

[This unsigned “King's Project for Alabama” document was extracted from “The Story of Selma: the Other Side of the Coin” a pro-segregation, anti-voting-rights pamphlet published in April of 1965 by the Dallas County Alabama Chamber of Commerce to smear and oppose SCLS's Selma Voting Rights Campaign. It purports to be a retyped version of an SCLC planning document from sometime in 1964 but its provenance is uncertain.

However, it was not unusual for SCLC leaders to put thoughts to paper as part of a planning process. It's possible that some of the ideas and concepts in this paper later influenced the 1965 Selma Voting Rights Campaign and March to Montgomery.]

For the last four years the nonviolent method has been applied to the problem of public accommodations, and has proven itself effective in this area. We have come to realize that segregation in public accommodations was a symptom rather than a cause. Now we are trying to apply the method of nonviolence to the problem of disenfranchisement which has plagued the Negroes in the South for almost one hundred years. Thus we hope to deal with the cause of most of the problems that face Negroes. We feel that if once the negroes in the South gain the right to equal representation in government, many of the problems that are not being dealt with by the southern racist governments can and will be dealt with by moderate whites, and negroes who have not a chance to get into office as long as negroes are kept from freely registering to vote.

1. PROGRAM - The negroes of Alabama will be organized into a unit that can effectively carry out a state-wide nonviolent campaign. Therefore, the program will consist of organizing around the issues: 1- Taxation without representation; 2- Mass nonviolent education; 3- The conducting of freedom registration and mock elections to send men to the House of Representatives and Senate of Ala. to represent negro people; 4- The execution of a mass direct action program that will dramatize these issues.
- A. All organizations and affiliates that are interested should invite SCILC and other civil rights organizations into the state to help conduct such campaigns.
 1. A newspaper will be published for wide distribution in Ala. 2. Medical and legal help shall have been contacted for the Selma operation.
- B. The Project will hold a state-wide meeting to discuss the issue of equal representation in government.
 1. In this meeting, a committee should draw up a "Declaration of Freedom." 2. An Advisory Board, consisting of religious, civic and civil rights leaders should be formed.
- C. Announcement and Initiation.
 1. The Advisory Board will take the Declaration to Gov. Wallace, asking that he immediately remove all barriers that keep Negroes from full participation in government. 2. A press statement will be made concerning the Declaration. 3. 200,000 copies of the Declaration will be distributed throughout the state, mostly to negroes. 4. As soon as possible, newspaper ads should be taken in the 21 counties of the heaviest negro population. 5. The King-Douglas Workshop will start operation. 6. The Advisory Board and the Project should know by this time what they must have from the May 4 and after confrontation.
- D. Selma Operation:
 1. The Advisory Board and the Project in Alabama will then make known that they plan to register all Negroes through a Freedom Registration Drive - starting with a state-wide mass meeting to be held in Selma, Ala. 2. A fact sheet will be gotten out of Selma, its past problems, and present situation; to be distributed to Selma residents, selected individuals in Alabama, the press and northern supporters. 10,000 copies. 3. At the state-wide meeting, held in Selma, arrests will be made, as there presently exists an injunction against 3 or more individuals meeting together. The arrests and violence should be interpreted as an abridgment of freedoms fought and won in the Revolutionary War, but able to exist today because officials are not responsible to citizens of the state, those citizens not having the right to equal representation or the right to vote. Arrests should continue over months to create interest in Freedom registration and Freedom Vote. After Dr. King is in jail, a letter dealing with bombings, violence, not being represented, etc., should be widely distributed to Negroes in Alabama (Letter from the Selma Jail). At the proper time the Advisory Board and Project Leaders shall formally declare that the problems of Selma and other similar Blackbelt areas will only be resolved when Negroes participate in the government of Alabama. On May 4th, with the opening of the Alabama Legislature, the seating of present legislators and senators will be challenged and emphasis and major action will shift from Selma and other similar towns and counties to Montgomery. 4. During the arrests and Freedom Registration in Selma and other areas, Dr. King and other top Civil Rights leaders will tour the state, appearing at mass meetings and making crystal clear the objectives of the state-wide project. 5. 100,000 Project Brochures will be distributed throughout Alabama to Negroes and whites. 6. Trainees from the King-Douglas Nonviolent Workshop and Project workers will already have started developing 21 counties, establishing contacts for the precinct organization to come. 7. Mass meetings, film showings and nonviolent workshops begin with rotating speakers and films, co-ordinated through the Montgomery office.
- E. Freedom Registration Drive
 1. Counties will be broken into beats and precincts; precinct leaders, block captains, and block workers secured. 2. 300,000 Freedom Registration forms, 300,000 "Free Citizen's Cards" saying, "Having taken part in the Freedom Registration of Alabama, this certifies that I am a Free Citizen entitled to all the rights an American citizen is entitled to." 3. The 8,000 Freedom Registrations posters shall be distributed throughout the state, having the candidates' pictures and a statement of our state-wide objectives. 4. Operation Dialogue should begin with the white communities informing them of our frustrations and objectives in going to jail and conducting Freedom Registration. 5. An analysis of the economic situation of Alabama will be taken; searching out the point where a boycott would be most devastating, and which new and expanding industries are taking place in Alabama.
- F. Freedom Vote
 1. Alabama Negroes will hold a convention to elect Negroes to run for seats in the House of Representatives and Senate in the State of Ala. 2. 10,000 Freedom Army Handbooks will be distributed throughout the State of Alabama and non-violent workshops intensified. 3. Posters and handbills for the candidates will be distributed in the appropriate districts. 4. Registration for the "Freedom Vote" shall continue up to and including election day. Quotas, that must be met should be set for each district with the idea of topping the number of votes gotten by the white representatives or senator in that district. 5. Elections should be held for said offices. 6. The elected should attempt to be seated on the May 4th session of the Ala. legislature. Demonstrations should ensue until legislators elected by the Freedom Vote attain their rightful

seats, or until people can freely register. Administration and coordination will come from the Project Office in Montgomery. All other offices in Alabama will be called Field Offices.

