





Welcome to All the Way!

We are excited to share with you the official study guide for *All the Way*, a new political drama by Robert Schenkkan coming to Broadway in spring 2014. *All the Way* examines "accidental President" Lyndon B. Johnson's first year in office, covering his fight to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and to win election in his own right. Featuring a cast of 20 actors portraying historical figures both famous and infamous, Schenkkan's play vividly brings to life a crucial turning point in American history.

Inside this guide, you'll find a slate of articles, activities, and other resources that will help you use *All the Way* as a teaching tool to deepen students' understanding of the historic and political issues at play in 1964, as well as the process of adapting history into drama. The resources in this guide are organized into three sections, each with a unique focus: The Turning Point, covering Lyndon Johnson and the legislative process; We Shall Overcome, covering the Civil Rights Movement in the critical year of 1964; and Living History, covering the process of bringing history to the stage. Each section contains introductory articles, discussion questions, and a complete lesson plan for an activity designed to actively engage students in the material.

At the beginning of each section, you'll find a Lesson Overview with suggestions for teaching the section as a complete lesson; however, we encourage you to mix and match the resources in each section to create your own arts-integrated curriculum for *All the Way*. As always, we are more than happy to help facilitate the use of the resources in this guide – please don't hesitate to contact us if we can be helpful.

We hope to see you at the theater soon!

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Note: Some material in this guide has been adapted from study guides produced by the Oregon Shakespeare Festival and American Repertory Theater for their runs of All the Way, a website created by Columbia University Libraries/Information Services' Columbia Center for New Media Teaching and Learning after All the Way was awarded the Edward M. Kennedy Prize for Drama Inspired by American History, and from other sources. Article sources are cited where applicable; full credits can be found on page 58.

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Adapted from an article by Tom Bryant, Dramaturg.

On November 22, 1963, President John F. Kennedy is assassinated in Dallas and Lyndon Johnson takes the oath of office as president. With the country still in shock, LBJ, mindful that he is an accidental president, moves to shore up confidence in his new administration by vowing to carry on the Kennedy legacy. In an address to Congress, he dedicates himself to the passage of Kennedy's civil rights bill, which is bottled up in the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives. Liberal Democrats like Minnesota's Senator Hubert Humphrey are surprised; LBJ is best known as a consummate political operator, certainly not an idealist. Is LBJ for real?

LBJ moves to reassure Humphrey, Martin Luther King Jr., and other Civil Rights leaders - like Roy Wilkins of the NAACP - that he is serious about passing the bill. Also concerned are the bill's opponents, southern Democratic leaders like Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, Senator James Eastland of Mississippi, Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, and Representative Howard "Judge" Smith of Virginia. Their southern caucus seeks to preserve segregation at all costs and is startled that LBJ, a Texas native, has taken this stand. Senator Russell, LBJ's mentor and close friend, seeks to reassure them that LBJ is just appeasing the liberals but will "do the right thing in the end" and gut the bill just like he did with the 1957 Civil Rights Act.



Johnson meets with civil rights leaders in the White House, 1965.

What follows from January to July 1964 is a covert, intrigue-filled battle as LBJ attempts to gain the necessary votes for the bill. His way is blocked by Russell, Eastland and other senators, who hold powerful committee chairmanships and try to stall the bill. In



a series of deft maneuvers, LBJ attempts to thwart their interference. At the same time, King and other leaders in the Civil Rights Movement argue about what to do to secure voting rights, which is not a part of the civil rights bill. Activists like Bob Moses and Stokely Carmichael come up with the idea of the Freedom Summer: sending hundreds of white and African-American volunteers to Mississippi to register African-American voters. Wilkins fears a bloodbath, but King supports the idea. Unbeknownst to King, however, he has made a powerful enemy: FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, who is conducting a campaign of surveillance and harassment aimed at bringing him down.

Finally, after months of debate, negotiation, stalling, and arm-twisting, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 passes and is signed into law by President Johnson. The triumph is short-lived, however, as three Freedom Summer volunteers are found murdered. Torn over whether to continue their campaign for civil rights in the face of murder, arson, and terrorism in Mississippi, King and the other activist leaders come up with a bold plan: they will form a new party, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and send a delegation to the Democratic National Convention in 1964 with the aim of challenging the segregated southern delegations.

