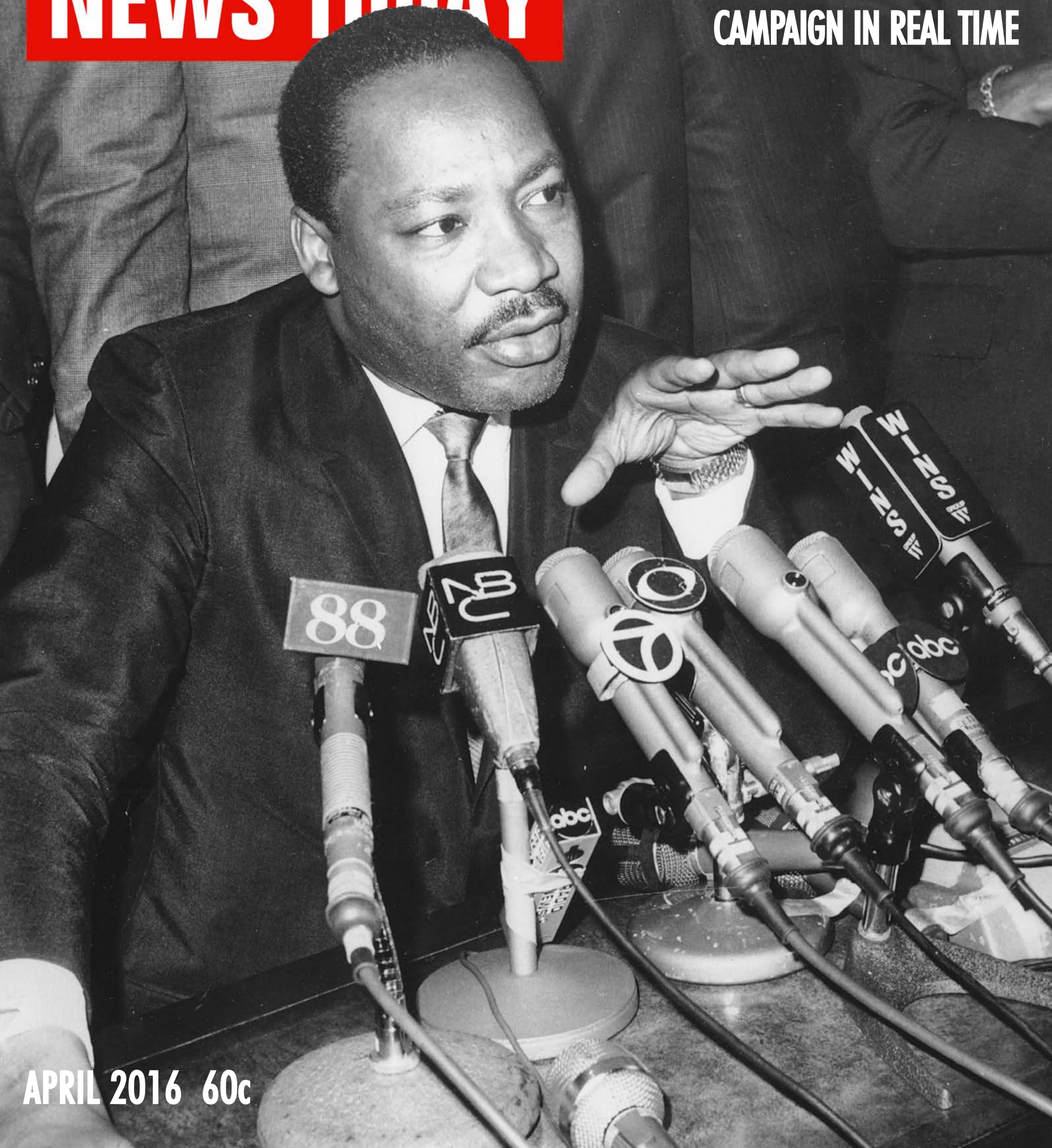
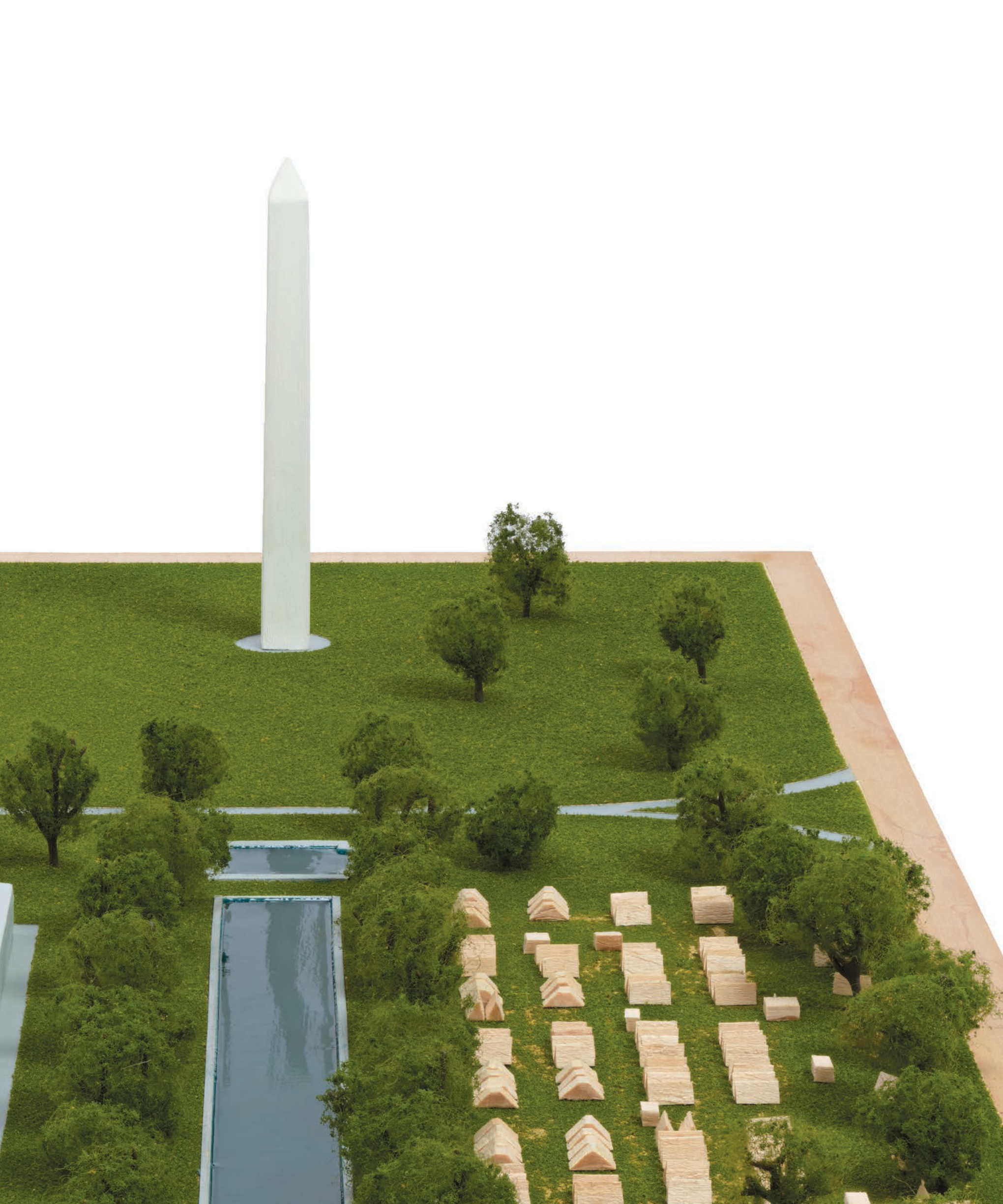


NEWS TODAY

A HISTORY OF THE POOR PEOPLE'S
CAMPAIGN IN REAL TIME



APRIL 2016 60c



“OH, AMERICA,

*how often have you taken necessities from the masses
to give luxuries to the classes. IF YOU ARE TO BE A
TRULY CHRISTIAN NATION YOU MUST SOLVE
THIS PROBLEM.”* Martin Luther King Jr.

This project is dedicated to Martin Luther King, Jr., Coretta Scott King, Marian Wright Edelman and the many voices who courageously advocate for those who have been economically disenfranchised and systematically silenced.

Special thanks to Kelly Inouye for giving me this opportunity and for opening up a space for new work and experimentation, to my husband, Kurt Noble, for his extraordinary support and love, to my in-laws, Charlie and Carolyn Noble, for being such wonderful grandparents and inspirational human beings, to Kris Grossman for her radiant enthusiasm, to Becky Kelso and Dave Kovner for their ever-generous friendship and amazing eyes, to Laura Nixs for editorial expertise, and to my collaborators who were vital participants in the realization of this exhibition.

The research for this exhibition would not have been possible without the online resources of The King Center for Non-Violent Social Change in Atlanta, the Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute at Stanford University, the Associated Press Image Library, the Walter P. Reuther Library at Wayne State University, the San Francisco Public Library and Ebay.

This catalogue is published on the occasion of News Today: A History of the Poor People's Campaign in Real Time, an exhibition by Kate Haug at Irving Street Projects from April 9 through June 25, 2016.

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Unless indicated, all works of art are by Kate Haug.

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News Today: A HISTORY OF THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN IN REAL TIME

April 9, 2016 — June 25, 2016

Irving Street Projects
4331 Irving Street
San Francisco, CA 94122

Kate Haug



OPERATION BREADBASKET

YOUR MINISTERS' FIGHT FOR JOBS AND RIGHTS

affiliated with CCCO-SCLC

386 East 47th Street



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News Today: History in Real Time

Kate Haug

To create this exhibition, I pulled together and recontextualized news photographs, memorabilia, reconstructed objects, documentary fragments, commissioned pieces and original documents to re-tell the story of the 1968 Poor People's Campaign, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s last monumental social protest prior to his assassination. The exhibition features images, quotes, and objects culled from my months of research in the archives of the Associated Press, Ebay, King's writings, the Library of Congress, and the popular press.

I pared down the images and quotes in this exhibition from hundreds of possibilities. In the end, it is a story about the Poor People's Campaign based on a highly edited selection. Inevitably, there are many directions, pathways, moments, and people left out, but there are also many moments, documents, phrases, and people who have been re-invited into contemporary dialogue. My ambition for the exhibition is to bring these images back into circulation as I find them relevant, inspiring, and fortifying.

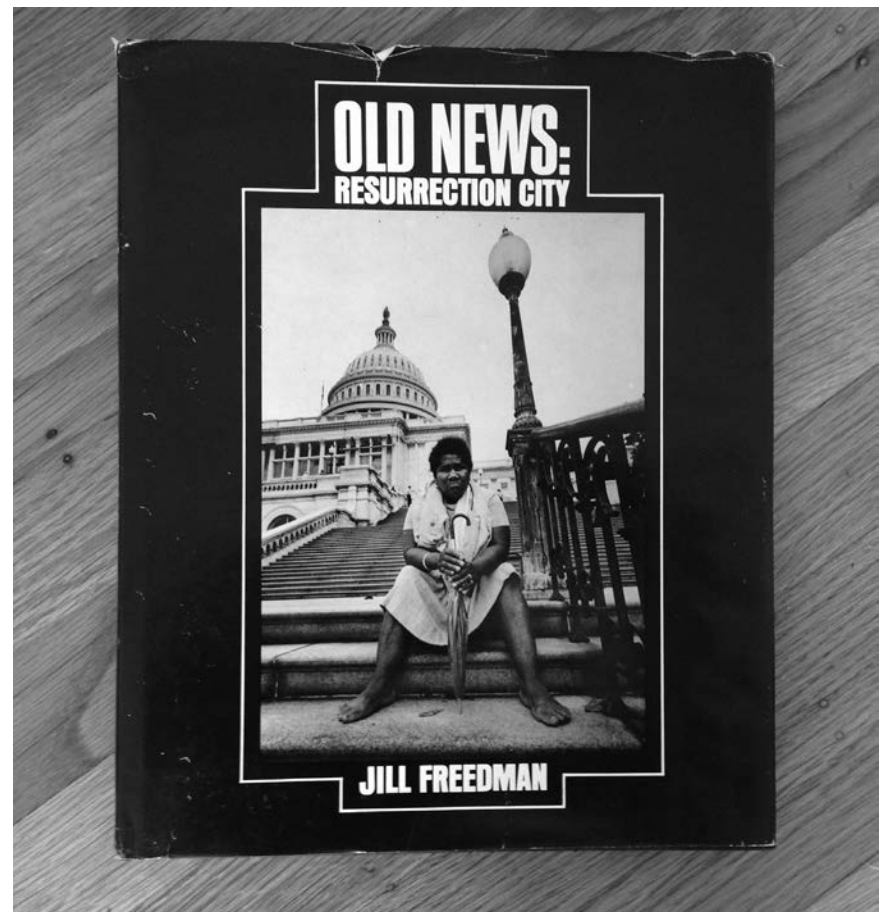
I titled the show *News Today* in response to Jill Freedman's 1970 photographic essay book *Old News: Resurrection City*. At the time her book was published, Freedman wrote, "Of course, this was all old stuff from the start. Another non-violent demonstration. Another march on Washington. Another army camping, calling on a government that acts like the telephone company. Even poverty is ancient history...So that history doesn't change much but the names. Nothing protects the innocent. And no news is new."¹

I enjoyed the juxtaposition of Freedman's view with the daily-ness of the PPC found in the AP news photographs. In addition, the Campaign was a visually compelling narrative with a promising beginning and a bitter end. There was a sense of triumph, unimaginable loss, and urgency watching the Campaign continue after King's murder, insistently driving forward toward Resurrection City. The swelling crowds at Solidarity Day foster a sense of national coalition and purpose. Yet, 6 days after Solidarity Day, Resurrection City is gassed, bulldozed, and soon to be forgotten.

