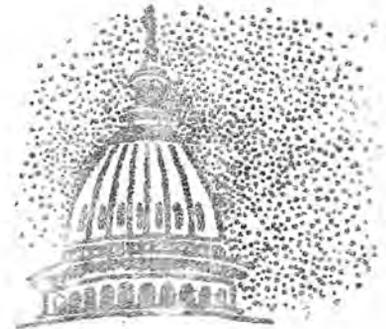


# Grenada

# County



# Political

# Handbook

Produced by:

Freedom Information Service

P.O. Box 120

Tougaloo, Mississippi 39174

## WHAT POLITICS IS ALL ABOUT

Politics is about our lives.

It is about whether the roads are any good.

It is about what our kids learn in school.

It is about what the sheriff does.

It is about whether we have work to do.

Politics is about who has power.

The President listens to people who have power.

So does the sheriff.

Power is votes to elect people, or not elect them.

Power is money to pay for election ads.

The people with power get what they want.

Now, just a few people have power.

They get control of government money.

They get government contracts for their factories.

They get the tax assessor to list their land at a low value.

We do not have money.

Our power must come from ourselves. From our numbers.

From us being together.

We must have power for us.

So we control our county.

So the President listens to us.

So that we get what we need.

This is a book about how things work. It is a book about how power is used to keep us down.

And how we can use power to lift ourselves up.

GRENADA COUNTY

In 1960, Grenada County had a population of 18,409. Of these, 9352 were whites and 9057 (49.2%) were non-whites. The white voting-age population was 5792 and the nonwhite voting age population was 4323. So it is almost impossible for Negroes to win county-wide offices in Grenada County.

By beats, the population in 1960 was like this:

<u>Beat</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
1	6961	6270
2	451	873
3	346	234
4	704	491
5	890	1182

In 1965, there were about 21, 181 people in Grenada County. 11,021 were whites and 10,160 were non-whites. The non-white percent of the population had gone to 48%.

The City of Grenada had a population of 7914 in 1960: 4075 whites, 3833 Negroes, and 6 others.

Grenada County has a fairly large number of people working in industry compared to neighboring Mississippi counties. Of a total of 2718 Negroes employed in 1960, 656 were in agriculture, 381 in manufacturing, 727 in personal services (maids, cooks, etc.), and 370 in wholesale and retail trade.

Half the families made over \$1401. per year, and half made less. Half the population 25 and over had less than 5.7 years of schooling.

In 1964, the following plants employed 50 or more persons in Grenada County:

Binswanger Mirror Company, 70. Home office, Richmond, Va.  
Hankins Lumber Company, 100. (Bewel A. and A.B. Hankins)

- Kopper Co., Inc., 85. D.L. Wagner, manager. Make creosote treated wood products. Home Office, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
- Lyon, Inc., 200. Manufacture steel auto wheel covers. Home office in Detroit, Michigan.
- McQuay, Inc., 500. Make air conditioning equipment. K.R. Lundberg is Vice President and General Manager. Home office is in Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- Memphis Hardwood Flooring Company. Home office, Memphis.
- Pioneer Boneless Beef, Inc., 100. F.E. Bailey, president. Home office in Atlanta, Georgia.
- U.S. Industries, with 1125 employees, is the largest employer in the county. John G. Lake is president of the local division, which manufactures ladies' nylon hosiery. (Another division of U.S. Industries operates a major urban Job Corps center in the north under a federal contract.) Home office: New York.

Farming is less important to the black people of Grenada County. In 1959, 142 Negroes owned all or part of the land they farmed, while 340 were tenants (70.4%). (Notice that all the rural beats have small populations.)

Because it had industry to provide jobs, Grenada did not lose nearly as much of its population as other Mississippi counties did. From 1950 to 1960, only 2.2% of the people left. And then by 1965, the population had gone up by 15%.

As of June 30, 1964, the following numbers of persons received welfare assistance:

Old Age Assistance - 738

Aid to Blind - 23

Aid to Families of Dependent Children - 194 families  
(640 children)

Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled - 124

COUNTY GOVERNMENT OF GRENADA COUNTY

County government officials are elected every four years. The next general election for them will be on November 7, 1967.

At this election, Grenada County will elect a sheriff, five supervisors, the tax assessor, the circuit clerk, the chancery clerk, the superintendent of education, constables, justices of the peace. Tallahatchie and Grenada counties together will elect one state senator. Montgomery and Grenada counties together will elect two state representatives.