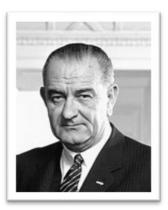
With only a few months to go before the 1964 Presidential election, LBJ turns his thoughts toward his campaign. He faces a primary challenge from segregationist Governor George Wallace of Alabama, a foreign and domestic crisis created by the Gulf of Tonkin incident in Vietnam, and a tough Republican opponent in the form of Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona. When the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City begins, he is confronted with another problem: the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), whose supporters are picketing the convention in protest of the segregated delegations of many southern states. Once again, LBJ is faced with an insurmountable problem; racial tension all over the country has risen to the point that if the MFDP delegates are not seated, King's policies of nonviolence are at risk of being abandoned in favor of a much more violent alternative. On the other hand, if the MFDP delegates are recognized, several southern delegations threaten to walk out of the convention, splitting the Democratic Party and leaving the election wide open for Goldwater. Finally, a compromise is struck, giving the MFDP two voting delegates at the convention – but at the cost of the Mississippi and Alabama delegations, who walk out.

Finally, on election night – November 3, 1964 - Lyndon Johnson wins reelection in a landslide victory. As Hoover steps up his attempts to take down King, war looms in Southeast Asia, and the Democratic Party seems to have lost the South forever, LBJ looks ahead to the challenges he'll face in the next four years of his presidency.



Wio's Wio





Lyndon Baines Johnson (1908-1973)

36th President of the United States. After a long and successful career in the House and Senate, served as John F. Kennedy's Vice President until becoming President upon JFK's assassination in 1963. During his five years as President, implemented the Great Society, a group of domestic welfare programs that aimed to eliminate poverty and racial injustice, and escalated America's involvement in the Vietnam War.

Lady Bird Johnson (1912-2007)

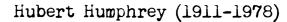
First Lady of the United States during the presidency of her husband, Lyndon B. Johnson. Bankrolled LBJ's first campaign for Congress, was the first First Lady to embark on a solo whistle-stop speaking tour (in support of the Civil Rights Act of 1964), and was a lifelong advocate for the beautification of America's cities and highways.





Walter Jenkins (1918-1985)

Top aide to Lyndon B. Johnson beginning in LBJ's days as a congressman in the 1930s. Forced to resign in 1964 due to his arrest on a "disorderly conduct" charge after being discovered with another man in a YMCA restroom.



U.S. Senator from Minnesota from 1949-1964 and 1971-1978, LBJ's Vice President from 1964-1968, and 1968 Democratic nominee for President, losing to Richard M. Nixon. Longtime leader of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.





Muriel Humphrey (1912-1998)

Wife of Senator and Vice President Hubert Humphrey from 1936 until his death in 1978. Upon his death, was appointed to finish the remainder of his term in the U.S. Senate, becoming the first female Senator from Minnesota.



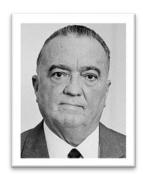


Robert McNamara (1916-2009)

Secretary of Defense under John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson from 1961-1968. Played a large role in the escalation of American involvement in the Vietnam War.

J. Edgar Hoover (1895-1972)

Director of the FBI from 1924-1972. Celebrated for founding and building the FBI and modernizing police technology and procedures; a controversial figure due to widespread accusations and evidence of overreaching his authority and employing illegal tactics, such as his harassment of civil rights leaders.





George Wallace (1919-1998)

Governor of Alabama from 1963-67, 1971-79, and 1983-87. Southern populist Democrat who ran for President four times, including challenging LBJ in the 1964 Democratic primaries on a platform of segregation.



Governor of Alabama from 1967 until her death in 1968, succeeding her husband, George, who was constitutionally barred from seeking a second consecutive term. Alabama's first, and to date, only female Governor.





Richard Russell Jr. (1897-1971)

Governor of Georgia from 1931-33, U.S. Senator from 1933-71. Founder and leader of the conservative coalition of Democrats who dominated Congress from 1937-63 and opposed the Civil Rights Movement.



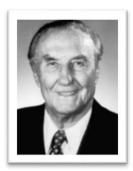


Judge Howard Smith (1883-1976)

U.S. Representative from Virginia from 1931-1967. Member of the conservative coalition of Democrats, opponent of civil rights, and Chairman of the House Rules Committee which controlled the flow of legislation in the House of Representatives.

Strom Thurmond (1902-2003)

Governor of South Carolina from 1947-51, U.S. Senator from 1954-2003. Switched from Democratic to Republican Party in 1964 due to his opposition to the liberalization of the Democratic Party. Ran for President in 1948 on a segregationist platform.





Everett Dirksen (1896-1969)

U.S. Representative from Illinois from 1933-1949, U.S. Senator from 1951-1969. Served as Senate Minority Leader from 1959-1969, and during that decade was a major voice in Republican politics and one of the Senate's strongest supporters of the war in Vietnam.

Mike Mansfield (1903-2001)

U.S. Representative from Montana from 1943-1953, U.S. Senator from 1953-1977, Ambassador to Japan from 1977-1988. After succeeding LBJ in 1961, became the longest-serving Senate Majority Leader in U.S. history (1961-1977). As the leading Senate Democrat, was a major advocate for LBJ's Great Society legislative program and a strong opponent of the war in Vietnam.