¹ Jill Freedman, *Old News: Resurrection City* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1970), preface.



Research photos, not included in exhibition



Jill Freedman, 1970/2016

Introduction Continued

I also had questions about how news practice has changed and transformed over the last 48 years. Most importantly, what is the interplay between social movements and the news, now and then? After King's assassination, the PPC justifiably struggled to maintain its focus and momentum. Many accounts classify it as a failed effort, but it seems that King's murder transformed it from a social movement into a news event; the Campaign's message shaped by the media more than it would have been had King lived to lead the Campaign and the discourse around it.

In *News Today*, I retell this history through different mediums. A campaign pin is one version of the story; so is a news photograph, a sign, King's sermon itself. It's history as we know it: fragmented. Different voices vie for authority, each medium with its own legacy and cultural currency. As contemporary viewers, we pick up the pieces and sift through them, looking, making, and fashioning together meaning from these objects that sit, silently, in our past. My research relied heavily on objects - pins, magazines, signs - and their physical form as reflections of the moment. To add to this dialogue, I commissioned work by different artists to recreate, replicate, and invent objects from the Campaign.

The exhibition itself reflects the contemporary moment; we are in the process of transitioning away from objects. When my son buys a video game, he is not buying a game board and pieces but code, which exists in infinite iterations not bound by traditional modes of physical production and yet, can fade away without any residue. Walter Benjamin's famous essay "Art in the Age of Reproduction" pointed to how reproduction disrupts the authenticity and stability of the object. Now, we live in an age where the very notion of object-hood is changing.

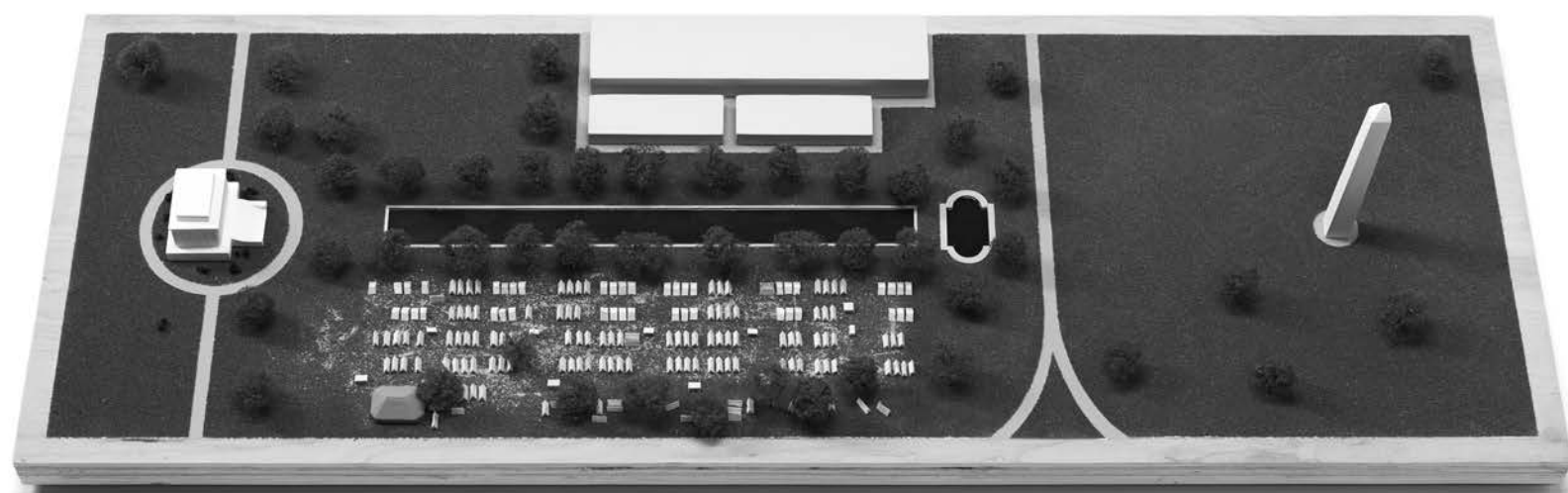
In our image saturated culture, documentary photographs have limited power in disrupting prevailing visual discourse. Simply reproducing images from 1968 was not a viable strategy for the show. Instead, I asked if the newspaper photographs, which functioned as news in 1968, could produce different meanings in a 2016 gallery context? Through a subjective process, I create a chronological sequence of events which functions as "history" with the intent of producing new information. I take images developed in one system of knowledge production

(the daily news) and generate an entirely different context for them.

The dynamic interplay between the past and the present in the exhibition produces new knowledge not only about the PPC but more personally, engages the viewer in a reflective dialogue about the past and the present, about what they see in the images and objects and about what they know from their own lives. During the process of creating this exhibition, I had several failed projects. One was a pin which read, "You Make History," which was meant to draw attention to the subjective production of the past and to the thought that history does not exist without active shaping, personal memory, handed-down facts of events. I imagined visitors to the show internally creating and recreating these moments, each person's version uniquely their own. Thus each visitor was having a real time experience. It was a utopic vision but one which places our own humanity as one axis amongst many in our experience of past and present. History, at its best, is news today.



Screen shot, Ebay transaction, seller's hands



The Poor People's Campaign 1968/2016

Kate Haug

In 1967, Martin Luther King, Jr. began organizing the Poor People's Campaign (PPC). The PPC was to unify America's poor – white, black, Puerto Rican, Native American, Mexican American – across racial lines to reveal the structural, systemic causes of poverty. King believed that economic parity, after the devastating economic impacts of slavery, discrimination, and segregation, was crucial to African American equality within the United States.¹

The Vietnam War provided King a moral crucible to argue that federal money spent to kill should be directed toward the economic uplift of American citizens. On April 4, 1967, King delivered his first public anti-war speech, "Beyond Vietnam." In the speech King draws a clear connection between the war and the reduction of funds for social programs, "There is at the outset a very obvious and almost facile connection between the war in Vietnam and the struggle I and others have been waging in America. A few years ago there was a shining moment in that struggle. It seemed as if there was a real promise of hope for the poor, both black and white, through the poverty program... Then came the buildup in Vietnam, and I watched this program broken and eviscerated as if it were some idle political plaything on a society gone mad on war."²

In the political atmosphere of 1967, King's vision for the PPC was unlikely and ambitious, requiring strategic agility and sophisticated grassroots organizing to gain the traction it needed. On April 4, 1968, exactly one year after delivering "Beyond Vietnam," King was assassinated on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee. He was pronounced dead at 7:05pm. Later that night, Bernard Lafayette gave a public statement declaring, "The march is going on."³

The PPC culminated with a 3,000-person shanty town named Resurrection City. Resurrection City, with its obvious biblical references to King's murder and martyrdom, drew people from all over the country, including residents from the deep-south who were part of a mule train caravan. Located on the Washington Mall, Resurrection City, was the 1960s version of the 1932 Bonus March and a predecessor for "Occupy."



Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the Vietnam war protest demonstration which attracted 125,000 voices a repeated demand to "Stop the bombing" in New York, April 15, 1967. He said, "I think this is just the beginning of a massive outpouring of dissent." (AP Photo)

The PPC echoes aspects of current social movements such as Fight for Fifteen, Our Walmart, and Black Lives Matter. In San Francisco, a city with one of the highest rates of income inequality in the United States, King's work underscores pointed questions about the contemporary social contract and the democratic promise of America.

The most pressing question I return to and believe King may have been posing is this: Does our economic system reflect our moral system? If so, what does it say? What is our social contract with those who have been systemically and economically discriminated against? Do we believe our public infrastructure is a democratic tool? Do we believe children born into poverty should live and die in poverty?

The exhibition time frame mirrors the actual dates of the campaign, tracing Resurrection City's opening day to its final destruction. During the research for this exhibition, I became intrigued by the idea that the same days – April 4, April 9, June 19 – pass through the calendar years yet, the same problems continue. We live in a perpetual calendar of social struggle.

King often spoke about the technological advances of his time, marveling at modern engineering and air travel. In one of his last great sermons, "Remaining Awake Through A Great Revolution," King states, "There is nothing new about poverty. What is new is that we now have the techniques and the resources to get rid of poverty. The real question is whether we have the will."⁴

¹ My writing about the PPC comes from looking at these images and reading texts for my research. Therefore, what I write is specifically located in my research rather than in broad-based academic knowledge.

² King, *Beyond Vietnam*, kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/documentsentry/doc_beyond_vietnam/

³ *New York Times*, "Aide to Dr. King Asserts March of Poor in Capital Will Be Held," April 5, 1968, 24.

⁴ Clayborne Carson and Peter Holloran, eds., *A Knock at Midnight*, 216.

King was always engaged, politically and intellectually, in discussions about African Americans and their unique economic history within the United States. As slaves within a capitalist society, African Americans were commodities of exchange unable to produce or access capital.

As early as 1956, he addressed capitalism and its relationship to the African American community. In his sermon "Paul's Letter to American Christians," he assumes the role of Paul and observes: "The misuse of capitalism can also lead to tragic exploitation. This has so often happened in your nation. They tell me that one tenth of one percent of the population controls more than forty percent of the wealth. Oh America, how often you have taken necessities from the masses to give luxuries to the classes. If you are a truly Christian nation, you must solve this problem."⁵ The 1963 March on Washington was also known as the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, which clearly connects employment with political liberty.

As a key element of the PPC, King developed an economic and social bill of rights. King described the impacts of a guaranteed income as such: "We are likely to find that the problem of housing and education, instead of preceding the elimination of poverty, will themselves be affected if poverty is first abolished. The poor transformed into purchasers will do a great deal on their own to alter housing decay. Negroes, who have a double disability, will have a greater effect on discrimination when they have the additional weapon of cash to use in their struggle."⁶

Likewise, in his stump speeches, democratic nominee Bernie Sanders also talks about economic rights. If we look at economic conditions as a necessary structural pillar for democracy, there is a connection between economic enfranchisement and the ability for political policies, representation, and wealth to reflect the diverse peoples of our nation. Economic viability garners political visibility and social mobility.

In the early 1960s, prior to the PPC, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) started Operation Breadbasket, which focused entirely on economic issues within the black community. Operation Breadbasket worked with employers to hire more African Americans,



Screen shot, Library of Congress contact sheet of unpublished Poor People's Campaign photographs from *Look Magazine*.

raise the wages for African Americans, and buttress job advancement. In addition, they asked companies that owned businesses in the black community to stock products made by African American companies and to either bank with black-owned banks or with institutions that would loan money to African Americans. A document on the King Center website titled "'Green Power' for Negroes" states, "One traditional pattern of economic injustice has been the draining of Negro expenditures from the Negro community into the pockets of white bankers and white job holders. Another pattern is the exclusion of Negro products from the competitive market by the giants of the nation's tightly controlled white commerce and industry."⁷

With the Poor People's Campaign, King shifts the conversation away from the physical, psychological, sociological, and emotional horrors of slavery to focus it on the economic impacts of slavery. It seems clear King saw that the lost wages incurred by 244 years of slavery, exclusion from capital, exclusion from asset development, exclusion from banking systems, and institutional racism made it almost impossible for African Americans to compete in a capitalist system within which white Americans had been able to collect wages and build capital, even if these were modest for more recent immigrant groups.

In "Remaining Awake Through A Great Revolution," King disavows the bootstrap philosophy associated with American social mobility:

Now there is a myth that still gets around: It is a kind of over

5 Carson and Holloran, *A Knock at Midnight*, 28-29.

6 King, Jr., *Where Do We Go From Here*, 164.

7 "'Green Power' for Negroes," thekingcenter.org/archive/document/green-power-negroes, 2.

reliance on the bootstrap philosophy. There are those who still feel that if the Negro is to rise out of poverty, if the Negro is to rise out of the slum conditions, if he is to rise out of discrimination and segregation, he must do it all by himself. And so they say the Negro must lift himself by his own bootstraps.

They never stop to realize that no other ethnic group has been a slave on American soil. The people who say this never stop to realize that the nation made the black man's color a stigma. But beyond this they never stop to realize the debt that they owe a people who were kept in slavery for two hundred and forty-four years.

In 1863, the Negro was told that he was free as a result of the Emancipation Proclamation being signed by Abraham Lincoln. But he was not given any land to make that freedom meaningful...It simply said, 'You're free,' and it left him there penniless, illiterate, not knowing what to do. And the irony of it all is that at the same time the nation failed to do anything for the black man ... Congress was giving away millions of acres of land in the West and the Midwest. Which meant that it was willing to undergird its white peasants from Europe with an economic floor.