The Sheriff enforces the law and collects the taxes. Suggs Ingram is sheriff of Grenada County. He is not allowed to serve two terms in a row. A sheriff makes a lot of money, because he gets a percentage of the taxes he collects.

The Board of Supervisors has five members, one from each beat. Each supervisor must own \$300 worth of property. The supervisors set the property tax rate for the county. They decide how much money will be collected for roads, schools, and running the county government. The board of supervisors sets the boundaries of election precincts. Each supervisor has charge of keeping up the county roads in his district.

The Tax Assessor lists a value for each piece of real estate in the county, except for railroad and power company properties, which the State assesses. The plantation owners want their land assessed very low so they won't have to pay high taxes on it. Since they run the county, cultivatable farm land with improvements is listed at an average value of \$36.11! (In Jackson County the average value is listed at \$1150.00 an acre!)

If we could elect a tax assessor, he could list the land closer to its sale value. Then we could use the money to pay for good schools, roads, and bridges.

The Circuit Clerk keeps county records and also is appointed by the Governor to register voters. The Circuit Clerk of Grenada County, according to a new state law, is allowed to spend one day a month registering voters in each precinct.

The Superintendent of Education must be a licensed teacher with four years' experience. He sets policy for the county schools.

A Constable is elected by the voters of each beat. He is a law officer. He also serves legal papers for the Justice of the Peace. There are no special qualifications for being Constable. The Constable is paid \$4.00 for each case he handles.

The Justice of the Peace handles small lawsuits, and criminal cases where the penalty is only to the county farm, or a fine. He does not have to be a lawyer or have any special qualifications.

The names of the county officials who are now serving are:

Sheriff - Suggs Ingram

Chancery Clerk - Barclay Harris

Circuit Clerk - Mrs. Aline B. Worsham

Superintendent of Education - Carl E. Cooper

Tax Assessor - Harold Carpenter

County Attorney - Jim McRae Criss

Coroner and Ranger - W.E. Brunson

### Supervisors

Beat 1 - Frank Gibbs, Grenada

Beat 2 - George R. Williams, Grenada

Beat 3 - Robert Burke, Big Creek

Beat 4 - Lewis Williams, Scobey

Beat 5 - Noel Staten, Holcomb

Justices of the Peace

- Beat 1 - J.R. Ayers
- Beat 2 - Guy Sultan
- Beat 3 - Frank C. Beck
- Beat 4 - D.W. Pickle
- Beat 5 - G.W. Lott

Constables

- Beat 1 - Grady Carroll
- Beat 2 - Robert Lamar James
- Beat 3 - Joseph H. Grant
- Beat 4 - J.D. Ross
- Beat 5 - Hillman Pat Lott

COUNTY ELECTIONS

There are two ways to get your name on the ballot on November 7, 1967. You can run in the Democratic or the Republican Party primary on August 8, or you can run as an independent.

If you run as an independent, you must give the county election commission a petition by June 9<sup>th</sup>. This petition must be signed by 10% of the registered voters in the election district you are running from. If you run for a county-wide office, like sheriff or assessor, you need only 500 signatures at the most. Each person must sign his name, address, county, and voting precinct, and the date he signs the petition. This must be done before you turn the petition in to the election commission.

The Grenada County election commissioners are:

- William Lomax, ballot commissioner
- Edgar Underwood
- O.R. Lilly

## CITY AND TOWN GOVERNMENT

The city of Grenada has a very unusual form of government, which only a few other Mississippi cities have. The city has a private charter, but in August 1950 it was amended to adopt a council-manager form of government.

Under this form of government, the city council selects a professional city manager to run the city government, while the mayor becomes largely a ceremonial figure.

The mayor may vote in council meetings, but he does not administer city affairs and he has no veto power in the council.

The city council consists of six members who are elected by all the voters of the city. The council meets on the first Tuesday of each month. Perhaps their most important duty is to select a manager for the city. They may remove him at any time if they give him a written copy of the charges against him.

Because the mayor and council are less important in this form of government, the councilmen receive only \$50. per month and the mayor receives \$100. a month.