James Eastland (1904-1986)

U.S. Senator from Mississippi in 1941 and from 1943-1978. Member of the conservative coalition of Democrats and opponent of the Civil Rights Movement.



Barry Goldwater (1909-1998)

U.S. Senator from Arizona from 1953-65 and 1969-87 and the Republican nominee for President in 1964, opposing LBJ. Longtime conservative leader and, along with Ronald Reagan, often credited for sparking the resurgence of the American conservative movement in the 1960s.





Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968)

First President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and leader of the Civil Rights Movement until his assassination in 1968.

Coretta Scott King (1927-2006)

Wife of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and fellow leader in the Civil Rights Movement. After her husband's death, took on more of a leadership role in the struggle for racial equality, as well as supporting women's rights, LGBT rights, and other causes.





Bob Moses (1935-

Field Secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and chief architect of SNCC's Mississippi Project, the "Freedom Summer" of 1964.

Stokely Carmichael (1941-1998)

Civil rights activist who served as a field organizer and eventually National Chairman of SNCC. After leaving SNCC in 1967, he moved in a more radical direction, dropping his allegiance to nonviolent resistance and becoming a leader in the Black Power movement.







Roy Wilkins (1901-1981)

Civil rights activist and executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Stanley Levison (1912-1979)

Jewish businessman from New York, who was a close friend and advisor to King, and was a subject of close FBI scrutiny due to his history with the American Communist Party.





Ralph Abernathy (1926-1990)

A fellow minister and close associate of King, who was instrumental in spearheading nonviolent protests and became leader of the SCLC after King's death in 1968.

Fannie Lou Hamer (1917-1977)

Civil rights activist who was brutally beaten by police in 1963, was a leader in Mississippi's "Freedom Summer", and was a major figure in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's challenge of LBJ at the 1964 Demcratic convention.





TIMELINE OF EVENTS

This article originally appeared in the All the Way Educational Toolkit prepared by the ART Education Staff.

11/22/1963: President John F. Kennedy is assassinated. Lyndon B. Johnson becomes president. He has one year until he must face election on his own.

11/27/1963: In his first address to a joint session of Congress, LBJ vows he will pass JFK's civil rights bill, which had been stalled in committee in the House of Representatives.

February 1964: The civil rights bill is released from Judge Howard Smith's House Rules Committee and passes the House of Representatives by a vote of 290 to 130. The bill moves to the Senate, where segregationist southern Senators led by Richard Russell delay it with committee maneuvers and then mount a filibuster to block its adoption.

February 1964: Frustrated with the lack of progress on voting rights for African-Americans, civil rights organizations plan the "Freedom Summer" to register voters in Mississippi.

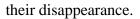
April - December 1964: FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover mounts a smear campaign against Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to undermine King and the Civil Rights Movement.

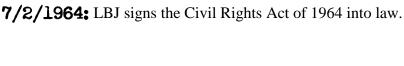
April - May 1964: Alabama Governor George Wallace gets 30% of the vote in the northern Democratic primaries of Wisconsin, Indiana and Maryland. This puts pressure on LBJ to placate segregationist concerns.

6/10/1964: The Senate votes to end the filibuster and allow the civil rights bill to go forward. This is the first time in history that the Senate votes to break a filibuster on a civil rights bill.

6/19/1964: By a vote of 73-27, the Senate votes to pass the civil rights bill.

6/21/1964: Three Freedom Summer civil rights workers in Mississippi, Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Andrew Goodman, go missing. LBJ moves to investigate





7/13/1964: Conservative Senator Barry Goldwater is chosen as the Republican candidate for President. This marks a historic shift to the right by the GOP.

8/2/1964: The *U.S.S. Maddox* engages three North Vietnamese torpedo boats in the Gulf of Tonkin off the coast of North Vietnam.

8/4/1964: The *U.S.S. Maddox* is involved in another incident in the Gulf of Tonkin; conflicting visual and electronic reports leave doubt as to whether any Vietnamese ships were present.

8/4/1964: The bodies of the three murdered civil rights workers are discovered buried on a farm in Mississippi.

8/7/1964: In response to the incidents on August 2 and 4, Congress passes the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which grants LBJ broad powers to escalate America's involvement in the war in Vietnam.

8/21/1964: At the Democratic Convention, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party attempts to seat African-American delegates instead of an all-white delegation. This results in the threat of a walkout by southern delegates.

10/7/1964: Martin Luther King wins the Nobel Peace Prize. This results in an escalation of J. Edgar Hoover's campaign against King.

11/3/1964: LBJ defeats Goldwater by 16 million votes. While LBJ's 61.1% of the popular vote is the largest percentage in history, Goldwater wins five states in the historically Democratic "Solid South", signaling a shift in party alignment there that has endured to this day.