But not only did it give the land, it built land-grant colleges to teach them to farm. Not only that, it provided county agents to further their expertise in farming; not only that, as the years unfolded it provided low-interest rates so that they could mechanize their farms. And to this day thousands of these very persons are receiving millions of dollars in federal subsidies every year not to farm. And these are so often the very people who tell Negroes that they must lift themselves by their own bootstraps. It's all right to tell a man to lift himself by his own bootstraps, but it is a cruel jest to say to a bootless man that he ought to lift himself by his own bootstraps."⁸

Although African Americans have an economic experience fundamentally different from all other Americans, King wanted the PPC to highlight economic issues and to put energies toward

economic policies rather than the myriad of other important issues produced by a racist society like police violence. By promoting economic issues, King could build a wide coalition of support across racial lines and begin to introduce ideas and programs, which would directly impact the financial lives and economic stability of African Americans. The PPC's multi-cultural approach was, I believe, created as a way to focus on political and economic systems, which generate poverty regardless of race.

The same public policies and programs that the PPC advocated for all Americans, such as affordable housing, accessible public education, food stability, free quality health care, and a minimum annual income, would equally benefit single mothers, seniors, children born into poverty, disabled people, low-income workers, African Americans, and other economically disenfranchised groups. A public infrastructure that protects citizens against hunger, homelessness, and disease, and offers economic and social mobility through a robust public education system is a tool of democracy that can be accessed by all. King's demands for guaranteed income, housing, education, and job development were all calls to redistribute America's wealth in an effort to create economic parity for those who experienced historical and systemic exclusion.

When all of the necessities for a stable existence are privatized, only those who have access to capital or middle-income wages can advance economically and socially. For instance, when public education becomes either unavailable or so low in quality that it is destined to be an inferior, parallel system to private education, those who cannot afford to attend private school or to live in neighborhoods which provide quality public schooling are at a systemic disadvantage. This deprivation impacts their earning power for life, and subsequently their ability to achieve housing stability, maintain their physical health, and break a cycle of systemic economic inequality.

It is historically significant that from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s, the government was seen as the key corrective to institutional and cultural discrimination. Women and other groups, which faced lower wages, lack of access to capital, and workplace exclusion all tried to use policy to advance their entry into the economic sphere

8 Carson and Holloran, *A Knock at Midnight*, 210-211.

formerly dominated by white males. It is important to note that Coretta Scott King advocated for women in the Civil Rights Act: "the Civil Rights Act of 1964 banned workplace discrimination not only on the basis of race, religion, and national origin, but also on the basis of sex, thanks to the lobbying of Alice Paul and Coretta Scott King and the skillful politicking of Representative Martha Griffiths of Michigan."⁹

After the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the government had a mandate to open up jobs to women, African Americans, and other minorities, therefore the government itself, had the potential to be an employer of a diverse workforce. For instance, a 2013 report from the City and County of San Francisco shows that 12.5% of its workforce is African American, 14.5% is Hispanic, and 46.41% is female.¹⁰ This is in contrast to some larger technology companies like Google who have a 30% female, 3% Hispanic, and 2% African American workforce.¹¹ When you eliminate public sector jobs, you are eliminating middle-income jobs, which include benefits from an employer who has a mandate to hire a diverse workforce.

In the last 5 years, I have thought a lot about the cultural momentum to defund the government, the public sphere, and our public education system. I often question where this impulse came from and why people would choose to imperil their own infrastructure which, if properly funded, would guarantee clean drinking water, excellent education, a social safety net, good roads, regulations, a functioning judicial system, public space, arts funding, and a robust public sphere.

During the course of this research, it became clear that once women, African Americans, and other economically disenfranchised groups were gaining access to the legal, political, and economic system, a certain segment of the country would not support expanding equitable access to the legal or economic sphere. In a capitalist society, the move to privatize resources automatically favors those who already control the majority of capital, and in the late 1960s and early 1970s, white men still had the majority of capital in their control.

Thus the defunding of government and lowering of taxes since the



Dr. Martin Luther King talks with reporters at the University of Wisconsin center in Kenosha, April 28, 1967. At lecture before about 800 persons at the school he said billions of dollars must be spent to help blacks. (AP Photo/Paul Shane)

1970s through today, has widened the wealth gap and decreased the mobility of Americans, specifically those who are born into the lowest ten percent of earning income. "A family's economic circumstances play an exceptionally large part in determining a child's economic prospects later in life," says Erin Currier, director of Pew Charitable Trust's financial security and mobility project. "For example, children raised in families at the 90th percentile can expect their own family income to be three times more than the children raised at the 10th percentile. These findings are at odds with our country's aspirations for equal opportunity."¹²

Systemically economically disenfranchised groups need public programs and a well-funded public sphere to gain social mobility because they do not have the wages or capital to supplement the public sphere through private services. Brian McFadden's New York Times cartoon illustrates this on the following page.

It is most striking to me that when we talk about poverty, we are talking about women and children. In 2015, twenty-two percent of all children in the United States lived in poverty, which is defined as a household with less than \$23,550 per year in income for a family of four.¹³ We have the highest rates of childhood poverty of any industrialized nation.

When we defund the government, we not only make children vulnerable to the physical circumstances of poverty such as hunger, homelessness, and illness but we also take away government workers who might be able to connect them with resources or lobby on

⁹ [wikipedia.org/wiki/Equal_Rights_Amendment#Hayden_rider_and_protective_labor_legislation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Equal_Rights_Amendment#Hayden_rider_and_protective_labor_legislation)

¹⁰ sfdhr.org/sites/default/files/FileCenter/Documents/20335-2013%20Workforce%20Utilization%20with%20Memo.pdf, 7-8.

¹¹ pbs.org/newshour/updates/google-discloses-workforce-diversity-data-good/

¹² [pewtrusts.org/en/about/newsroom/press-releases/2015/07/23/parental-income-has-outsized-influence-on-childrens-economic-future](https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/about/newsroom/press-releases/2015/07/23/parental-income-has-outsized-influence-on-childrens-economic-future)

¹³ nccp.org/topics/childpoverty.html



Brian McFadden, "Last Minute Halloween Costumes", *New York Times*, October 24, 2015.

their behalf. Children have no way to legally earn money and they have no way to advocate for themselves. In absence of a protective guardian, the only advocate for a vulnerable child is the state. Unlike the wealthy, who are always advocating for themselves, poor children have no voice in policy decisions which viscerally impact their lives.

Wealth created for wealth's sake seems to produce an indifference to the power of capital connected to the public sphere, producing isolation within civic life between communities of haves and have-nots. In San Francisco, this is readily apparent as our public school children are funded at rates in the bottom quarter nationally, around \$7500 per year, while private school tuition ranges from \$25,000-\$35,000 per year. The public school district suffers from low teacher retention due to low pay and the high price of housing, a lack of basic supplies, and large class sizes. In more affluent public schools, parents raise money for everything from P.E. teachers to paper towels to library books.

In San Francisco and California, the disparity between the public and private spheres is easy to recognize. 26 billionaires live in San Francisco and the average single-family home price hovers around \$1,000,000. San Francisco is an expensive place to live, brimming with money, but the city itself, the public sphere, is poor. California, with its defunding of its higher education system from the community college level to the UC system is actually one of the largest economies in the world generating immense amounts of wealth. "In fact, if California were a country, it would be home to the third-highest number of billionaires in the world¹⁴, surpassed only by the United States (which has 541) and China (which has 223)."¹⁵ When the average citizen is told that

there is no money for public institutions, infrastructure, and services, it should be framed as a policy question regarding the distribution of wealth rather than a question of money. There is enough money in California to fund our public sphere; it is an active choice to let it paralyze and struggle to meet the needs of average, wage earning citizens.

Corporations like Apple, which is based in California and used Californian infrastructure to build its business and house its employees, hold billions of dollars overseas to avoid paying tax. This shows a disconnection between wealth creation and its dependence on civic life. Apple should be invested in generously reinvesting in California and the United States. It should see its corporate wealth as fundamentally connected to the civic sphere in which it was produced. Instead of being beholden to the civil society which enabled its birth and development, Apple is beholden to its shareholders and share price thus cementing its wealth generating legacy not to creating a broader based public good but to creating a larger wealth divide between those who are capitalized and own stocks and those who are economically disenfranchised. I could name many other American corporations that hold money over seas to avoid paying tax; it has become standard business practice despite its deleterious impact on America. There are many recent instances of failing public infrastructure from lead poisoning in Flint, Michigan to the lack of funding for public schools to the I-10 collapsing in California.

In King's paradigm, there is a moral imperative to help bridge the gap between the rich and the poor. In our contemporary cultural paradigm, that moral impulse has faded. We no longer expect individuals and corporations who use our public resources to build wealth to reinvest into the infrastructure and public sphere.

In San Francisco, as I watch Maseratis speed past homeless people, the stark disparity between economic resources makes me ask if we are creating a society that embraces our mutual humanity or if we have decided that we no longer recognize humanity as fragile and fraught with possible misfortune, mental illness, historical discrimination, or low, non-livable wages.

¹⁴ In 2014, California was ranked as the 7th or 8th largest economy in the world.

lao.ca.gov/LAOEconTax/Article/Detail/90

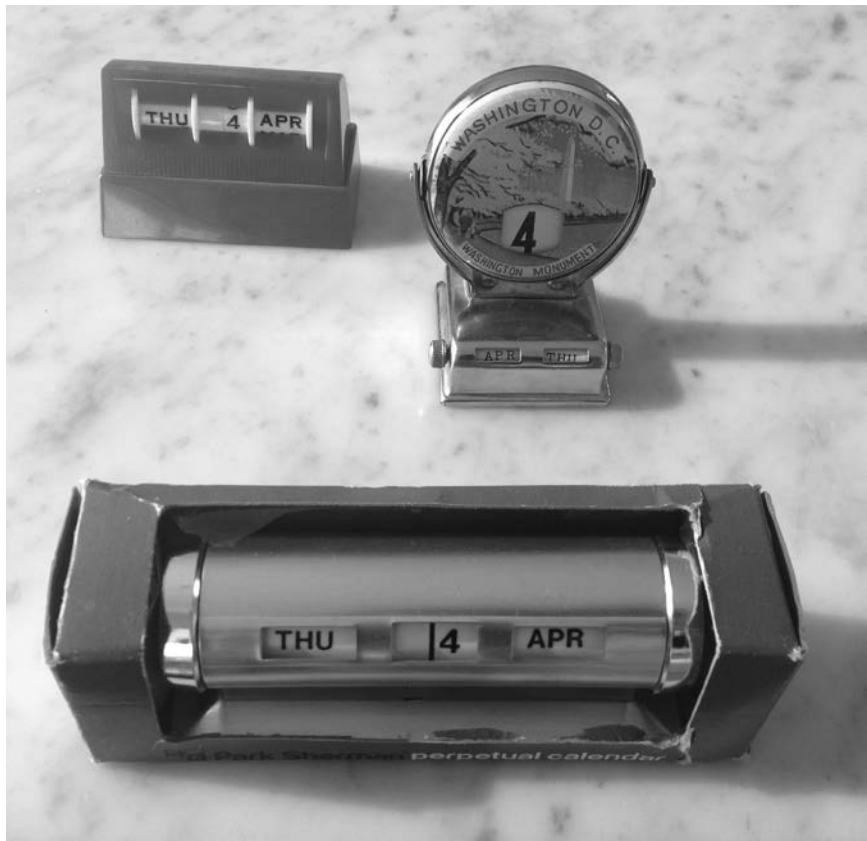
¹⁵ Katia Savchuk, "California Has More Billionaires Than Every Country Except The U.S. And China," *Forbes*, March 4, 2015, forbes.com/sites/katiasavchuk/2015/03/04/california-has-more-billionaires-than-every-country-except-the-u-s-and-china/#65d507d851a7

I live in a city whose culture reflects a deep belief that technology can solve big problems. Yet, San Francisco is defined by its intractable homeless population and income inequality. Like King, I wonder if, given the power of our resources, any strides will be taken to alleviate poverty. Our technological innovations reflect the market place, and therefore cater to the economically mobile rather than to the disenfranchised. Uber, for instance, is great—if you have access to a smart phone and can pay for it.

Current technology seemingly solves problems of inconvenience like a missed phone call or walking to the store to buy milk. But it has done little to address our most pressing social problems such as chronic poverty, child abuse, low pay for public school teachers, lack of funds for a social safety net. Technology companies generate immense capital and profit, but we have yet to see any meaningful impact on social issues. In the end, I think King was right. It won't be technology that solves poverty but policy. Hence, his enduring question remains: do we have the will?



Pickets appear in front of a school, April 28, 1967, where Martin Luther King was speaking. (AP Photo)



Perpetual calendars, Thursday, April 4, the day Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated.

THE AMERICAN DREAM



This is why we must join the war against poverty (*Yes, sir*) and believe in the dignity of all work. What makes a job menial? I'm tired of this stuff about menial labor. What makes it menial is that we don't pay folk anything. (*Yes, sir*) Give somebody a job and pay them some money so they can live and educate their children and buy a home and have the basic necessities of life. And no matter what the job is, it takes on dignity.