The city manager is a key figure in the government of the city. He is chosen on the basis of his qualifications. Among his duties is to prepare and recommend to the council an annual budget. He is responsible for the enforcement of all laws and ordinances. He appoints all department heads and other employees, except the city attorney and auditor, who are appointed by the council. (The city council also has the legal power to appoint the city clerk and the treasurer if they wish.) The city manager makes written reports and recommendations to the council, which then makes laws as it sees fit. The council is forbidden to interfere in the day-to-day running of the city government. The manager recommends to the council the salaries of city employees. He does not have a vote on the council.

These are the elected officials for the City of Grenada:

Mayor - J.D. Quinn

Councilmen - Robert Alexander

L.D. Boone, Jr.

J.M. Brewer

W.R. Burt

F.W. Criss, Jr.

H.J. Ray, Jr.

The next regular election of city officials will be in 1969.

The city manager of Grenada is John McEchin.

The police commissioner is Paul McKelroy.

#### THE GRENADA COUNTY SCHOOL SYSTEM

There is one school district for all of Grenada County: the Grenada Special Municipal Separate School District. The district has five trustees, who also serve as the county board of education.

By a special arrangement worked out by the county and city officials, three school trustees are appointed by the mayor and city council of Grenada. The two others are appointed by the county supervisors. They serve for five-year terms, with one trustee being appointed each year.

In order to get Federal money, the trustees signed a compliance form saying they will let Negro children into the formerly all-white schools. They can get money under Title I of the Education Act of 1965 for each child whose family makes less than \$2,000 a year. Mississippi spends less on schools per child than any other state in the country.

The members of the Grenada County Board of Education are Robert Ratliff, A.B. Fowler, W.B. Hendrix, Lester Thomas, and John Little.

F. Gayle Wilborn is the superintendent of education.

## THE POWER STRUCTURE

Because the salaries of elected officials are low (supervisors in Grenada County are paid only \$3,600 a year), the most powerful men in the county may not necessarily hold elective office. Yet they have influence in other ways.

For instance, W.H. Fedric is city attorney of Grenada. His law firm, Carothers and Fedric, also represents U.S. Industries, the huge plant which employs far more persons than any other in Grenada. John C. Lake, president of the Grenada Industries Division of U.S. Industries, is a member of the executive committee of the Citizens Council and also a Governor's Colonel. (Political supporters of the Governor are given honorary commissions as colonels following the election of the candidate they supported.) It is reported that Lake called his Negro employees together and told them that he didn't want them or their children to go to school or to church with him and his children. If they do go, it is reported that Lake would "know that you're no longer my 'friends'."



The major financial institution is the Grenada Bank. G.M. Moore is president; J.M. Robertson, executive vice-president; and C.P. Fortner, vice president and director. Other directors are C.M. Davis; J.B. Perry, Jr.; J.R. Batson; L.A. Dubard, Jr.; P.R. Googe; C.D. Fair; L.L. Pryor; J.T. Keston, Jr.; F.L. Fair; E.F. Embry; H.J. Williams; F.C. Dailey; J.W. Kennedy; F.E. Gillon; O.R. Lilly; Jack de Mange; J.L. Townes, Jr.; C.L. Logan; G.L. Biles; and W.W. Garner, Sr.

Orley R. Lilly, Jr. was president of the Mississippi State Junior Chamber of Commerce, an important group of businessmen.

The major manufacturing plants in Grenada are owned by northern interests.

The only daily newspaper is the Daily Sentinel-Star, published by Joseph B. Lee. Lee also puts out the weekly Grenada Lake Herald, and Andrew Whitaker publishes the Grenada County Weekly.