Unit le The Turning Point LESSON OVERVIEW

Grade Level: 9-12

THE TURNING POINT focuses on the early life and career of Lyndon Johnson, as well as the difficulties that he faced ushering the Civil Rights Act of 1964 through Congress. In this lesson, students will familiarize themselves with Johnson's career before the events portrayed in All the Way, and will get the chance to try their hand at passing their own legislation.

LBJ at the Turning Point

Have your students read LBJ at the Turning Point, an article written by dramaturg Tom Bryant, and answer the discussion questions that follow. This can be done in class if time permits, or can be assigned for homework.

ACTIVITY: The Legislative Process

Using the lesson plan provided on page 16, guide your students through *The Legislative* Process, an activity designed to fully engage students in the research, proposal, and passage of new laws. We recommend spending a minimum of two class periods on this activity.

Connections to Guiding Principles:

NYS Social Studies Standard 1: History of the United States and New York

Key Ideas 1, 2, 3, 4

NYS Social Studies Standard 5: Civics, Citizenship, and Government

Key Ideas 1, 2, 3, 4

LBI AT THE TURNING POINT

Adapted from an article by Tom Bryant, Dramaturg

During Lyndon Johnson's presidency, he would pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the slate of Great Society programs that would do more to alleviate poverty in America than any other legislation in American history. But looking at the career of Lyndon Johnson, one is faced with a central irony: that the man who would become the champion of the disadvantaged was mainly known prior to his presidency as one of the slickest, most pragmatic operators in the history of American government. As Johnson's biographer Robert Caro observed: "Johnson's ambition was uncommon—in the degree to which it was unencumbered by even the slightest excess weight of ideology, of philosophy, of principles, of beliefs." But he was far more complicated and conflicted than that, as his presidency would eventually show.

Early Years

Born in poverty in rural Texas, Johnson's father was a struggling businessman who passed on to him a belief in the values of business acumen and entrepreneurial spirit. His father also served six terms in the Texas state legislature, and Johnson often accompanied him on his campaigns and on trips to the state capital in Austin, observing firsthand the intrigue behind the processes of government. His mother, on the other hand, tried to impress upon him the value of ideals and progressive thinking. Johnson worked hard to put himself through Southwest Texas State Teacher's College, and for nine months in 1928 and 1929 earned money through a job teaching Mexican-American children at the segregated Welhausen School in Cotulla, Texas, some ninety miles south of San Antonio. After having signed the Higher Education Act of 1965, Johnson looked back at his experience as a teacher:

"I shall never forget the faces of the boys and the girls in that little Welhausen Mexican School, and I remember even yet the pain of realizing and knowing then that college was



Johnson (center) and his Welhausen School classes, 1928.

closed to practically every one of those children because they were too poor. And I think it was then that I made up my mind that this nation could never rest while the door to knowledge remained closed to any American."



House and Senate Career

After briefly continuing to teach after leaving college, Johnson decided to enter the political arena, first serving as legislative aid to Texas Congressman Richard Kleberg. In this position, Johnson began to develop his formidable legislative skills, and to cultivate a network of friends and supporters, including becoming a surrogate son to future Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn. Johnson's ambition eventually led him to seek elected office in his own right, and he was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1937. He became an assiduous courtier of the powerful; in addition to his close friendship with Rayburn, he became an ally of President Franklin Roosevelt. He soon showed that he could be

extremely effective politically, helping to pass a rural electrification bill that for the first time brought power into several parts of rural Texas, doing much to alleviate poverty in those areas.

After a failed run for the US Senate in 1941, Johnson tried again in 1948 in a hotly contested election. After none of the three candidates in the Democratic primary managed to gain a majority, a runoff was held,



Johnson (center) during his first campaign for U.S. Senate, 1941.

the results of which were hotly contested and controversial. The Democratic State Central Committee eventually voted, by a 29-28 margin, to certify Johnson's victory despite widespread accusations of fraud on several sides, and Johnson handily won the general election in November. After his close and disputed victory in the primary, however, Johnson was tagged with the moniker "Landslide Lyndon," a label that he often joked about.

In his time as a freshman Senator, Johnson continued his habit of courting more senior politicians, especially Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, who Lyndon often referred to as his "Uncle Dick". Russell was an ardent, if diplomatic, segregationist, and the leader of the conservative coalition who had been preventing any change in federal civil rights laws. After a series of expedient political moves, and thanks in no small part to his relationships with powerful mentor figures like Russell, in 1953 Johnson was elected Minority Leader by his fellow Democrats. Johnson was the least senior Senator ever elected to this position, and when the Democrats took control of the Senate in the 1954 election, he became the youngest Majority Leader in the history of the Senate.



