

## CONTENTS

The Play  
Meet the Playwright  
Presidential Profile  
A Congress of Characters  
The Civil Rights Act of 1964  
Fight for the Future  
Three Big Questions  
Resources

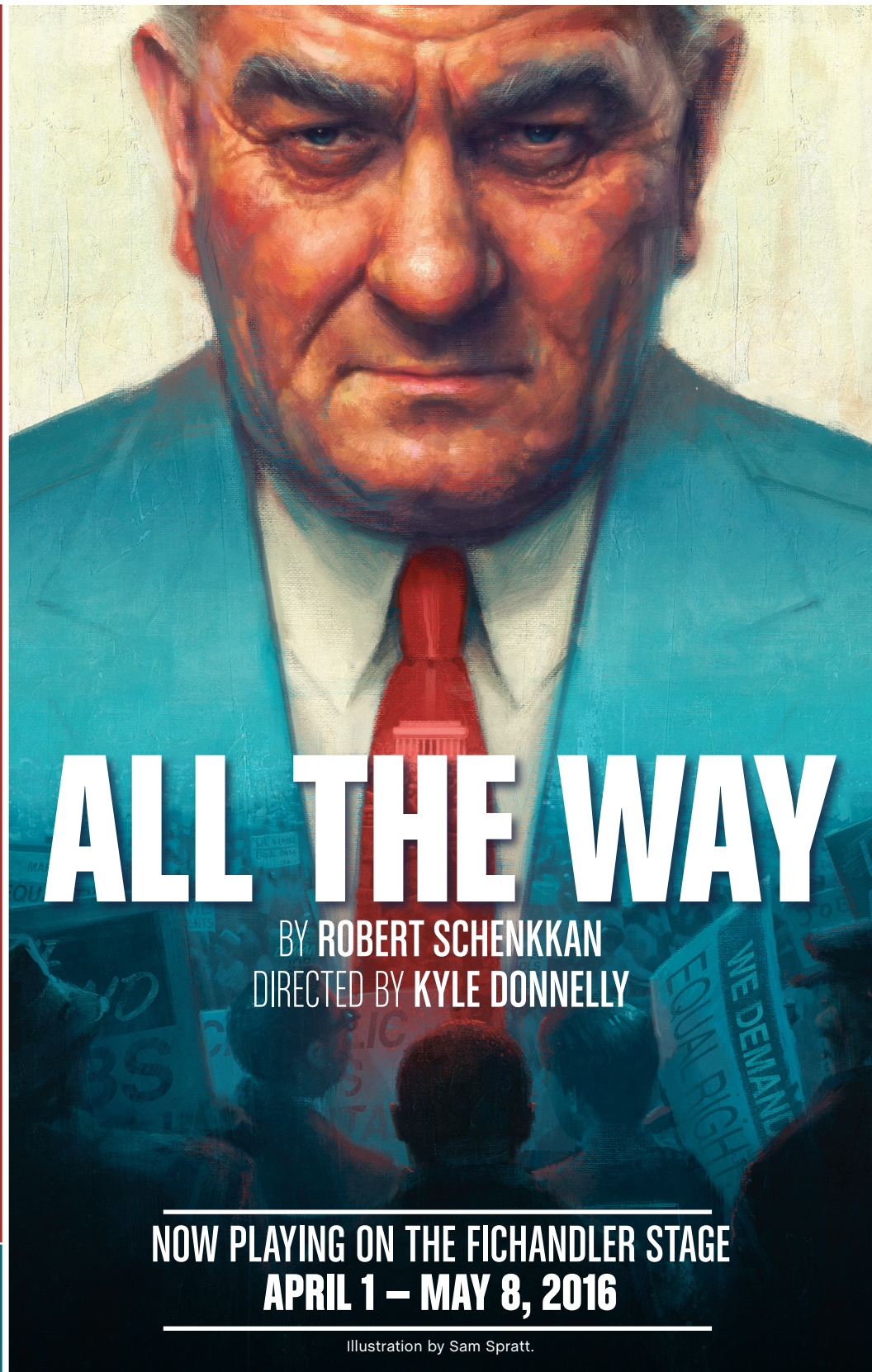
## THE PLAY

Breaking News: 1963. President John F. Kennedy has been assassinated. In this moment of crisis, **Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ)** takes the oath of office on Air Force One. Suddenly president, Johnson must restore order by proving himself a capable Commander-in-Chief.

However, Congress is ready to wage war over a radical new proposal: the Civil Rights Act of 1964. While Johnson supports the act, opponents of this revolutionary legislation will not let it pass without a fight. **Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.** becomes the president's newest passionate negotiator and collaborator.

Time is ticking. Johnson only has 11 months before the next presidential election. Determined to keep the presidency, he ruthlessly negotiates with Congress, union bosses and civil rights leaders. He must keep his conservative colleagues satisfied – like friend **Senator Richard Russell** – while forwarding the progressive ideas of liberal politicians, like potential running mate **Senator Hubert Humphrey**. If he keeps the peace in Congress, his second term is guaranteed.

Can Johnson take his presidency all the way?