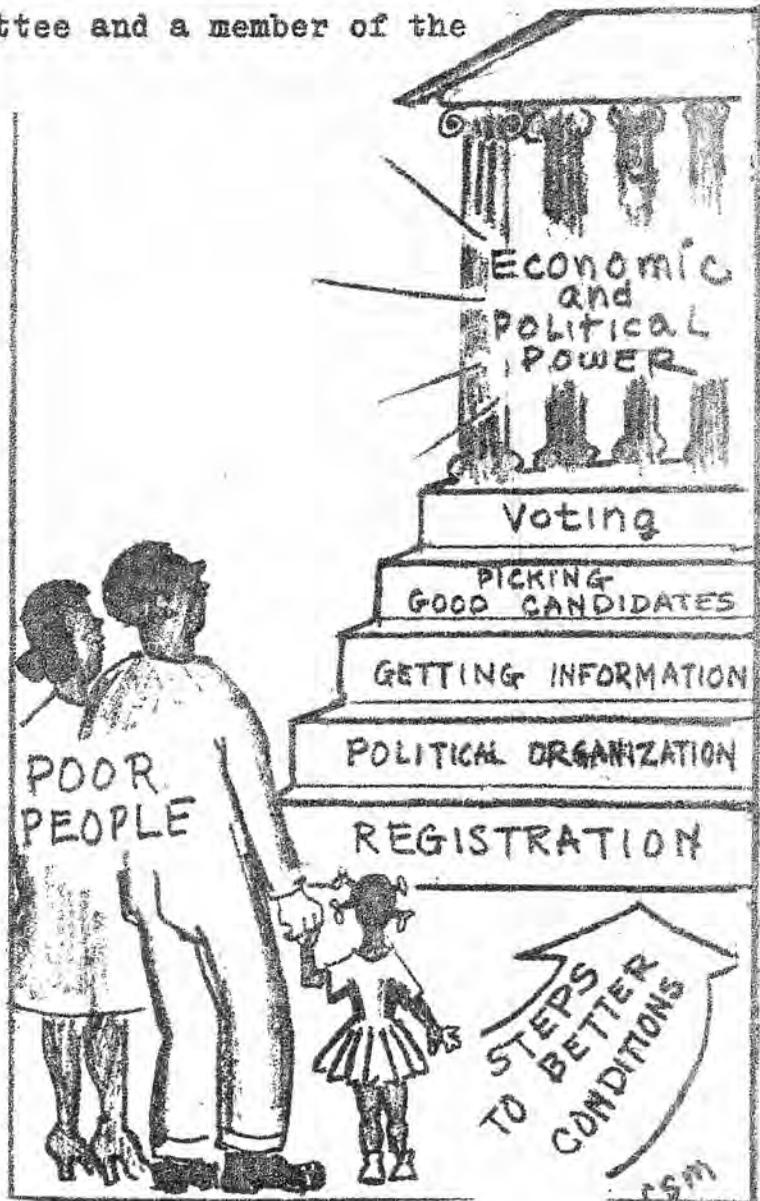
Bob Evans is head of radio station WNAG.

William A. Lomax is chairman of the Grenada County Democratic Party executive committee and a member of the county election commission.

William F. Winter, state treasurer of Mississippi, and now a candidate for Governor in 1967, is from Grenada.

Other Governor's Colonels are:

- John W. Arnold
- Glenn Baker
- Juel R. Batson
- John P. Biddy
- Bob Dubard
- Bradford J. Dye, Sr.
- Dr. Ben P. Evans
- W.O. Geeslin
- Don Martin
- James L. Martin
- Nick Portera
- William C. (Billy) Wells



## The State Government

The State Government includes the Governor and other state officers, the State Legislature, and the State Courts.

The Governor is Paul B. Johnson, of Hattiesburg. Johnson's term runs out in 1967 and he cannot follow himself in office. Johnson was elected as a strong segregationist. But this hurt business coming into the state, so he began to call for law and order.

The governor sends his ideas to the legislature - like the voting laws of June, 1965, and legalizing liquor. He can call them into special session when needed.

He is commander of the Highway Patrol, which he sends to racial trouble spots. He can also call out the National Guard in emergencies.

The governor appoints many boards and commissions which do things like give out road contracts, choose school books, and try to get industries to move to the state.

The Agriculture and Industry (A & I) Board is the agency that tries to get companies to come to Mississippi. To encourage them to come, the legislature passed a law so that new factories wouldn't have to pay taxes for ten years. Also, towns can raise money to build factories (through BAWI bonds) and lease them to companies.

The other important state officers are the lieutenant governor and the attorney general.

The Lieutenant Governor acts as chairman of meetings of the State Senate. In December, 1966, Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin died. His place was taken by Sen. George M. Yarbrough of Red Banks. Yarbrough has been second in command in the Senate. He is a member of the White Citizens Council. As Lieutenant Governor, Yarbrough is acting governor when Johnson is ill or out of the state and would become governor if Johnson died.

The Attorney General is the lawyer for the state. He fights suits in court for the state. He can tell state and local officials what a law means.

The State Legislature has 52 state senators and 122 state representatives. The legislature passes all laws for Mississippi. They decide how much money the state will spend and for what. Mississippi spends less money on schools and welfare than any other state.