DELIVERED AT EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH, ATLANTA, GEORGIA,
4 JULY 1965





NEW RIGHTS PHASE IS SEEN BY DR. KING

WASHINGTON, June 10 (AP)—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today that what appeared to be loss of strength and division in the civil rights movement was actually a transition to a second phase—the struggle for genuine equality among the races.

Addressing the 24th annual awards banquet of the Capital Press Club, Dr. King said that the second phase would be more difficult and costly.

He said it would include the creation of new jobs, the eradication of slums, and the establishment of equality of opportunity in education.

"The problem will not be solved unless there is a radical restructuring of the economy

and politics in the United States," Dr. King said.

He told the Negro journalists' club that the greatest achievement of the struggle for civil rights was the breaking down of Negro segregation in the South.

But, he said, the struggle for genuine equality will make previous achievements appear to have been bought at bargain prices.

Dr. King described riots as the "language of the unheard," and said it was significant that "summers of riots followed winters of debate."

Maine Guard Unit Cited

SCOTT AIR FORCE BASE, Ill., June 10 (UPI)—The 265th Radio Relay Squadron, Maine Air National Guard, of South Portland, Me., has been named the outstanding air reserve unit in the Air Force Communications Service for 1966.

In this age of technological wizardry and political immorality, the poor are demanding that the basic need of people be met as the first priority of our domestic programs. Poor people can not long be placated by the glamour of multi-billion-dollar exploits in space. Poor people who encounter racial discrimination every day in every aspect of their lives can not be fooled by patronizing gestures and half-way promises. Poor people who are treated with derision and abuse by an economic system soon conclude with elementary logic that they have no rational interest in killing people 12,000 miles away in the name of defending that system.

"with the black
man it's welfare

with the whites,
subsidies". Martin Luther King Jr.



Marian Wright, attorney for the NAACP legal defense fund, testifies before the Senate Labor Subcommittee investigating the anti-poverty program in Washinton, D.C. March 15, 1967.



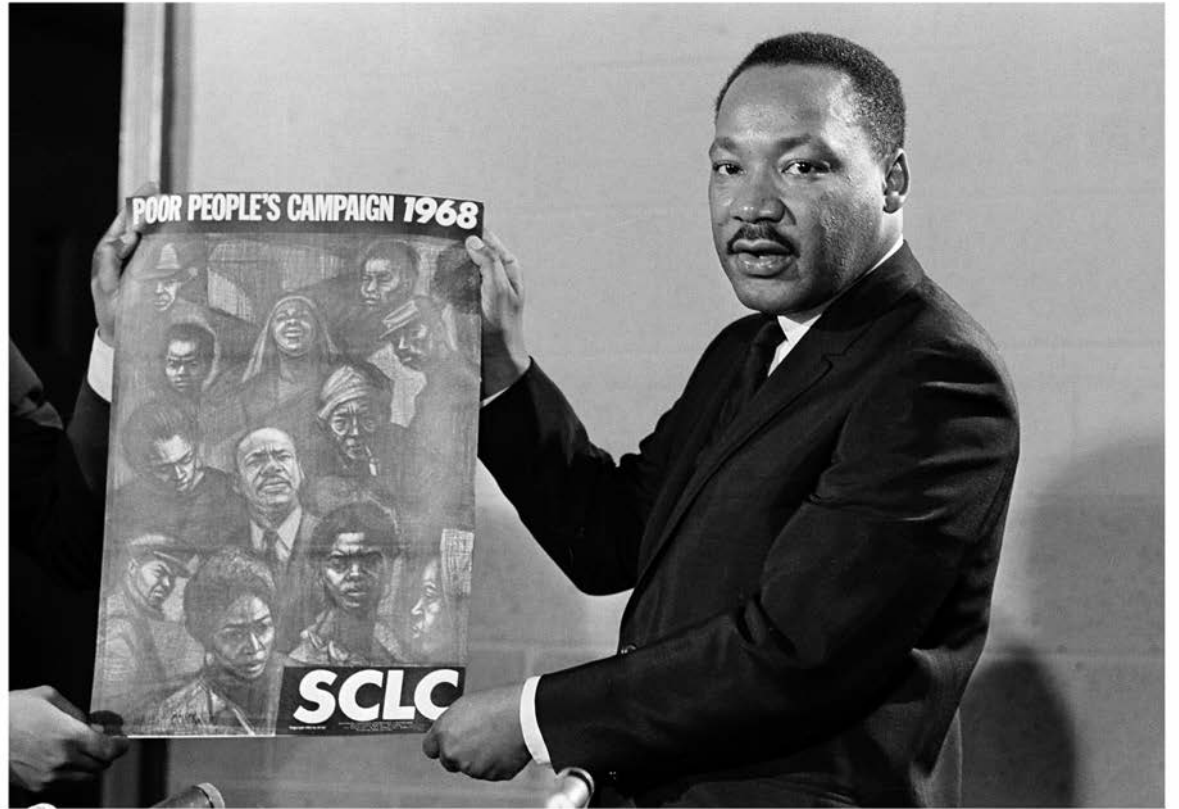
Sen. Robert F. Kennedy is shown touring the Mississippi Delta near Greenville, on an anti-poverty investigation. Marian Wright Edelman, second from right, visited poor people in the Mississippi Delta with Robert Kennedy and other U.S. Senators. Wright wanted the Senators to see how hard life was for poor Americans like the woman in this photo. April 11, 1967.



Civil rights leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, ponders a question during a press conference in New York. The civil rights leader told newsmen that "out of love for America," he urged a nationwide campaign of teach-ins and preach-ins to "awaken the conscience of the nation" to the evils of the Vietnam War. Dr. King also urged that "those who are prepared to do it, who see the great dangers ahead for mankind," become conscientious objectors. Leaning over at center is Andrew Young, Dr. King's aide. Others are unidentified. April 4, 1967.

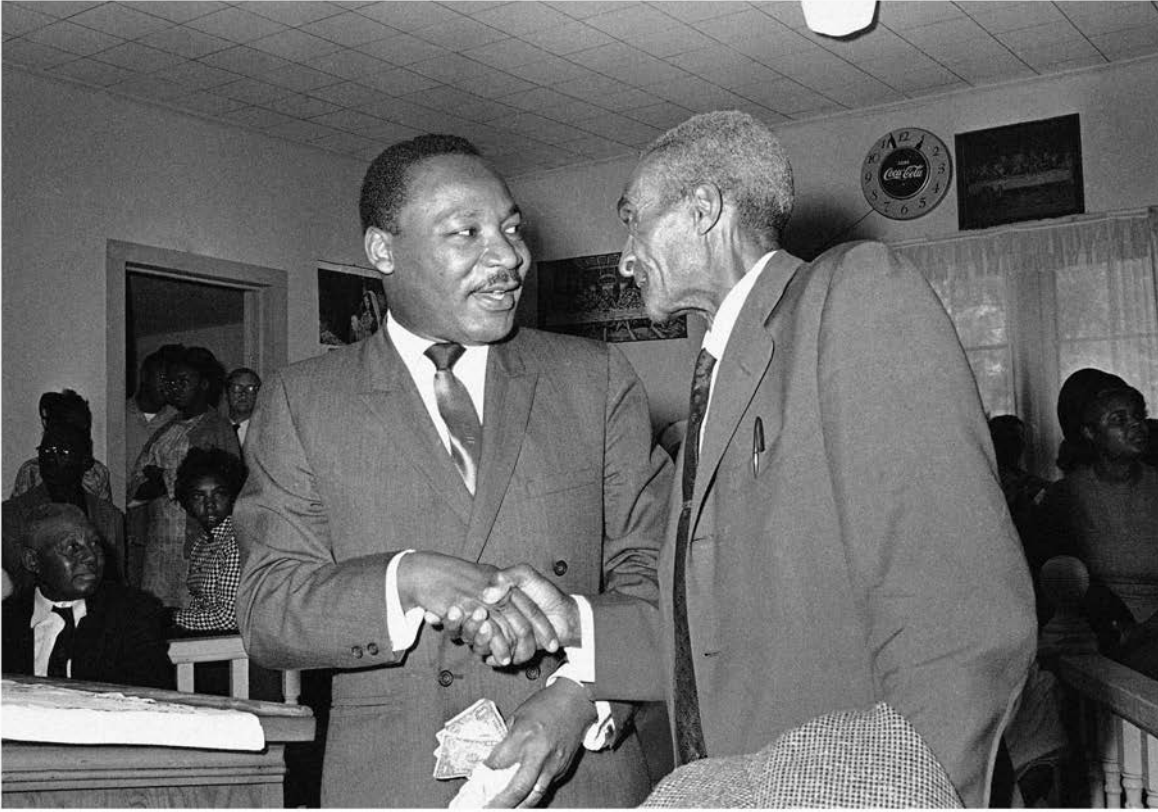


Dr. Martin Luther king tells the press about plans for a massive demonstration in Washington next spring at a news conference. The target date for the march is April 1st 1968. The Nobel Peace Prize winner said the demonstration would last until the demands of the jobless and poor were heeded. King also said the Southern Christian Leadership Conference workers will soon begin to organize demonstrations from ten major cities and five rural areas. December 7, 1967.



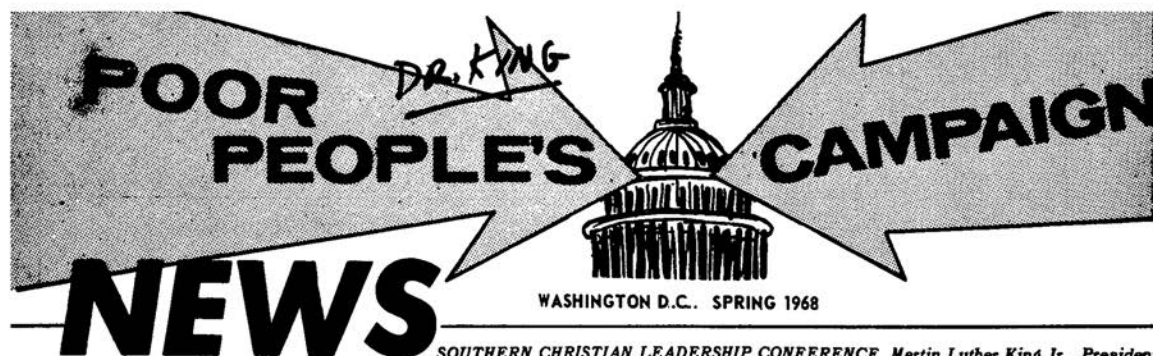
Civil rights leader Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Baptist Leadership Conference (SCLC), displays the poster to be used during his Poor People's Campaign this spring and summer. King said today in Atlanta that the campaign would begin April 22. March 4, 1968

Washington, DC: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., on the phone after delivering a sermon at the Washington Episcopal Cathedral. King predicted a "right wing takeover and a fascist state" will develop in America by 1980, if Congress does not do more for the poor. March 31, 1968.



Dr. Martin Luther King recruiting "Poor" for march on Washington D.C., at Batesville, Miss.. March 19, 1968.





334 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta Georgia, 30303
(404)-522-1420
1401 U St. N.W.
Washington D.C.
(202)-462-7000

FOR RELEASE:

March 15, 1968

68-R-16

Black and White Together

AMERICAN INDIANS, POOR WHITES, SPANISH-AMERICANS

JOIN POOR PEOPLE'S WASHINGTON CAMPAIGN

ATLANTA, GA., March 15-- A historic meeting of American minority group leaders ended here today with a declaration of unanimous support for the Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D. C., this spring.

Representatives of American Indians, Puerto Ricans, poor whites, Mexican-Americans and Negroes, meeting here at the invitation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), said their people will enthusiastically support and participate in the Campaign which was initiated by SCLC.

We believe the war can be honorably ended now. We believe the effort to do so has not been made. We believe the persistence has been made the excuse for evasion of domestic accord. We believe the highest patriotism demand the ending of that war and the opening of a bloodless war to final victory over racism and poverty. Our Washington campaign is an opportunity for the people to bring the Commission's recommendations to life. It is also an opportunity for the government to unite with its people and open a new age for America. International peace and domestic harmony can in our time end the peril of nuclear and racial doomsday. We will try through sacrifice and militant mass pressure to transform the commissions' report from recommendations to national policy. We will do our part. The final answer must come from Congress and the White House.

So we are going to Washington on the urgent business of reform before it is too late. We must have a de-escalation of the war in Vietnam and a massive escalation of

(MORE)

of the war against poverty and racism. We must guarantee that in this richest society in history, the poor, too, can find comfort and security and decent jobs and respect. It is time to re-order our national priorities. All those who now speak of good will and who praise the work of such groups as the President's Commission now have the gravest responsibility to stand up and act for the social changes that are necessary to conquer racism in America. If we as a society fail, I fear that we will learn very shortly that racism is a sickness unto death.

(END)

GROWTH And PROGRESS

*"Not By Might. Nor By Power. But By My Spirit.
Saith the LORD of HOSTS." Zechariah 4:6*



Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is seen speaking to newsmen in Newark, N.J. King is saying that he is "disenchanted" with President Johnson's Vietnam policies and may endorse either Sen. Robert Kennedy or Sen. Eugene McCarthy for the Democratic Presidential nomination. March 27, 1968.



