stood behind the serving counters and loaded the plates of the hungry "law officers."

While the reason for this love-feast between the insurance company and the "law officers" remains obscure, it is to be remembered that it occurred in the face of a two-year record of Alabama, Dallas County and Selma police brutality and violence against Negroes which rivals the best efforts of the Nazi SS against the Jews of Eastern Europe.

Who and what is Liberty National Insurance Company? Our records do not indicate who owns the stock of the company. But we do have a list of the members of the board of directors, the governing body of the corporation, which determines all policy matters and must approve, ultimately, all expenditures, including the cost of paying tribute to the "law officers" of Alabama.

The Liberty National Board of Directors includes:

Walter Bouldin, President of the Alabama Power Co. and a director of Birmingham Trust National Bank. Alabama Power is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Southern Company. The largest stockholders in the Southern Company are the Trustees of the Massachusetts Investment Trust of Boston. These Trustees include:

D.P. Robinson, Jr., of U.S. Smelting and Refining Co., Illinois Central R.R., and Texaco, Inc., and

K.L. Isaacs of Southern Pacific R.R. and Phelps Dodge Corp.

The advisory board to the Trustees includes:

Thomas D. Cabot of Cabot Corp., First National Bank of Boston and Harvard University (one of Lyndon Johnson's businessman

endorsers;

Paul F. Clark, of Armour & Co. and Seaboard Airline R.R.;

W.H. Claflin of United-Carr Fastener Corp. and United Fruit Co.

The Southern Company President, Harllee French, Jr., is also a director of United States Steel Corp., Alabama's largest single employer.

Other directors of Liberty National are:

E.A. Camp, Jr., a trustee of University of Alabama.

F.E. Spain, general counsel of United States Fidelity and Guaranty Co. Jacob Blaustein, with whom Spain sits on the USF&G board was another of Lyndon Johnson's businessman endorsers.

F.P. Sanford, who is Chairman of the Liberty National board. Sanford is a director of Birmingham Trust National Bank, the 132nd largest bank in the U.S.

The Chairman of Birmingham Trust is Frank Plummer, who is also a director of the Birmingham branch of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta.

Another director of Birmingham Trust is Lee C. Bradley, Jr., partner in the Birmingham law firm of White, Bradley, Arant, All and Rose. This firm is general counsel for Liberty National, Birmingham Trust, and a whole host of giant corporations including Standard Oil, Gulf and Texaco. On the board of Birmingham Trust also is William B. White, senior partner in the law firm.

The Birmingham Trust board also includes these honorable men:

Bernard A. Monaghan, President and a director of Vulcan Materials Co.

J. Craig Smith, President, Treasurer and a director of Avondale Mills, and a director of Illinois Central RR and of Southern Bell, the operating subsidiary of American Telephone and Telegraph.

James A. Vann, a director of Avondale Mills, and

Robert S. Wilkerson, southern regional vice president of the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the U.S.

F.P. Sanford is also a director of AT&T's southern operating subsidiary and of the West Point Mfg. Co. On the West Point

board Sanford sits with directors of the Coca Cola-affiliated Trust Company of Georgia, largest stockholder of which is First National Bank of Atlanta. The largest stockholders of First National of Atlanta are nominees of the two Rockefeller banks in New York City--Chase Manhattan Bank and First National City Bank of New York, 2nd and 3rd largest banks in the U.S.

The last director of Liberty National is J.L. Lanier, a director of West Point Mfg., and of First National Bank of Atlanta.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note that the textile companies represented in this complex, Callaway Mills, Avondale Mills and West Point Mfg. Co., received more than \$5 million in federal money last year under Lyndon Johnson's program for subsidizing them. It is not hard to see, is it, how these same interests can afford to spend a few hundred dollars of their insurance company money to fete the "law enforcement officers" of Alabama?

Policy control of the Liberty National Insurance Co. is exercised by persons who are very much a part of the fabric of the topmost political and economic power of the U.S.

The accompanying diagram sets forth graphically the tangled web of power, reaching into Lyndon Johnson's White House and into the U.S. House of Representatives (in the person of Congressman Howard Callaway who sits on the board of Trust Co. of Georgia and Georgia Power Co., another operating subsidiary of the Southern Company) which stands behind the civic virtue of Liberty National as it honors the "law enforcement officers" of Alabama.

What hope is there for American Negroes, and for those who support their aspirations, when the President who appoints the judges and the U.S. attorneys (who, supposedly, will enforce the civil rights acts) is so closely tied in with the industrial and financial elite which sees fit to honor the murderous Alabama police minions of Governor George C. Wallace and Sheriff James Clark ?

And do not these honored and esteemed financial and industrial leaders hold the whips and clubs with which Selma Negroes were driven from the streets on March 7th, in the same sense that the financial and industrial elite of Germany were found guilty of participating, by consent, in the massacre of 6 million Jews in Nazi German ?

And what will the American people do about it ?