The state legislature sets the rules for people getting welfare. They set the penalty for crimes. They say what the county and city officers can do. They have passed laws that make it hard for labor unions to organize in the state. They could set a state minimum wage for all workers and make a lot of changes for the better.

Grenada County, together with Tallahatchie and Yalobusha, now has two state senators: Walter V. Moore of Oakland and H.C. Strider of Charleston. E.L. Boteler, Jr. of Grenada is the state representative.

Starting this year, Grenada and Tallahatchie together will elect one senator. Grenada and Montgomery counties together will elect two state representatives.

All state senators and representatives are elected on November 7, 1967. Several counties have Negro candidates.

The federal courts recently approved a "redistricting" or "reapportionment" plan for Mississippi. This means that the state senators and state representatives are elected by about the same number of citizens. Up until now, some were from large districts and some from small districts.

The legislature tried to re-district itself, but the federal courts said that they did not do a fair job. So the judges wrote up a plan themselves. The Freedom Democratic Party suggested a few changes, but the court did not accept the changes. The new plan was made according to the idea of "one man, one vote."

## The Federal Government

The President, the Departments, Congress, and the Federal Courts make up the Federal Government.

Mississippi gets money for welfare, Medicare, poverty programs, education and agriculture from the federal government. Mississippi's Senators and Representatives have voted against these federal programs. Yet they try to control them when they come to the state.

## The President

The President decides what the country should do at home and abroad. He sends his ideas to Congress, which can approve them and set aside money for them, or turn them down. The President makes foreign policy: he decides what this country should do in Viet Nam, Europe, and other foreign places. He makes treaties with other countries with the advice of the Senate.

Congress is supposed to vote before the country goes to war. But in Korea and Viet Nam, the President has sent American soldiers into battle without war being declared.

President Johnson is also head of the Democratic Party. He uses his power as President to build a political machine that will deliver votes for him in 1968. He is trying to put men who will deliver votes for him in charge of CDGM - the new MAP board.

## The Congress

Congress is made up of the Senate, which has 100 members, and the House of Representatives, which has 435 members.

Each state sends two Senators to Washington.

The number of Representatives a state sends depends on how many people live in the state. Mississippi sends 5 Representatives to Washington.

Congress is divided into committees. Each bill goes to a certain committee to be discussed. The Poverty Program goes through the Education and Labor Committee. Adam Clayton Powell was chairman of that committee until he was kicked out of Congress in January of 1967.

The longer a Congressman is in office, the higher he rises. Committee chairman are the members who have been in Congress the longest. Most of them are Southerners.

Mississippi's Senators are James O. Eastland and John C. Stennis.

Grenada County is in the Second Congressional District. Jamie L. Whitten of Charleston is the Congressman who is supposed to represent this District.

All Mississippi's Congressmen voted against civil rights, poverty programs, Medicare, federal aid to education, and other programs to help poor people. But Republican Prentiss Walker (who ran for Senator on November 8, 1966) says Eastland and Whitten are not enough against these programs.

Senators are elected for six years. Stennis was re-elected in 1964 and Eastland was re-elected in 1966.

Representatives are elected every two years, next in 1968.

### The Departments

The laws which are proposed by the President and approved by Congress are carried out by the Departments, such as the Department of Justice, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Department of Agriculture.

The President appoints men to head these departments. He approves or disapproves of what they do, if they take important actions.

The President and the Departments together have a lot to say about how laws are carried out.

The Department of Justice is under Attorney General Ramsey Clark. He is the chief law officer of the United States. The Attorney General can send federal registrars to a county where the Voting Rights Act is not being followed.

Also part of the Justice Department are the Community Relations Service and the F.B.I. The Community Relations Service is supposed to settle race trouble in communities. The Civil Rights Division brings lawsuits to make restaurants serve Negroes, and school desegregation suits. They also prepare cases against people who violate Negroes' civil rights. But they only rarely act with the power they have. The President is afraid that if he takes strong action to protect our rights, white people won't vote for him.

In six years, only one law enforcement officer has been sent to jail for brutality. And he was sent to jail for contempt of court.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare is headed by John W. Gardner. It includes the Office of Education, which gives money to school districts, and the Bureau of Family Services, which is in charge of Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Old Age Assistance, and Disability Programs. They set general rules for the states to follow. Under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, federal money could not go to segregated programs. The Office of Education makes each school district sign a compliance form saying they will have "freedom of choice."