National Guardsmen look on as African-American protesters begin a march to downtown Memphis wearing placards reading, "I A MAN." It was the third consecutive march held by the group in as many days. March 30, 1968



Memphis detectives climb on a r-rail outside the room of Dr. Martin Luther King at the Lorraine Motel, Memphis, searching for clues. April 4, 1968.

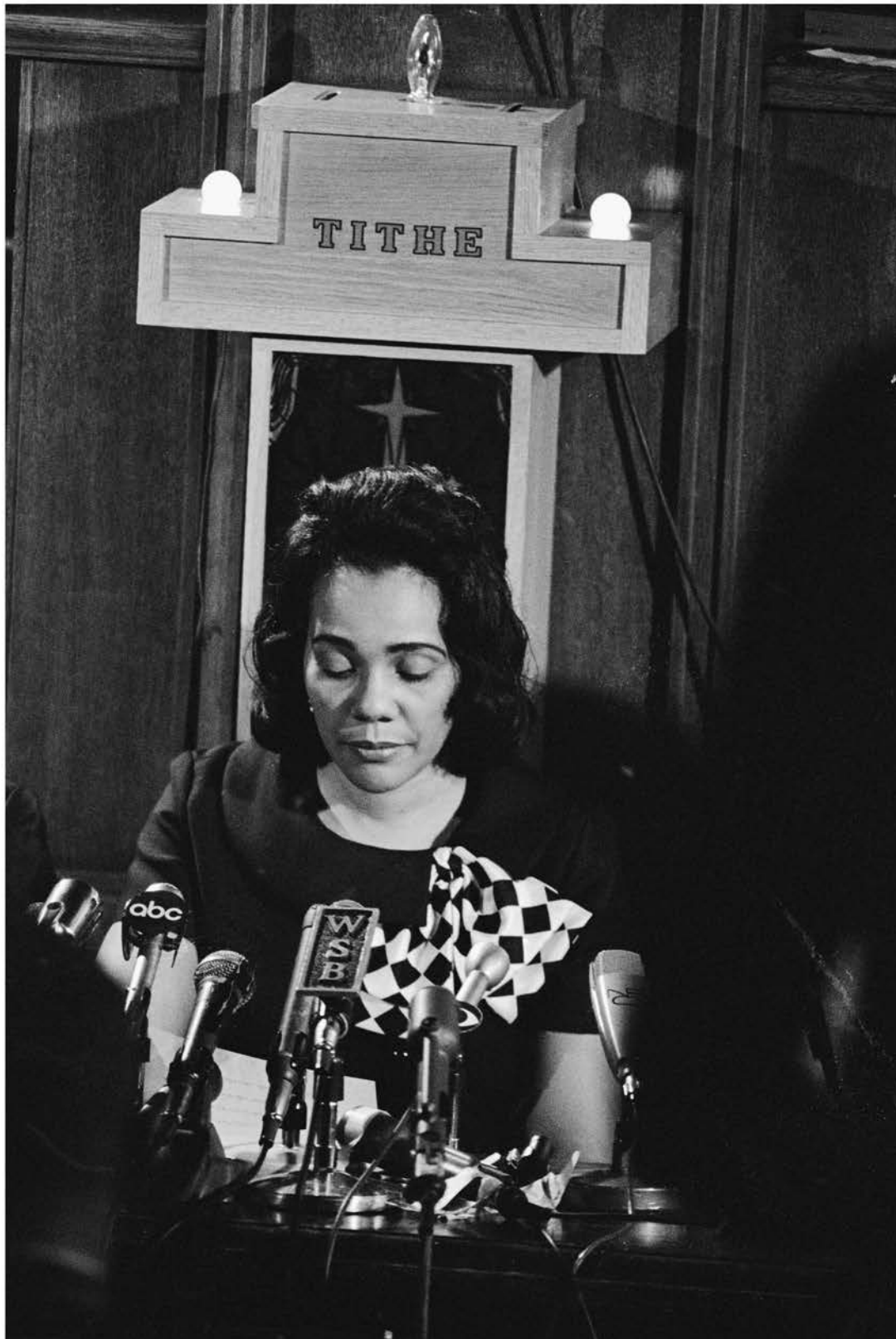








Simulated view through a gun-sight of the balcony at the Lorraine Motel where Dr. Martin Luther King was shot and killed April 6, 1968.



Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. reads a prepared statement, as she sit beneath the pulpit of her late husband's pastorate, the Ebenezer Baptist Church. April 6, 1968.

Yet I have consented to appear publicly because thousands of people are asking how they can help to carry on his work. So once again I have put aside traditional family considerations because my husband's work for his people and for all poor people transcends our wish for privacy.



Two elderly men weep openly during the playing of the National Anthem at a memorial service at Crump Stadium in Memphis, Tenn., in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who was assassinated in Memphis last Thursday. Walter Bradin, 66, right, of Memphis, said, "I love him (King), I love that song." April 7, 1968.

REMAINING AWAKE
THROUGH A GREAT
REVOLUTION



And this can happen to America, the richest nation in the world—and nothing's wrong with that—this is America's opportunity to help bridge the gulf between the haves and the have-nots. The question is whether America will do it. There is nothing new about poverty. What is new is that we now have the techniques and the resources to get rid of poverty. The real question is whether we have the will.

In a few weeks some of us are coming to Washington to see if the will is still alive or if it's alive in this nation. We are coming to Washington in a Poor People's Campaign. Yes, we are going to bring the tired, the poor, the huddled masses. We are going to bring those who have known long years of hurt and neglect. We are going to bring those who have come to feel that life is a long and desolate corridor with no exit signs. We are going to bring children and adults and old people, people who have never seen a doctor or a dentist in their lives.

We are not coming to engage in any histrionic gesture. We are not coming to tear up Washington. We are coming to demand that the government address itself to the problem of poverty. We read one day, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." But if a man doesn't have a job or an income, he has neither life nor liberty nor the possibility for the pursuit of happiness. He merely exists.

We are coming to ask America to be true to the huge promissory note that it signed years ago. And we are coming to engage in dramatic nonviolent action, to call attention to the gulf between promise and fulfillment; to make the invisible visible.

Why do we do it this way? We do it this way because it is our experience that the nation doesn't move around questions of genuine equality for the poor and for black people until it is confronted massively, dramatically in terms of direct action.



DELIVERED AT THE NATIONAL CATHEDRAL, WASHINGTON, D.C.,
31 MARCH 1968 [CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 9 APRIL 1968]

So this man was a peculiar man. He taught a peculiar teaching. So he was not of this world. So in the course of human events the forces of time, faith and the hopes of the oppressed converged upon a single man.

Though once in a century the midwife of oppression snatches from the womb of history a child of destiny, the record of events testifies to fact that history cannot bear the truth.

We have witnessed the life of the crucified Christ and we have seen the slaying of Martin Luther King. So like a wild carnivorous beast that turns upon and devours them history has turned once more upon its own because it could not bear the truth that he spoke or the judgment that he brought.

Challenged Status Quo

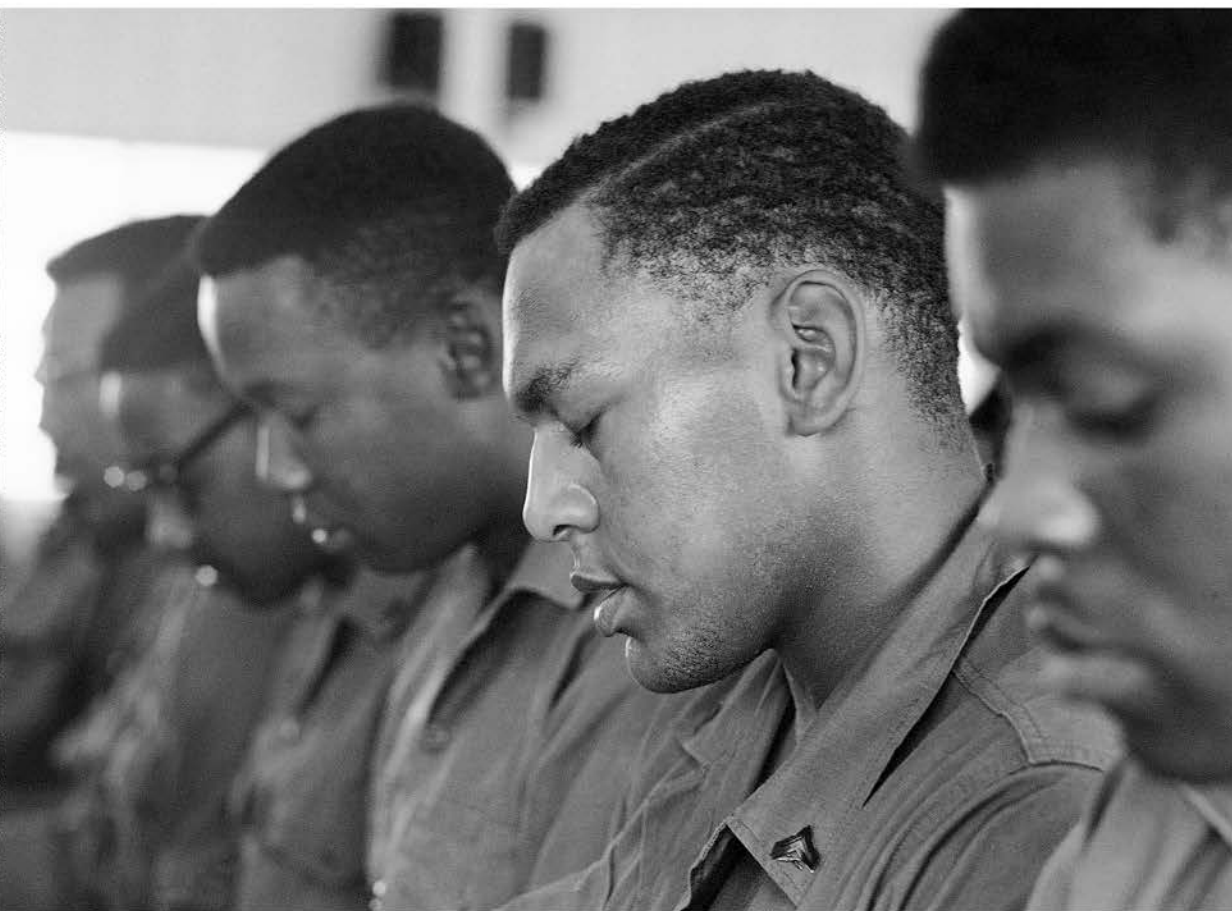
And so, like Jesus, not only did Martin Luther King challenge the status quo, but he challenged our mode of existence. Therefore, like Jesus, he had to die as a martyr for a cause that challenged the world's assumed posture of security.

The light came into the darkness but the darkness knew it not.

Oh God, our leader is dead.



Two Atlanta detectives in an unmarked car guard the grave site in South View Cemetery where Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., will be buried in Atlanta. The walls and roof of the tomb were to be erected on Monday. King's casket will go in the right-hand side of the tomb. April 7, 1968.



Soldiers attend a memorial service for slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King in Da Nang, Vietnam. The chaplain eulogized King as "America's voice for the wisdom of non-violence" and deplored the violence following his death. April 8, 1968.



Mule-drawn caisson carrying the casket of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is followed by dignitaries and aids as it moves towards the campus of Morehouse College for a memorial service. April 9, 1968.