G. Project Office

Functions: 1. The location, coordination and movement of staff in Alabama will be administered from here. 2. The WATS line will be located here and administered from the Project Office. 3. The assignment and use of all SCLC cars and busses will be administered from the Project Office. 4. All legal and medical help can be secured through the Project Office; this includes bonds, payment of fines caused by harassment, and doctors bills. 5. The distribution of all office supplies, such as mimeograph paper, ink, pencils, typewriters, etc., or the distribution of money for these supplies will be from the Project Office. 6. All funds for Freedom Houses, gas, car repairs, travel expenses, projector repairs and petty cash will come from the Project Office. 7. The payment of the (20) volunteers at \$10.00 a week will be administered from the Project Office. 8. All press and publicity statements will be made by the Project Office. 9. Distribution of all printed literature like the Freedom Registration Forms, posters, etc., will begin at the Project Office. More of this literature can be secured from the Project Office. 10. All facets of Operation Dialogue will be administered from the Project Office. 11. Mass mailings will be made from the Project Office. 12. All the Freedom Registration Forms will be filed and collected by the Project Office. 13. Continual contact with the Field Staff will be kept by the Project Office, as to their location, problems and needs. 14. Coordination of the Speakers Tour is from the Project Office. 15. Formats of Mass Meetings at different times during the project will come from the Project Office. 16. All general communication to the Project should be made through the project office. 17. Information concerning the economic conditions of Ala. and where boycotts may be will come from the Project Office. 18. Recruitment for the King-Douglas Nonviolent Workshop shall be through the Project Office. 19. The Field Staff should keep in contact with the Project Office, and a summary map of the Negro precincts for the election should be made with the Project Office, as well as informing how Registration is progressing in each area so new staff can be supplied if help is short. 20. The newspaper will be edited from the Project Office. 21. Counting of votes will take place at the Project Office. 22. Administration of Direct Action will be from the Project Office.

H. Staff

There should be enough staff to keep an efficient office in Montgomery, and recruit and train workers in the ten largest cities and in 12 Negro majority counties and to communicate with the white community.

There are 21 communities in which intensified organizing and training should be done. The staff needed for this would include: 1. Project director; 2. Project coordinator; 3. Central office secretary; 4. Operation dialogue director; 5. Traveling affiliate organizer; 6. Citizenship education director; 7. Field secretary for Mobile; 8. Field secretary for Macon, Bullock and Barbour counties; 9. Field secretary for North Alabama; 10. Field secretary for Sumter, Greene, Hale and Perry counties; 11. Field secretary for Marengo, Wilcox, Monroe and Lowndes; 12. Field worker for Tuscaloosa; 13. Field worker for Gadsden; 14. Field worker for Anniston; 15. Field worker for Talladega; 16. Field worker for Huntsville; 17. Field worker for Birmingham; 18. Field worker for Montgomery; 19. Field worker for Dothan; 20. Director for the Martin Luther King-Frederick Douglas week end workshops; 21. Twenty volunteer workers that will receive \$10. a week.

I. Staff Duties:

A. Project director responsibilities are: 1. Contacting people in 21 communities and securing invitations from organizations for SCLC. Help contact people for state-wide meetings. 2. Establishing a central office in Montgomery. 3. Projecting literature for explaining program. 4. Securing place and producing materials for week end workshops. 5. Helping to keep communities programs developing. 6. Securing transportation for staff. 7. Recruiting, assigning and conducting training sessions for staff.

B. Project coordinator responsibilities are: 1. Coordinating program from the central office. 2. Buying materials for staff. 3. Dispersing funds for the Alabama Project. 4. Managing office in Montgomery. 5. Liason between Atlanta office and Field work. 6. Setting up and coordinating speaker bureau.

C. Central Office Secretary responsibilities are: 1. Working directly with coordinator. 2. Doing the general clerical work for central office.

D. Operation Dialogue Director responsibilities are: 1. Developing and refining the mailing list to strategic white people in Alabama. 2. Setting up lines of communication wherever possible, between whites and Negroes. 3. Mailing materials to white people.

E. Affiliate Organizer responsibilities: 1. Organize SCLC affiliates wherever possible. 2. Organize communities around project. ex, if SCLC has an affiliate organized, maybe we need the affiliate organized with the rest of the community around the project. 3. Set up statewide meet

F. Citizenship Education Dir. responsibilities: Recruiting and developing citizenship schools in 21 counties where we will be doing intensified work.

G. Political Education Dir. responsibilities: 1. Helping those communities set up the best political organization possible. 2. Helping these communities conducting voter education clinics. 3. Help to train 30 young men in the weekend workshops.

H. Weekend Workshop Dir. responsibilities: 1. Recruiting for the workshop. 2. Securing teachers for the workshops. 3. Coordinating the workshops.

I. Field Workers responsibilities: 1. Working with local organization. 2. Conducting youth workshops. 3. Recruiting for weekend workshops. 4. Conducting freedom registration. 5. Recruiting for Freedom army. 6. Conducting freedom vote. 7. Work with local leader to get mass meeting from other parts of the state. 8. Defining goals of Alabama project.

NOTE: While the Field Secretary and Field Work jobs will be usually the same, the Field secretary will be in areas that are more difficult to get people organized in.

J. Volunteer Workers will assist field secretary, field worker, office secretary in organizing and executing freedom registration.