# ALL THE WAY

BY ROBERT SCHENKKAN  
DIRECTED BY KYLE DONNELLY

NOW PLAYING ON THE FICHANDLER STAGE  
APRIL 1 – MAY 8, 2016

Illustration by Sam Spratt.

“IF WE DON'T ACT NOW, THIS  
OPPORTUNITY TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT  
CIVIL RIGHTS WILL DISAPPEAR FOREVER.  
ARE YOU IN, OR ARE YOU OUT?”

– Lyndon Baines Johnson, *All the Way*

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*All the Way* is generously sponsored by Altria.

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# MEET THE PLAYWRIGHT



ROBERT SCHENKKAN

“CHANGE, WHILE IT MAY NOT FEEL THAT WAY, IS CONSTANT AND INEVITABLE. THERE ARE WAYS WE EITHER EMBRACE THAT OR RESIST THAT.”

Robert Schenkkan was born in North Carolina and raised in Texas. He studied theater and discovered his passion for creating original worlds through playwriting. In 1992, Schenkkan won the Pulitzer Prize for Drama with *The Kentucky Cycle*, a 6-hour collection of plays that follows three families through 200 years of American history.

Schenkkan's interest in history led him to President Johnson, resulting in two plays: *All The Way* and *The Great Society*. Schenkkan acquired newfound admiration for the efficacy of this sometimes unpopular leader.

In 2013, *All The Way* won the Edward M. Kennedy Prize, an award for exemplary drama inspired by American history.

Schenkkan's writing has been seen on stages, TVs and movie screens across the nation.

Jack Willis, President Johnson in Arena Stage's production, was the first to play the role. On Broadway, Brian Cranston of *Breaking Bad* was Johnson. He will reprise the role on HBO.

# PRESIDENTIAL PROFILE



**Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ)** was born on August 27, 1908 into the rural poverty of Stonewall, Texas. He became a school teacher and witnessed firsthand the discrimination that his students of Mexican descent faced. While in Texas, he fell in love with and married Claudia Alta Taylor, who was later known by the loving nickname "Lady Bird" Johnson.

In 1937, Johnson became a U.S. Congressman for Texas. He served six terms, only taking a break to serve in the Navy during the initial strikes of World War II. His influence grew when he became a U.S. Senator in 1948. In 1953, he became the youngest majority leader of the Senate.

With an outstanding reputation for **bipartisanship** and forceful bargaining, Johnson ran alongside John F. Kennedy in 1960, and became the vice president. When Kennedy was assassinated in 1963, Johnson took an impromptu oath of office aboard Air Force One. He was president for the remainder of the term – a period some call "the accidental presidency."

Johnson seized the moment. He envisioned a new America, which he would later call "the Great Society." This Great Society would be a place of "abundance and liberty." Public broadcasting would unite the national voice. Federal government would declare a war on poverty. All citizens, regardless of race, would have an equal chance at success. When Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 after fighting for its ratification, many were finally

convinced of his ability to lead the country. However, the Republicans and southern Democrats remained resolutely opposed. This divide would activate a heated 1964 presidential election against conservative candidate Barry Goldwater.

Johnson won the 1964 election by a landslide and set out to build his "Great Society." In many ways, he did. During Johnson's presidency, more



Jack Willis (LBJ) and Bowman Wright (MLK) portray these leaders in *All The Way*.

than 200 major bills were passed focusing on social programs. For the first time, African Americans were appointed to the Supreme Court and presidential Cabinet. He established the Department of Housing and Urban Development. He enacted the most social progress since Roosevelt's New Deal. Despite these accomplishments, Johnson's legacy remains closely attached to the nation's problematic entry into the Vietnam War.

Johnson passed away in his hometown in 1973.

**bipartisanship** – cooperation between two political parties



July 2, 1964: Johnson offers Dr. King one of the 70+ pens just used to sign the Civil Rights Act



November 4, 1964: An African-American D.C. resident votes at Cardozo High School.

# A CONGRESS OF CHARACTERS

## SOUTHERN BLOC

Senator (D-GA)  
**RICHARD RUSSELL**  
Johnson's close friend

Senator (D-SC)  
**STROM THURMOND**

Senator (D-MS)  
**JAMES EASTLAND**

Representative (D-VA)  
**HOWARD SMITH**

Governor of Alabama  
**GEROGE WALLACE**

## JOHNSON'S INNER CIRCLE

Senator (D-MN)  
**HUBERT HUMPHREY**  
Beloved liberal politician and Johnson's  
future Vice President

The President's Aide  
**WALTER JENKINS**  
Political Advisor who Johnson  
thought of as family

FBI Director  
**J. EDGAR HOOVER**

Secretary of Defense  
**ROBERT MCNAMARA**

First Lady  
**LADY BIRD JOHNSON**

## CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS

SCLC President  
**REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.**

SCLC Vice President  
**REV. RALPH ABERNATHY**

SNCC Organizer and Activist  
**STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

Head of the SNCC  
**BOB MOSES**

SCLC Advisor  
**STANLEY LEVISON**

NAACP Executive Director  
**ROY WILKINS**

SNCC Activist and MFDP Vice Chair  
**FANNIE LOU HAMER**

Political Party -> (D-VA) <- State

SCLC: Southern Christian Leadership Conference

SNCC: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

NAACP: National Association for the Advancement  
of Colored People



Politics is more than a 2-sided battle. Choose one character that had mixed feelings about the act or Johnson's election (ex. Senator Everett Dirksen). Research the experiences, beliefs and political reasoning of your historical figure. Does your research justify the character's decisions in the play?

## THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

First proposed by President Kennedy and signed into law by President Johnson, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is considered the most significant piece of U.S. civil rights legislation since Reconstruction after the Civil War. In his first State of the Union, Johnson said, "Let this session of Congress be known as the session which did more for civil rights than the last hundred sessions combined."

Despite opposition from Republicans and southern Democrats, the bill passed the Senate 73-27. Here are some of the essential provisions of the act and states' attempts to circumvent them:

### VOTING RIGHTS

African-American voters had been actively blocked from voting through threats, laws and poll taxes. The new act prohibited unequal application of voter registration requirements. Literacy tests were instituted by many states to negate the act, discouraging citizens with less access to education from voting. Eventually, the Voting Act of 1965 and *Oregon v. Mitchell* banned these tests nationally.

### DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION AND FACILITIES

These sections outlawed discrimination in public spaces or businesses. For example, there could no longer be separate water fountains and people could not be denied service based on race. It also forwarded the desegregation of public schools. While the U.S. Attorney General had federal power to enforce these rules, a loophole was included that exempted private clubs, like country clubs, from integrating. The term "private" became loosely interpreted.

### EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

These sections outlawed discrimination in employment based on race, color, religion, sex or national origin for any business exceeding 25 people. The inclusion of women in this clause was just as divisive as the demand for racial equality.

### CREATION OF COMMISSIONS

The Civil Rights Commission was reinstated and the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission was created to oversee the act's implementation. Unfortunately, neither group had the power to enforce their rulings.

### WITHDRAWAL OF FEDERAL FUNDS

This section authorized the withdrawal of federal funds from discriminatory state programs, including schools. This small section of the act posed a huge threat to civil rights opponents and was hotly contested.

# FIGHT FOR THE FUTURE

The Civil Rights Movement conjures the image of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. delivering his “I Have a Dream” speech at the 1963 March on Washington. The movement was more complicated. With so much at stake, debate over how to gain justice for African-Americans erupted within the movement.

Dr. King and Rev. Ralph Abernathy believed in the power of non-violence. They formed the Montgomery Improvement Association in response to the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955. This organization expanded and became the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Several organizations agreed with their non-violent philosophy, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

However, a passionate younger generation demanded faster progress. Student activists refused to sit by while politicians slandered their race and bigots threatened them with violence. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized the Freedom Rides through the South. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and its chairman, Stokely Carmichael, encouraged its members to fight back. This increased militancy and pride became the foundation of the Black Power movement, a term coined by Carmichael.

However, a moment of unity came during the 1964 Democratic National Convention. Since the South refused to allow voting African-American delegates, a new political party was formed. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) united advocates from many civil rights organizations. They sent their own integrated delegation to the convention and protested.

Despite disagreement over the path to change, these activists understood the desperate need for this act and Johnson’s support.



Members of the MFDP protest the 1964 Democratic Convention. Their signs feature portraits of the three Freedom Riders recently murdered in Mississippi. Source: *Library of Congress*.

## THREE BIG QUESTIONS

1

What makes a good President?

2

What are the costs of fighting for justice?

3

What is the status of civil rights today?

# HELPFUL HINTS FOR THEATER AUDIENCES

As an audience member at the theater, YOU are part of the show! Just as you see and hear the actors onstage, they can see and hear you in the audience. To help the performers do their best, please remember the following:

- Arrive at least 15 minutes early.
- Visit the restroom before the show starts.
- Sit in the exact seat on your ticket. Ask the usher for help finding it.
- Before the show begins, turn off your phone, watch alarms and any other electronic devices. If anything rings by accident, turn it off immediately.
- Do not use your phone for texts, calls, games or pictures.
- You cannot take pictures or make recordings in the theater, even before or after the play.
- There is no food allowed in the theater.
- Do not talk, whisper, sing or hum, unless invited by the performers to do so.
- Keep your feet on the floor and off the seat in front of you.
- Avoid getting up during a show. If you must leave, wait for a scene change and exit quietly and quickly.
- Respond to the show; you can laugh, cry and gasp. However, don't repeat lines out loud or talk to the performers on stage.
- Be sure to applaud at the end!

## RESOURCES

The Dirksen Center  
<http://goo.gl/LcfeUj>

*The Great Society* by Robert Schenkkan

*The Idea Book: The Civil Rights Act of 1964*  
<http://goo.gl/yBamzB>

The Kennedy Prize  
<https://goo.gl/CivMwA>

The Johnson Presidential Library  
<http://www.Johnsonlibrary.org>

NPR: Stokely Carmichael, A philosopher...  
<http://goo.gl/tJVYl1>

PBS American Experience - Johnson  
<http://goo.gl/XoTzBX>

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