As Majority Leader, Johnson had the formal responsibility of scheduling legislation, and the informal one of leading Senate Democrats in their efforts to secure their agenda. Johnson became, by historical consensus, the most powerful and effective Senate Majority Leader in history. In addition to an unparalleled knowledge of fellow Senators' beliefs, goals, strengths, and weaknesses, Johnson had a legendary ability to influence and persuade people into doing what he wanted. His favorite tactic, called the "Johnson treatment", was described by journalists Robert Novak and Rowland Evans in their book Lyndon Johnson: The Exercise of Power:

"The Treatment could last ten minutes or four hours. It came, enveloping its target, at the Johnson Ranch swimming pool, in one of Johnson's offices, in the Senate cloakroom, on the floor of the Senate itself — wherever Johnson might find a fellow Senator within his reach. Its tone could be supplication, accusation, cajolery, exuberance, scorn, tears, complaint and the hint of threat. It was all of these together. It ran the gamut of human emotions. Its velocity was breathtaking, and it was all in one direction. Interjections from the target were rare. Johnson anticipated them before they could be spoken. He moved in close, his face a scant millimeter from his target, his eyes widening and narrowing, his eyebrows rising and falling. From his pockets poured clippings, memos, statistics. Mimicry, humor, and the genius of analogy made 'The Treatment' an almost hypnotic experience and rendered the target stunned and helpless."

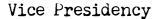


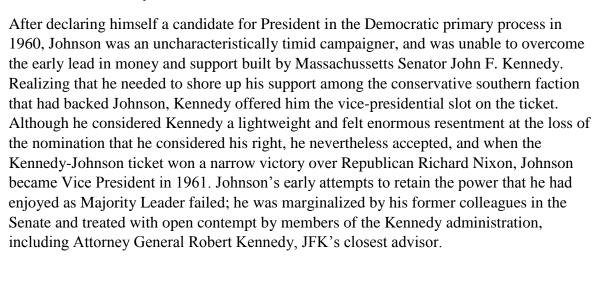
LBJ applying the Johnson Treatment to civil rights leader Whitney Young, 1966.

Despite his status as one of the most powerful congressmen in history, Johnson had higher ambitions: to be President of the United States. In addition to his conservative southern base, he also courted liberal members of the Senate like Minnesota Senator Hubert Humphrey, and tried to win their confidence by passing legislation supportive of their goals whenever possible. Although Johnson voted against every piece of civil rights legislation that came up during his first twenty years in Congress, he shifted his position in 1957, taking responsibility for and passing the bill that became the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Johnson managed to gain both goodwill from Senate liberals for undertaking to pass it - the first such legislation since Reconstruction and approval from Senate segregationists for greatly weakening it. In the end though, many liberals felt that under Johnson's leadership. the bill was watered down to such an extent that

it was virtually useless in enforcing any civil rights progress in the South. As Roy Wilkins, the head of the NAACP, described Johnson's handling of the bill:

"By the time he was done with it there was less to it than the shadow of a crow that had died of starvation."





LBJ Becomes President

With just under a year remaining in his first term, President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963. Instantly, Johnson was thrust from a powerless and largely ceremonial position into the highest office in the land. In his first State of the Union address in January 1964, Johnson committed himself to carrying on Kennedy's legacy, including calling for the passage of the civil rights bill Kennedy had

introduced in 1963.

When Johnson became president, many in the Civil Rights Movement and in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party held out little hope that he would pursue with any avidity the goal of civil rights. Few knew much about Lyndon Johnson and his personal beliefs, outside of his general support for Roosevelt's New Deal policies, and many were unsure what he



LBJ takes the Presidential oath of office, November 22, 1963.

would do with the full powers of the presidency at his disposal. Johnson had always displayed a genuine desire to better the lot of America's disadvantaged, but had heretofore been known for his pragmatic pursuit of personal success and power. When Johnson assumed the presidency, it was unclear which of these impulses he would favor – and it is that period that All the Way illuminates.





LBJ at the Turning Point: DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

- 1. What are some ways in which Johnson's early life and upbringing were reflected in his later political career?
- 2. After Johnson was defeated by Kennedy in the primaries for the 1960 Democratic nomination, Kennedy and his advisors considered several possible choices for the vice-presidential slot on the ticket. What are some of the factors that presidential nominees consider when choosing vicepresidential nominees? What are some of the advantages and disadvantages that came from choosing Johnson?
- 3. Lyndon Johnson assumed the presidency after the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963. What are some of the unique challenges Johnson had to face by becoming president through the death of his predecessor rather than through election in his own right?

THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS LESSON PLAN

Grade Level: 9-12

Purpose:

A large part of All the Way focuses on the Civil Rights Act of 1964's rocky path through Congress as LBJ and his allies fought for its passage. This lesson focuses on the legislative process of how a bill becomes a law. It should supplement students' prior knowledge of the structure of Congress and the process of legislation.