The Office of Economic Opportunity is headed by R. Sargent Shriver. It is in charge of the War on Poverty program. At first, poor people were allowed some voice, as the law says they should.

But now O.E.O. wants to give money only to people who will deliver votes to President Johnson, and not cause too much trouble.

Our county is poor because a few big white folks own all the land. The Poverty Program has done nothing about this, because the big white folks have Senator Eastland to speak for them, and others like him. They have political power. We need some of that, too!

The Department of Agriculture is headed by Orville Freeman. The Department does things for big farmers. They wrote the cotton program to force small farmers out of business.

They do not pay attention to the little man. Why? Because of Eastland. And because men who speak for big farmers give money to President Johnson.

Cortney Cortwright (president of the National Cotton Council, from Rolling Fork), Charles Sayre (president of the Staple Cotton Cooperative Association), Ernest G. Spivey (president of the Mississippi Federated Coops), and Leroy Percy (owner of Trail Lake plantation) each gave \$1,000 to President Johnson for his campaign in 1964.

The Agriculture Department has charge of the F.H.A. program, the A.S.C.S., and other farm programs. These, too, are run for big farmers.



## The Federal Courts

The federal courts include the District Courts, the Circuit Courts of Appeals, and the U.S. Supreme Court. Federal judges are appointed for life by the President. But actually district judges are picked by the Senators from that state. They are political supporters of the President. Judge Claude F. Clayton was appointed by President Eisenhower, whom he supported in 1952.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals hears cases which are not decided in the District Court. Most of the judges in the Fifth Circuit are good. But James P. Coleman, former Governor of Mississippi, was appointed to the court even though he is a segregationist.

The U.S. Supreme Court consists of nine men appointed by the President. They decide whether laws follow the Constitution. In 1954 they decided that racial segregation was not constitutional.

Federal judges hear such cases as redistricting Congress and the State Legislature, voting suits, school desegregation suits, and federal crimes.

Federal judges don't depend on the Senators and the President. So they may be able to follow their own consciences more than other officials. Or they may misuse their power like racist Judge Cox.

VOTES FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR, Grenada County

	<u>June, 1966 (Primary)</u>			<u>November, 1966</u>		
	<u>Eastland</u>	<u>Mosby</u>	<u>Whitley</u>	<u>Eastland</u>	<u>Walker</u>	<u>Whit</u>
Grenada Box 1	191	16	15	254	90	6
Grenada Box 2	303	4	2	369	81	1
Grenada Box 3	258	2	13	413	102	
Grenada Box 4	236	5	5	369	105	1
Grenada Box 5	167	0	2	289	78	
Grenada Box 6	179	0	0	246	94	
Fritheyville	89	0	0	140	34	
Elliott	87	1	0	111	33	
Tie Plant	104	1	0	139	43	
Providence	20	0	0	24	15	
Gore Springs	78	0	0	120	21	
Mt. Nebo	34	0	0	37	4	
Spears	14	0	0	12	7	
Kirkman	47	0	0	56	29	
Hardy	50	0	0	48	23	
Pea Ridge	31	2	0	39	12	
Greslin	99	2	0	127	44	
Oxberry	41	0	0	38	6	
Holcomb	186	0	0	219	52	
TOTALS	2,214	33	37	3,050	873	1,3

(Clifton Whitley was the Negro candidate of the F.D.P.)

VOTES FOR GRENADA CITY COUNCILMAN, 1967

	<u>February 13</u>	<u>February 27</u>
Mr. U.S. Gillon	1068	1228
white candidates	1888	1918

**The enemy is**

**RACISM**

**USA**

POLITICAL INEQUALITY • ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION • SOCIAL INJUSTICE



PART OF A HARLEM SPRING MOBILIZATION LEAFLET

**Why Am I In Vietnam?  
My Enemy Is -**

- \* A GOVERNMENT THAT KEEPS ME POOR
- \* THE SLUMLORDS
- \* THE SYSTEM THAT DOES NOT EDUCATE ME
- \* THE SYSTEM THAT DOES NOT PROVIDE JOBS
- \* A POLICE STATE THAT PRACTICES VIOLENCE AGAINST ME.
- \* A GOVERNMENT THAT ONLY THINKS OF ME IN TIMES OF WAR TO DIE FOR IT

**MY FIGHT IS IN THE U.S.A.  
U.S. GET OUT  
OF VIETNAM NOW!**