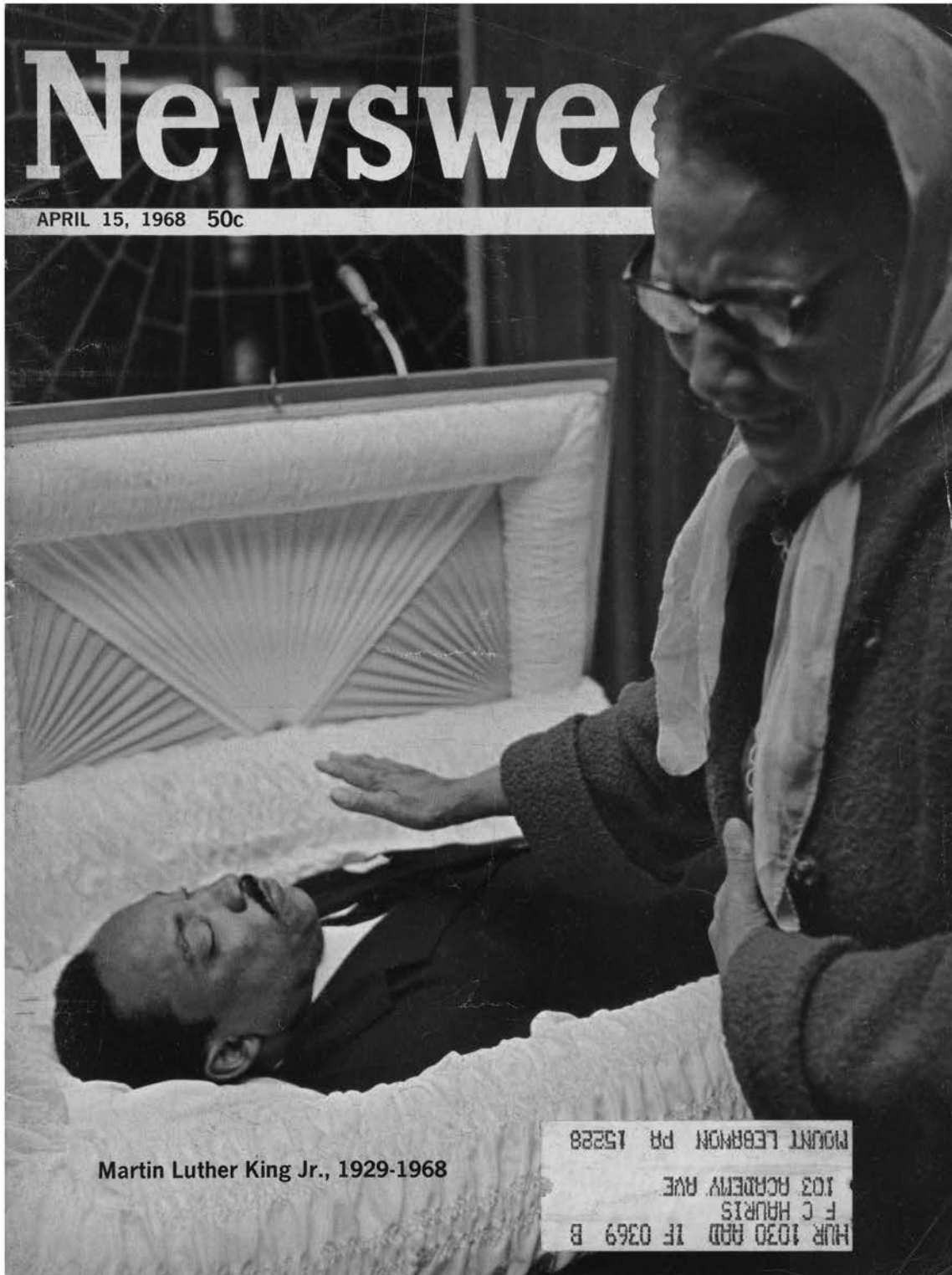
A huge portrait of slain civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King is held up by marchers during his funeral procession in Atlanta. More than 50,000 blacks and whites mingled in the tribute to the advocate of racial progress through nonviolence who was killed by a sniper's bullet.

Candidate Nixon Surrounded by King Funeral Goers: Former Vice President Richard Nixon is engulfed in a sea of humanity as he is escorted to Ebenezer Baptist Church.

This was the sort of message one might have expected from her husband, the nation's leading exponent of nonviolence, but Coretta King's speech took on a slightly different tone as she implored others of her sex to draw upon their own resources of hidden strength in forming "a solid block of woman power" that might provide "a creative approach" to crucial problems. She challenged them to join in a "campaign of conscience," saying: "Women, if the soul of this nation is to be saved, I believe that you must become its soul. You must speak out against the evils of our time as you see them. Those of us women who have been blessed with the privilege of bearing children have the sacred task of rearing them with a knowledge and understanding of our democratic heritage and the eternal values of love, justice, mercy and peace. As women and mothers, we have a common concern for the happiness of our children and their families, to unite our efforts throughout the world."

Newsweek

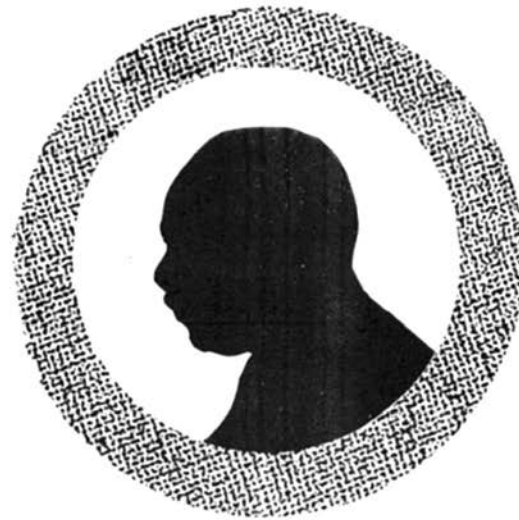
APRIL 15, 1968 50c



Martin Luther King Jr., 1929-1968

HUR 1030 ADD IF 0369 B
F C HARRIS
103 ACADEMY AVE
MOUNT LEBMON PA 15228

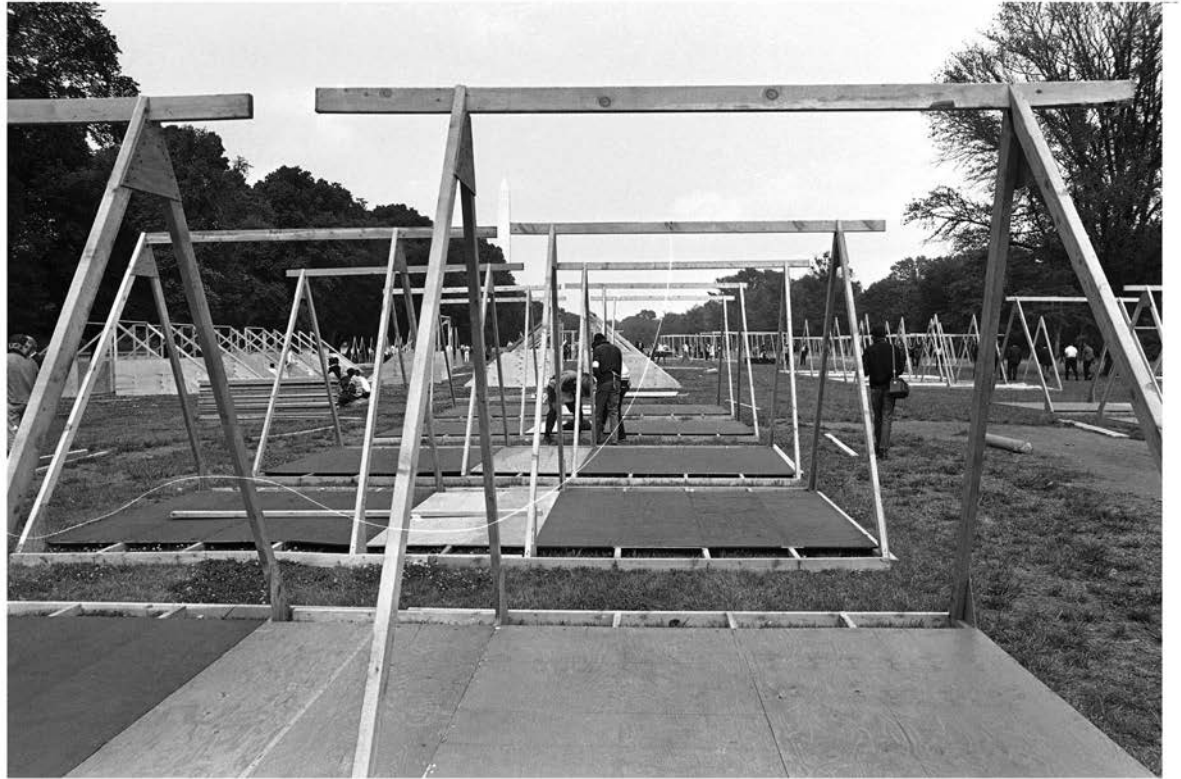
"Behold, this Dreamer cometh.
Come now, therefore, and let us slay
him.... And we shall see what will
become of his dreams...."
Genesis 37:19-20



POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN 1968

MEMPHIS MOVEMENT TO WASHINGTON, D.C.





Workmen set up flooring and A-frames for the wooden camp near Lincoln Memorial to house the Poor People's Campaign demonstrators in Washington. A federal permit allows the demonstrators to occupy the 15-acre area until on June 16 and limits occupants to 3,000. May 13, 1968.



The Rev. Ralph Abernathy, who leads the Poor People's Campaign, nails plywood on the first of many shelters being constructed on the mall between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument in Washington. The shelters will house some 3,000 demonstrators during their stay in the capital. May 13, 1968.



Small unidentified boy from Memphis, Tenn. sits in front of his unpainted plywood shack in the squatter's settlement near the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. The boy and his family were one of the first to move into the Poor People's Campaign shelters set up with federal permission on a strip along side the Reflecting Pool. May 14, 1968.





Notables get a conducted tour of Resurrection City, the encampment erected by the Poor Peoples Campaign near the Washington Monument, left background. Identifiable at center of group, left to right are Rev. Walter Fauntroy, Wash. D.C. representative of Southern Christian Leadership Conference (left of handheld microphone); Vice President Hubert Humphrey; Mayor Walter Washington of Wash. D.C.; Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. of Atlanta; Mayor John Lindsay of New York City, and Rev. James Bevel of Southern Christian Leadership Conference. May 16, 1968.



Five barbers go about their task, trimming the hair of some of the residents of Resurrection City in this open-air barber shop. The scene was on the campaign grounds of the Poor Peoples Campaign. May 20, 1968.



Residents of "Resurrection City, USA", take it easy at the encampment near the Lincoln Memorial as officials of the Poor People's Campaign tried to find temporary quarters for additional demonstrators arriving in Washington. Lack of funds has halted the erection of needed plywood shelter on the encampment grounds. May 17, 1968.



Monroe Johnson, 13, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, cooks his mid-day meal outdoors in "Resurrection City," the camp site of the Poor People's Campaign in Washington. Another resident shakes a blanket amid the plywood shelters which make up the camp. May 20, 1968.



The Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Washington D.C. introduced Resurrection City manager, the Rev. Jesse Jackson of Chicago. Black leaders gathered at the plywood shelter encampment of the Poor People's Campaign. In background one of the demonstrators nails up a "City Hall" sign. May 22, 1968.



Los Angeles, CA- Shirt open, one eye closed, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy lies on the floor of the Ambassador Hotel after being shot by a man identified as Sirhan Sirhan, 23, a Jordanian born in Jerusalem. The Senator died early June 6th, victim of an assassin's bullet, just as his brother perished. He will be buried in Arlington National Cemetery, probably beside the late President. His wife, Ethel, mother of their 10 children and expecting an 11th in January, was at her husband's bedside when he died. June 5, 1968.



These Mississippians, including one-year-old Debbie Shirley with her nursing bottles made themselves at home in Resurrection City, Washington. In foreground is Michael Lee, 3. In background, from left, are: Francis Nunn of Crenshaw, Miss., Jerry Davis, 7, and Edith Maydukes of Marks, Miss. Hometowns of the children were not available but the adults said they were from Mississippi. May 22, 1968.



Inhabitants of Resurrection City, home of the Poor People's Campaign, read newspaper accounts of the capture of James Earl Ray, the accused assassin of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in London. Announcement of the capture was read over the public address system in the campsite. June 8, 1968.



**DO RIGHT
WHITE MAN**

WAP-052711 5/27/68 WASHINGTON: Rev. Jesse Jackson, of the Poor People's Campaign, holds up a lunch bill run up by 160 people from Resurrection City in the Agriculture Dept's cafeteria 5/27. As the people filed through, Jackson asked that the bills be consolidated into a single check, which totaled \$292.66. When it was presented to him, he said it would be compared with what the Government owes the Nation's poor because of its failure to feed them and "whoever owes the other will pay."

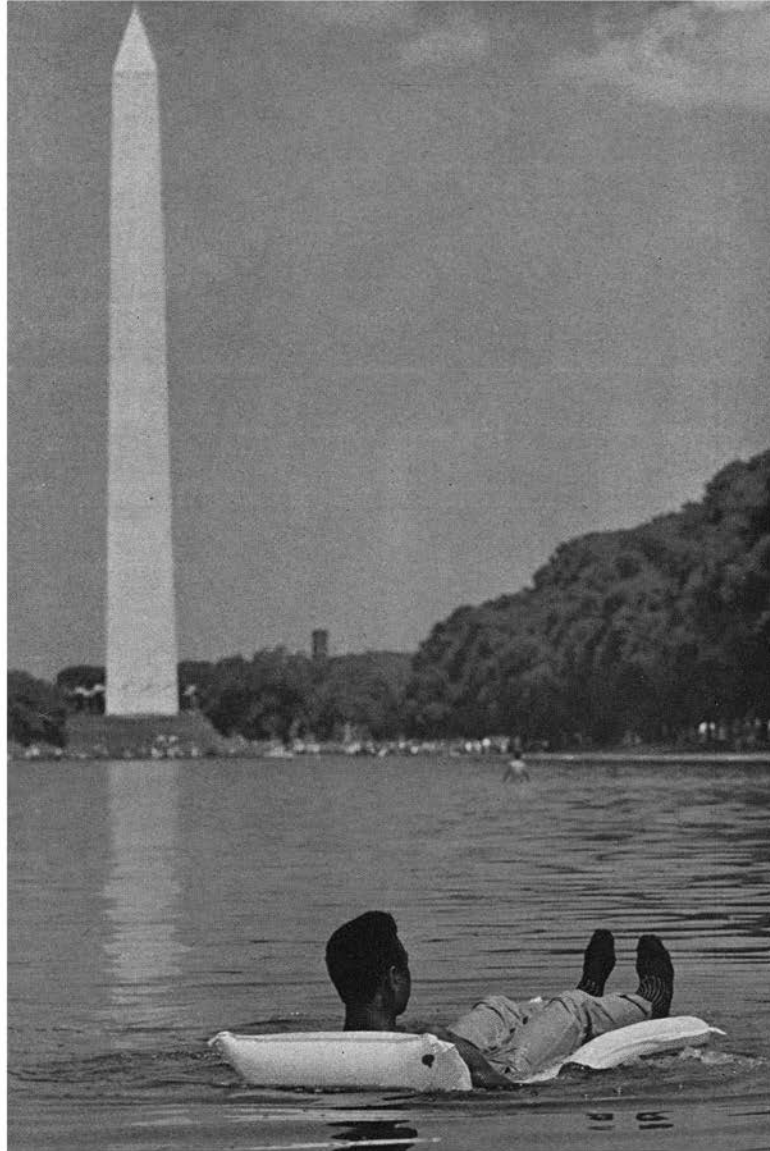
UPI TELEPHOTO dl/rem







...starved and beaten for so long they just didn't care any more if they got a piece of the white man's action. They'd get their own, build it themselves, make it the way they wanted and keep it. They lived in another world, with all the cultural gap that went with it. To them the Washington Monument looked like what they called it: "The Klansman."