Objectives:

After completing this activity, students will have a practical understanding of the congressional system and legislation, encompassing researching an issue, brainstorming a solution, preparing a persuasive argument for that solution, engaging in dialogue and informal negotiation with fellow student-legislators in an attempt to pass their "bill", and understanding some of the various factors that members of Congress must weigh when considering new laws.

Time Needed: 2-3 class periods.

Materials:

Copies of all required worksheets and discussion questions are included in the All the Way study guide.

Procedure:

1. A week in advance of the in-class portion of this activity, divide your class into four groups and randomly assign each group to portray one of four Committees, each of which will be responsible for researching and legislating about an issue within their jurisdiction. The Committee on Health will consider legislation on the legalization of medical marijuana; the Committee on Energy & Commerce will consider legislation on internet privacy and censorship; the Committee on the Judiciary will consider legislation on mandatory sentencing; and the Committee on Government Reform will consider legislation on campaign finance reform.



- 2. Distribute the appropriate Committee Briefing to each student. The Committee Briefings will help guide them as they research and prepare for the rest of the activity. Over the next week, each student should research their issue and complete their Committee Briefing.
- 3. In class, divide your students into their committees, and have each committee choose a chairperson. Ask for volunteers; if multiple members of a committee volunteer, have the committee vote for a chairperson. The chairperson will be in charge of assigning tasks within the group.
- 4. Each committee will be responsible for writing a bill addressing their issue. Using their Committee Briefing sheets, each student should present their ideas for bills to the rest of the committee. After each student has presented, the committee chairperson should moderate as the committee discusses which idea or ideas should be incorporated into the committee's bill. If the committee is unable to come to an agreement on something, the committee chairperson can call a majority vote of the committee to decide the issue.
- 5. Have each committee use the Writing Your Bill sheet on page 23 to prepare their bill. Each bill should contain at least 3-5 substantive ideas or suggestions relating to the bill's topic. An example bill is included.
- 6. Each committee should prepare a five-minute presentation to the class about their bill. This presentation can include background on their issue, a brief explanation of each point in their bill, and reasoning as to why each point should be adopted. Every student should participate in their committee's presentation – it isn't a job for the chairperson alone!
- 6. Have each committee present their proposal to the class, followed by brief class discussion about that proposal. Acting as the "Speaker," moderate discussion. Members of the class may ask questions, make suggestions, or state why they support or oppose the committee's proposals.
- 7. After each "bill" has been presented and discussed, each committee should meet a second time. At this time, the committees should discuss and decide whether or not they want to amend their bill based on the comments and suggestions made by the rest of the class. They are under no obligation to do so! Remind students that there are a number of factors to consider when amending their bill – they must weigh the likelihood of their bill's passage, their individual views on the strengths and weaknesses of their bills, and so on.
- 8. After the discussion period is over, have each committee chairperson announce whether



there have been any changes made to their committee's bills, and briefly summarize their final bill's proposals. At this point, students should fill out an entry on their Ballot (page 24) for each of the final bills, noting the proposals of each, and recording their vote on the bill.

Note: Explain to the students that they may use whatever criteria they like to decide their vote - their personal feelings on the issue, the presentations of each committee, etc - but unlike real Congressmen, they will have to explain their motivations!

- 9. Ask the students to close their eyes and, through a show of hands, indicate how they voted for each bill. Announce whether each bill passed.
- 10. For homework, have students respond to the discussion questions found on page 25.

Evaluation:

Students should be graded based on their responses to the Committee Briefing and the Debrief questions, as well as their participation in their committee's bill writing and presentation. Students whose committee's bill passes should be awarded extra credit points. (Make sure your students are aware of this at the beginning of the activity – it may affect the writing of their bill!)

Committee on Health

Marijuana policy has a long and much-debated history in the United States. Under federal law, marijuana is classified as a Schedule I controlled substance and is illegal to possess, use, or distribute. However, state and local laws on enforcement and punishment vary, and range from mandatory jail time and fines for possession of any amount of marijuana to legal recreational use of the drug. Many of these laws conflict with federal law on the issue, but federal law has been inconsistently enforced.

As a member of the Committee on Health, your bill will consider the issue of medical marijuana. Should marijuana be federally legalized for medical use? Should it remain illegal? Should the government direct further research on the issue? How will your chosen policy be implemented? There is a huge amount of information available on this issue; answer the following questions and use them to guide your research.

- 1. Medical marijuana is currently legal in 20 U.S. states and the District of Columbia. Pick two states where medical use is legal, and two where it is not, and briefly summarize each state's laws on the issue.
- 2. What do you see as the three most important questions about the legalization of medical marijuana? Write down your questions and then research their answers.
- 3. List three arguments for the legalization of medical marijuana.
- 4. List three arguments against the legalization of medical marijuana.
- 5. Print out three recent news articles about medical legalization, and bring them to class with you.
- 6. Based on your research, list three elements you would like to see included in a bill about medical marijuana, and briefly summarize why you think each element is important. Which of these points are you most passionate about? Which are you least passionate about?
- 7. List three sources that you used to research your answers to these questions.

Bring this Briefing, your answers to the questions, and your three articles to class with you - you'll need them for the second part of this activity.

Committee on Energy and Commerce

The rise of the internet in the late 1990s and early 2000s raised many new issues for America, and one of the biggest is a citizen's right to privacy in an online world. After 9/11, legislation was passed that many claimed allows the government to violate that right in an attempt to protect its citizens. Revelations by whistleblowers like Edward Snowden have given the public new insight into the government's ability to monitor online activity.

As a member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce, you will be addressing the issue of **internet privacy**. Should the government have the right to monitor its citizens' use of the internet? How far should that right extend? Should oversight of such a program come from within the federal government, and if so, which branch or agency? How should your chosen policy be implemented? There is a huge amount of information available on this issue; answer the following questions and use them to guide your research.

- 1. Where is a citizen's right to privacy defined in the Constitution? Are there specific guarantees?
- 2. What do you see as the three most important questions about internet privacy? Write down your questions and then research your answers.
- 3. List three arguments for why the federal government should be allowed to monitor your online activity.
- 4. List three arguments for why the federal government should not be allowed to monitor your online activity.
- 5. Print out three recent articles about the issue of internet privacy, and bring them to class with you.
- 6. Based on your research, list three elements you would like to see included in a bill about internet privacy, and briefly summarize why you think each element is important. Which of these points are you most passionate about? Which are you least passionate about?
- 7. List three sources that you used to research your answers to these questions.

Bring this Briefing, your answers to the questions, and your three articles to class with you – you'll need them for the second part of this activity.

Committee on the Judiciary

In both the federal and state court systems, judges have wide discretionary power to make decisions about many aspects of the cases they hear. When someone is convicted of a criminal offense, it is up to the judge to decide that person's punishment, ranging from a "slap on the wrist" like a small fine to life in prison or even death. For some offenses, sentencing guidelines exist which judges may choose to follow; however, many offenses have statutory minimum sentences. For example, in New York State, possession of more than 4 oz of a hard drug carries a mandatory minimum sentence of 15 years in prison. California's famous "three strikes" law is an example of a mandatory minimum sentence – in California, once a defendant is convicted of a third felony, the law requires a minimum term of 25 years in prison.

As a member of the **Committee on the Judiciary**, you will consider legislation on **mandatory sentencing**. Does mandatory sentencing help deter crime? Is it fair to criminals, or is it a violation of the Constitution's protection against cruel and unusual punishment? Should certain types of offenses carry mandatory sentences while others do not? There is a huge amount of information available on this issue; answer the following questions and use them to guide your research.

- 1. When were federal mandatory minimum sentences first introduced in the United States? What is name of the current set of rules governing minimum federal sentences, and what areas does it cover?
- 2. What do you see as the three most important questions about mandatory sentencing? Write down your questions and then research your answers.
- 3. List three arguments in favor of mandatory sentencing guidelines.
- 4. List three arguments in opposition to mandatory sentencing guidelines.
- 5. Print out three recent articles about the issue of mandatory sentencing, and bring them to class with you.
- 6. Based on your research, list three elements you would like to see included in a bill about mandatory sentencing, and briefly summarize why you think each element is important. Which of these points are you most passionate about? Which are you least passionate about?
- 7. List three sources that you used to research your answers to these questions.

Bring this Briefing, your answers to the questions, and your three articles to class with you – you'll need them for the second part of this activity.

Committee on Government Reform

Throughout the history of the United States, there has been controversy about the role of money in political campaigns. In 1972, Congress passed the Federal Election Campaign Act, the first serious attempt at campaign finance reform, which required candidates to disclose information about their campaign contributions and spending. Federal law mandates limits on "hard money," or direct donations to political campaigns – individuals may donate up to \$2,000, and political action committees may donate up to \$5,000. However, so-called "soft money," which is defined as a contribution that is not accounted toward a specific candidate's campaign, is much less regulated. For example, there is no limit on the amount that a PAC may contribute to a political party for "get out the vote" efforts – which, naturally, benefit that party's candidate, without being a direct donation to their campaign. In 2010, the Supreme Court decision *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* ruled that the government may not restrict corporations, unions, and associations from spending money to support or oppose specific candidates, as it would be a violation of free speech.

As a member of the **Committee on Government Reform**, you will consider legislation on **campaign finance reform**. Should individuals, corporations, and other organizations have limits on how much they can contribute to political campaigns? How should "hard" and "soft" money be regulated, if at all? Should there be rules about how and where campaigns can spend the money they raise, and how they can interact with PACs and other groups?