The plywood-and-plastic shantytown sprouted like a mirage among the elms and the cherry trees and the state-ly white monuments in Washington's handsomest parkland. "Resurrection City, U.S.A." was little more than a gleam in Martin Luther King's eye when he was slain last April 4, and, scarcely a fortnight ago, it had seemed on the verge of collapse. But now, suddenly, it was there, a bustling microcosmic city housing 3,000 of the protesting American poor with its own mayor, city hall, doctors, dentists, barbers, psychiatrists, day-care centers, communal comfort stations, juvenile delinquents, gendarmerie, urban planning and urban blight, and its own nourishing dream besides: an end to poverty in the U.S.



The Poor People's Campaigners of Resurrection City picked their way through mud and water after heavy rains in Washington. Officials evacuated some of the women and children because of the mud and water. May 24, 1968.

In a symbolic rejection of the Government authority through which they obtained their campsite permit, leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference have several times in recent days brought Indians to public events to ask them, as "the people who were here first," for permission to use Federal land. Today was no exception.

Mr. Abernathy summoned Linda Aranayko, a pretty, 20-year-old member of the Creek tribe from Oklahoma, to his side and asked her, "Is it all right if we use this land?"



Resurrection City, the home of the Poor People's Campaign has not floated away despite being soaked by rain 11 of the last 14 days. This photo of the camp site was made from the top of the Washington Monument. At right, the reflecting pool and the Lincoln Memorial is shown. District of Columbia Health officials were worried that an epidemic of pneumonia might break out unless the camp ground dries out soon. May 31, 1968



Mule train which began its journey in Marks, Miss., arrives in the Washington area to support the Poor People's Campaign "Solidarity Day" June 19. The caravan stopped for the night at a National Park Service maintenance area on the Virginia side of Memorial Bridge which leads to the Lincoln Memorial, background. June 18, 1968.



These faces are a cross section of the group which occupies "Resurrection City" the plywood shantytown in Washington where the Poor People's Campaign is centered. They are among the residents there who have been staging demonstrations at various government offices for more than a month. The highlight of their campaign against hunger will be on Wednesday, termed "Solidarity Day", with a mass demonstration in the nation's capital. June 18, 1968.



Signs to be used during the Solidarity Day mass rally of the Poor People's Campaign are readied in Washington. June 18, 1968.

La Tierra ES
NUESTRA
HERENCIA

no more
HUNGER
USA

HONOR
KING:
END
RACISM!

UAW
SUPPORTS
ECONOMIC
BILL OF
RIGHTS

NATIONWIDE
WELFARE
RIGHTS
ORGANIZATION
MORE
MONEY
NOW!

UAW SUPPORTS
JOBS
EDUCATION
HOUSING
MEDICAL CARE
GUARANTEED INCOME
FOR EVERY AMERICAN

AMERICA !

Why Not
NOW?



Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr., widow of the slain civil rights leader, addresses the "Solidarity Day" rally of the Poor People's Campaign from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. She told the nearly 50,000 persons gathered that "racism, poverty, and war" had combined to make matters worse for poor black and white alike. June 19, 1968





ADVANCE FOR A13 SUNDAY, JUNE 30, 1968, OR THEREAFTER, TO GO
WITH UPI DISPATCH BY ELLI SVEILIS.

NXP1597775A(FILES).NEW YORK BUREAU

THE END COMES FOR RESURRECTION CITY

WASHINGTON: Workmen dismantle shanties on the site of
Resurrection City here (in a photo made June 25, 1968)
following the closure of the temporary settlement June 24th.
When death came to Resurrection City, it came quietly. The
residents knew their time was up and most had marched to
Capitol Hill with the Rev. Ralph Abernathy to invite ar-
rest instead of staying behind and watching their city fall.

CREDIT (UPI PHOTO FROM FILES)

6/29/68

RP

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Workmen dismantle the plywood and plastic shanties in Resurrection City, clearing the area which had housed members of the Poor Peoples Campaign. June 25, 1968.



Resurrection City, the campsite of the Poor People's Campaign, is being rapidly dismantled and removed from public land. This is a view of the scene from the top of the Washington Monument. June 25, 1968.

Trapped like rats, the bombs bursting in air, we wait our turn, this being a democracy. You can't hear gas. They don't even let it hiss. So you don't know if you've had it until it grabs you by the throat like Jack the Ripper. And besides, this is the new, improved, U.S. government-inspected number that spreads wider, hangs around longer, and makes you sick, too. Yet another triumph of modern technology. And we're surrounded. There's nowhere to run to. And Lord, it's hard to stumble, when you got no place to fall.

"Did you hear? They gassed the people up at the Monument." Running every which way in their pajamas.

"Hey, look at me. I'm crying."

"Did you hear? They wouldn't let a busload of kids out. Some of them little childrens was real sick. A lot of them was sick."

"Me, too, Cato. Isn't it funny to cry when you're not crying?"

Now someone else has won the mike in City Hall, and he keeps shouting, "There's nothing to be afraid of. We have spoken with them. There's nothing to be afraid of." Wrenching himself into a song, trying to get people to sing, flattened by a tone-deaf chorus of coughs. All together now. Starting over, "There's nothing to be afraid of. We have spoken with them..."

Cato repeats, "The dirty bastids. The dirty bastids." Echoed over and over the loudspeakers. You ain't kiddin'.



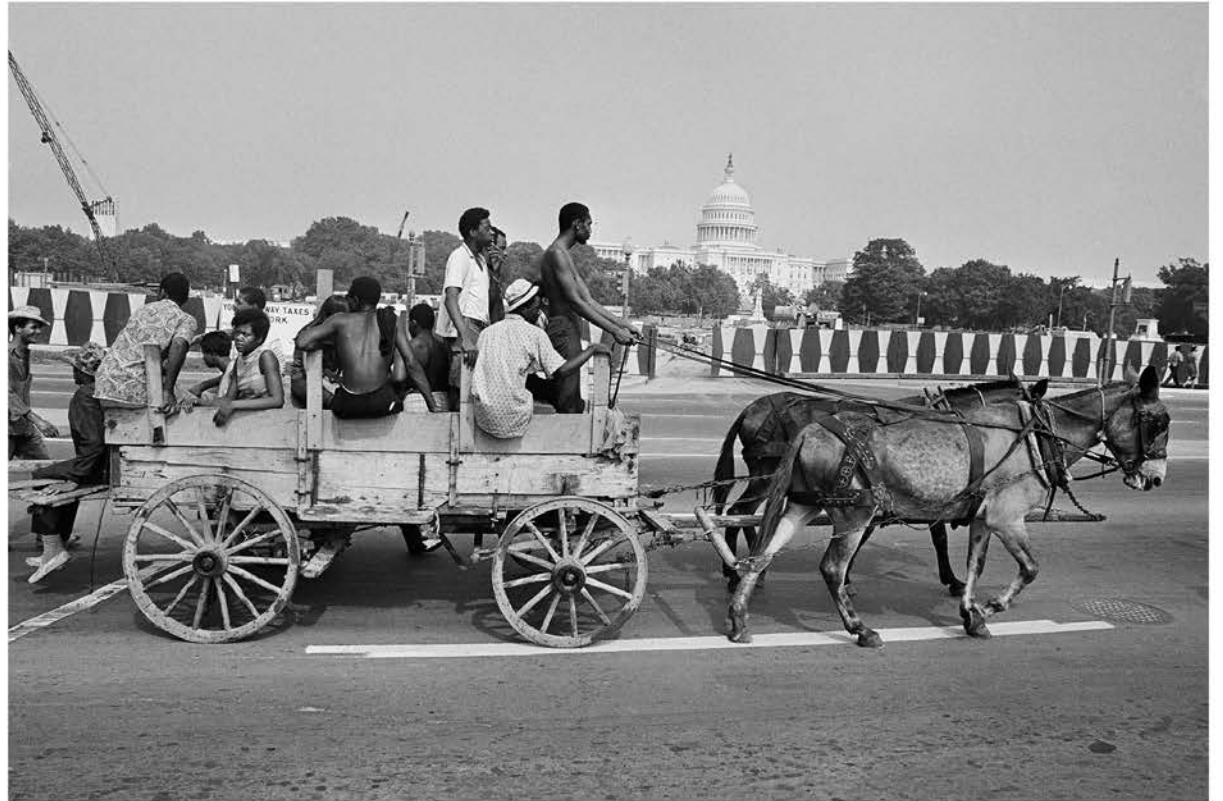
Police lift one of the residents of Resurrection City to carry her from the area which was cleared after expiration of the permit to occupy the land in Washington. Police Chief John Layton said about 80 arrests were made during the clearing operation. June 24, 1968.



Rubbing his eyes from the effects of tear gas, a man is escorted from the Poor People's Campaign encampment by a gas-mask wearing policeman in Washington. Police were clearing the encampment the marchers called "Resurrection City" after their permit to occupy federal land expired. June 24, 1968.



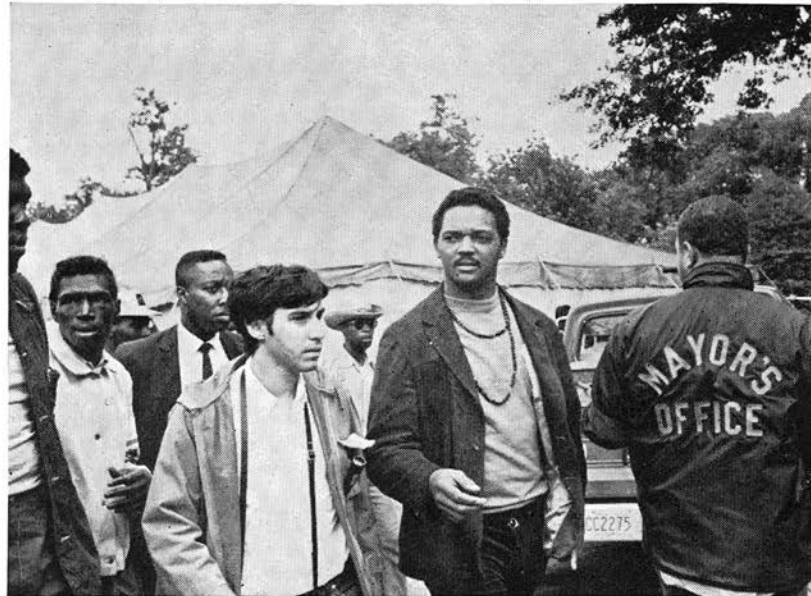
The possessions of former residents of Resurrection City are left on the flooring as the plywood and plastic shanties of the Poor People's Campaign are dismantled by workmen. Plywood sections are being loaded on trucks to be carted away. The possessions will be cataloged by tent and stored. June 25, 1968.



Mules pull wagonload of Poor People's Campaign demonstrators, part of a 13 wagon caravan that toured Washington, passing the Capitol before returning to the animal's quarters across the Potomac in Virginia. June 25, 1968.

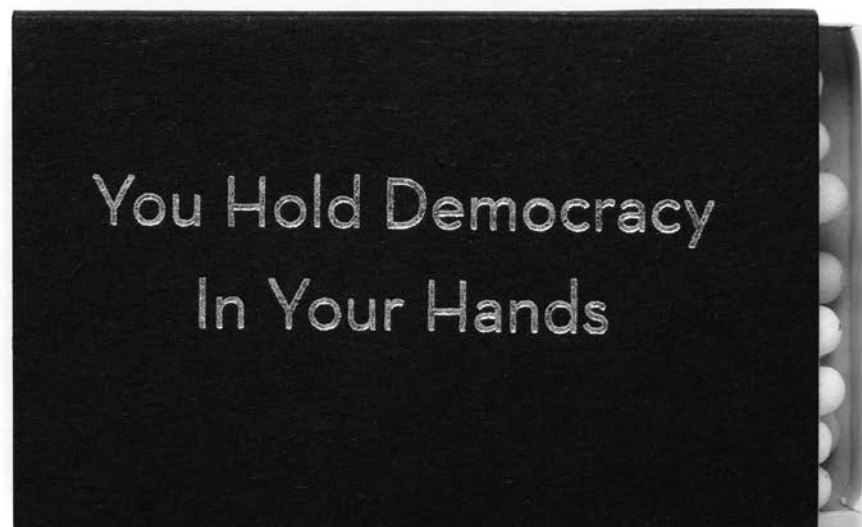
RESURRECTION CITY *Continued*

beauty of Dr. King's vision, and perhaps the single greatest cause of his death, is that he had begun to redirect the race struggle into a class struggle. The horizontal fight between blacks and whites, based upon emotions, was beginning to shift to a vertical fight of "haves vs. have-nots" based upon economics. Dr. King was making it clear that our nation is built upon the prerogatives of poverty and exploitation. The



Inspecting grounds at Resurrection City, Rev. Jackson leads group of youths on tour. Able to talk youths' language, he helped keep down trouble hinted at in press.

big industrialists continue to suck the blood of the poor like leeches for cheap labor, for soldiers to conduct imperialistic ventures, as consumers to gain a margin of profit, as live bodies to be foot-stools for inferior-feeling whites in order that they may continue their "superior" isolation.





White America has allowed itself to be indifferent to race prejudice and economic denial. It has treated them as superficial blemishes, but now awakes to the horrifying reality of a potentially fatal disease. The urban outbreaks are “a fire bell in the night,” clamorously warning that the seams of our entire social order are weakening under strains of neglect.

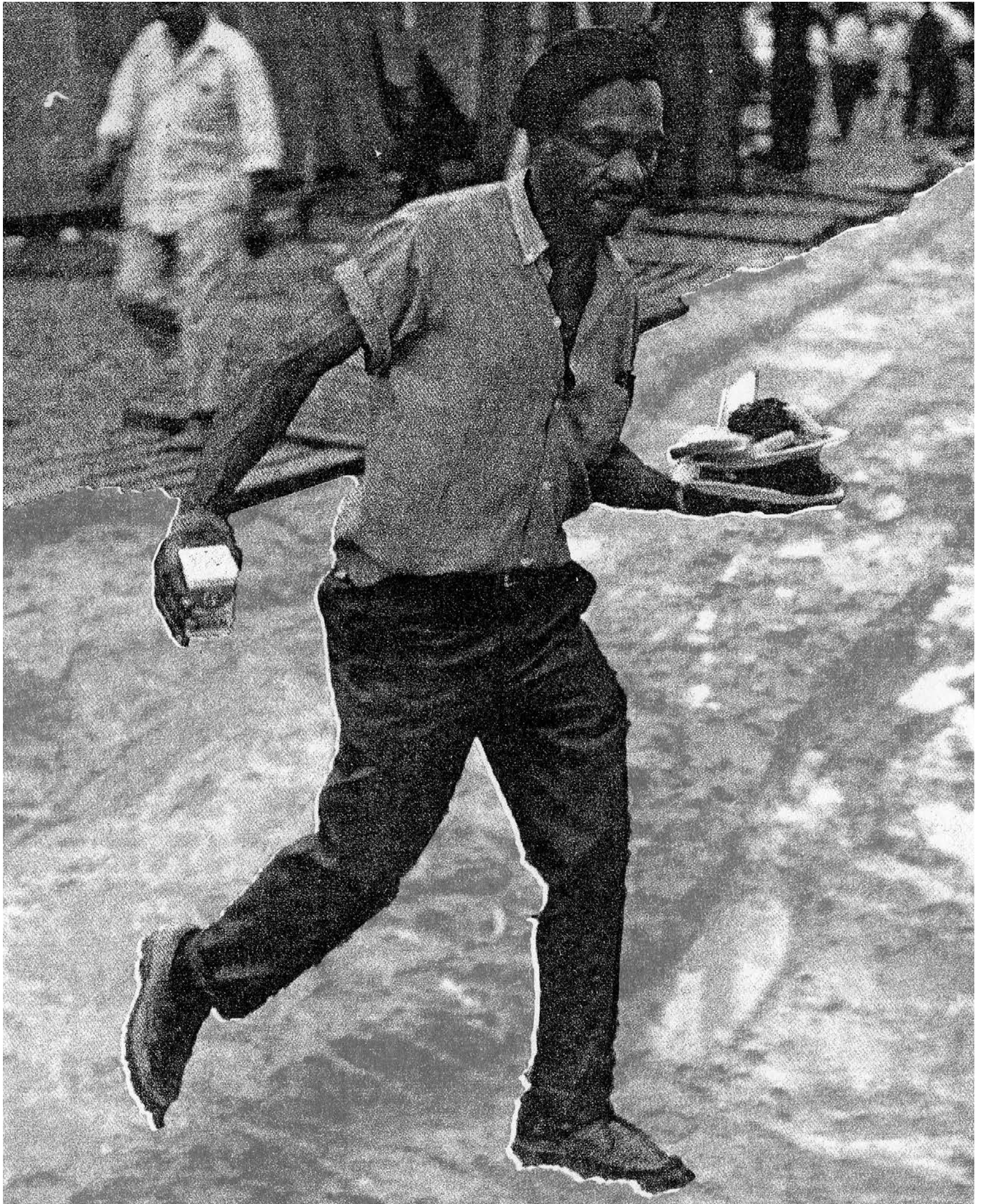
The American people are infected with racism—that is the peril. Paradoxically, they are also infected with democratic ideals—that is the hope. While doing wrong, they have the potential to do right. But they do not have a millennium to make changes. Nor have they a choice of continuing in the old way. The future they are asked to inaugurate is not so unpalatable that it justifies the evils that beset the nation. To end poverty, to extirpate prejudice, to free a tormented conscience, to make a tomorrow of justice, fair play and creativity—all these are worthy of the American ideal.

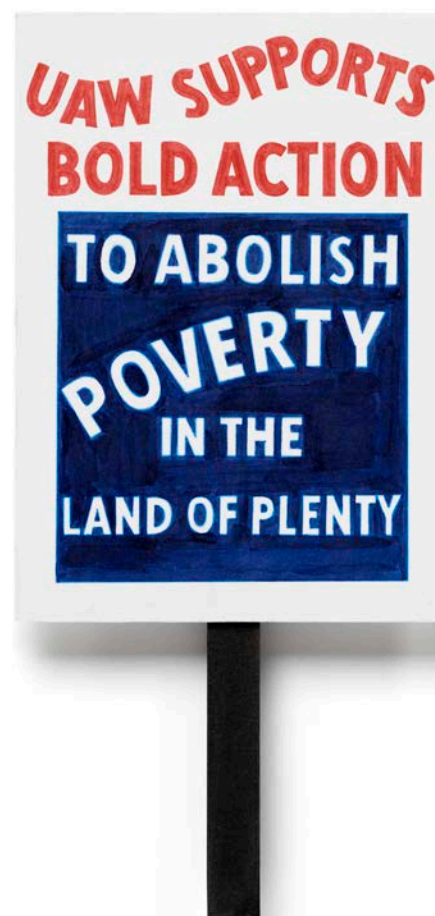
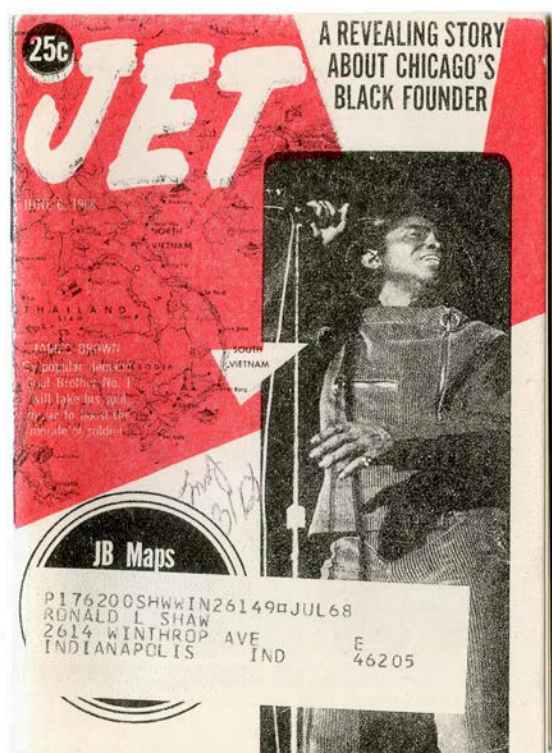
We have, through massive non-violent action, an opportunity to avoid a national disaster and create a new spirit of class and racial harmony. We can write another luminous moral chapter in American history. All of us are on trial in this troubled hour, but time still permits us to meet the future with a clear conscience. END

WORKS IN THE EXHIBITION

Cover: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is seen speaking to newsmen in Newark, N.J., on March 27, 1968. King is saying that he is "disenchanted" with President Johnson's Vietnam policies and may endorse either Sen. Robert Kennedy or Sen. Eugene McCarthy for the Democratic Presidential nomination. (AP Photo) **Inside Cover:** Ivan Uranga and Michael Thede, *Resurrection City*, Wood, Artificial Grass, Artificial Trees, Paint, 33 ½ x 12 inches, 2016, Detail **First leaf:** Susie Williams, *Paul's Letter to American Christians, Martin Luther King, Jr., 1956*, Ink, Vellum, Archival Rag, 11x4 inches, 2016 **Page 1:** *Operation Breadbasket Letter Head for Press Release, July 1966*, 2016, Archival Pigment Print, 9x9 inches **Page 4:** Ivan Uranga and Michael Thede, *Resurrection City*, Wood, Artificial Grass, Artificial Trees, Paint, 33 ½ x 12 inches, 2016 **Page 11:** P. 94, *Knock at Midnight* (1998), "The American Dream", Martin Luther King, Jr., 1965, 2016, Archival Pigment Print, 9x9 inches **Page 12:** Susie Williams, *I AM A MAN*, Ink, Vellum, Archival Rag, Cardboard 5x10 ½ inches, 2016 **Page 13:** Susie Williams, *Reconstituted Operation Bread Basket Poster, Keep A Slice of "Bread"*, Ink, Vellum, Archival Rag, Cardboard 5x10 ½ inches, 2016 **Page 14:** P. 61, "New Rights Phase Seen By Dr. King", *New York Times*, June 11, 1967, 2016, Archival Pigment Print, 9x9 inches **Page 15:** P. 4, "MLK Public Statement on the Poor People's Campaign", *December 4, 1967*, 2016, Archival Pigment Print, 9x9 inches **Page 16:** Susie Williams, *Black Welfare, White Subsidies*, Ink, Vellum, Archival Rag, Cardboard, 5x10 ½ inches, 2016 **Pages 17-18:** TOP Marian Wright, 1967 (Henry Griffin)/ Dr. Martin Luther King, 1967 (Anthony Camerano), 2016, Archival Pigment Print, 19x9 inches BOTTOM Woman, Marian Wright Edelman, Robert Kennedy, 1967 (AP Photo Staff)/ Dr. Martin Luther King, 1967 (Bettmann/Corbis/AP Images), 2016, Archival Pigment Print, 19x9 inches **Pages 19-20:** TOP Dr. Martin Luther King, 1967 (Jack Thornell)/ Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., 1968 (Horace Cort), 2016, Archival Pigment Print, 19x9 inches BOTTOM Dr. Martin Luther King, 1968 (Bettmann/Corbis / AP Images), 2016, Archival Pigment Print, 19x9 inches **Page 21:** P. 1, "Poor People's Campaign News", *Black and White Together*, March 15, 1968, 2016, Archival Pigment Print, 9x9 inches **Page 22:** PP.4-5, "SCLC Press Release, Poor People's Campaign", *Dr. King Calls for Action Against Poverty and Racism Cited in Riot Study*, March 4, 1968, 2016, Archival Pigment Print, 9x9 inches **Page 23:** Susie Williams, *Banner above Martin Luther King, Jr. during his "Mountain Top" sermon the evening prior to his assassination, Mason Temple, Memphis, April 3, 1968*, Ink, Vellum, Archival Rag, 11x4 inches, 2016 **Page 24:** Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., 1968 (AP Photo)/ *National Guardsman, Protestor 1968* (Bettmann/Corbis / AP Images)/ *Memphis Detectives, 1968* (AP Photo), 2016, Archival Pigment Print, 20x16 inches **Page 26:** *The time Martin Luther King, Jr. is pronounced dead, PST, April 4, 1968*, 2016 Archival Pigment Print, 9x9 inches **Page 27, 28, 29:** 5,000 College Students, Boston, April 5, 1968 (AP Photo)/ *Thousands, Times Square, April 5, 1968* (John Lindsay)/ *10,000 Demonstrated, Post Office Square, April 5, 1968* (AP Photo)/ *Fire-Gutted Buildings, Washington DC, April 5, 1968* (AP Photo)/ *Aerial View, Washington DC, April 5, 1968* (AP Photo)/ *Two Days After, Chicago, April 6, 1968* (AP Photo)/ *Illinois National Guard, Riot-Scarred Area, Chicago, April 6, 1968* (Bettmann/Corbis / AP Images)/ *Three Soldiers, Rubble, Washington DC, April 6, 1968* (Bettmann/Corbis / AP Images)/ *The National Guard, Washington, April 6, 1968* (AP Photo)/ *Simulated view through a gun-sight of the balcony at the Lorraine Motel where Dr. Martin Luther King was shot and killed. 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RESURRECTION CITY
May 20, 1968