- 1. Three major developments in campaign finance reform occurred in 1972, 2002, and 2010. List the three events and briefly describe the changes that each made to federal election rules.
- 2. What do you see as the three most important questions about campaign financing? Write down your questions and then research your answers.
- 3. List three arguments in favor of campaign finance reform.
- 4. List three arguments in opposition to campaign finance reform.
- 5. Print out three recent articles about the issue of campaign finance reform, and bring them to class with you.
- 6. Based on your research, list three elements you would like to see included in a bill about campaign finance reform, and briefly summarize why you think each element is important. Which of these points are you most passionate about? Which are you least passionate about?
- 7. List three sources that you used to research your answers to these questions.

Bring this Briefing, your answers to the questions, and your three articles to class with you – you'll need them for the second part of this activity.

Writing Your Bill

Your bill should consist of two parts: a Preamble and a Body. The Preamble should provide the reasoning for your bill – why should the government address your issue? What are the problems your bill is seeking to improve? The Body of your bill is where you list the provisions your committee decided on. Your bill should include at least 3-5 provisions; the issues you have been researching are complex, and should not be reduced to a simple "yes" or "no" vote. It's not enough to simply declare something legal or illegal – your bill should address the implementation of your solution as well.

Below, you can see a sample bill called the Freedom to Farm Act, which deals with federal agriculture subsidies.



THE FREEDOM TO FARM ACT

Preamble: Whereas significant money has been appropriated to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) over the past seven years for subsidies, and since 10% of the total USDA subsidy payment recipients were paid 65% of the total USDA subsidies in 2002, and since subsidized farm operations drove small farmers off their land to cause a 15% decline in the number of farmers from 1987 to 1997:

- 1. Individual farmers, farming corporations, or corporate entities shall not receive subsidies if that person or entity makes less than 80% of their income from agricultural operations.
- 2. There shall be a limit of total subsidies per person per year of \$150,000.
- 3. A farming commission shall be created by the USDA to assess:
- The concentration of the subsidy payments.
- How subsidies influence productivity.
- The influence of subsidies on rural poverty, agricultural growth, and foreign trade.

Sample bill text: Princeton Model Congress, http://pmc.princeton.edu/



For each final Bill, fill out your ballot below.

BILL NAME:

PROPOSALS:

YOUR VOTE Yes / No



The Legislative Process:

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

- 1. For each final bill that you voted on, explain why you voted yes or no. Which factors did you weigh in your decision? Do these factors apply when real Congressmen consider legislation?
- 2. What are some factors that Congressmen must consider that didn't come into play in this activity?
- 3. Think back to the three initial presentations that you heard from the other committees. How did the presentations affect your views on the issues described? What were the two most compelling arguments that you heard? What were the two least compelling arguments?
- 4. Describe your experience working with your committee. Did you find it easy for your group to work together to decide on a bill? Why or why not? Do you think these reasons apply to Congressmen from different parties attempting to work together? Why or why not?
- 5. What do you see as the single biggest obstacle that keeps members of different parties from working together? Can you think of a way around this problem?

Unit II: WE SHALL OVERGOME LESSON OVERVIEW

Grade Level: 9-12

WE SHALL OVERCOME focuses on the Civil Rights Movement of the post-World War II era. In this lesson, students will review the history of the movement before 1964, and will analyze and discuss the public debates over Martin Luther King Jr.'s strategy of employing civil disobedience as the movement's primary weapon.

Setting the Scene: The Civil Rights Movement in 1964

This article is intended to supplement students' prior knowledge of the Civil Rights Movement and to re-familiarize them with its key developments up to 1964. Have your students read Setting the Scene: The Civil Rights Movement in 1964, and answer the discussion questions that follow. This can be done in class if time permits, or can be assigned for homework.

ACTIVITY: In Their Own Words

Using the lesson plan provided on page 33, guide your students through *In Their Own* Words, an activity designed to give students a deeper understanding of Martin Luther King Jr.'s views on and advocacy of nonviolent civil disobedience as the movement's primary tactic for achieving social change. This activity includes both in-class discussion topics and discussion questions to be assigned for homework, but can be done entirely in class or for homework as necessary.

Connections to Guiding Principles:

NYS Social Studies Standard 1: History of the United States and New York

Key Ideas 1, 2, 3, 4

NYS Social Studies Standard 1: History of the United States and New York

Key Ideas 1, 2, 3, 4

NYS P-12 Common Core Standards for English/Language Arts

CCR Anchor Standards 1-6, 8-10

SETTING THE SCENE: THE CIVIL BIGHTS MOVEMENT IN 1954

A Jim Crow Society

In 1865, at the end of the Civil War, the defeated South lay in ruins. Four years of war had devastated the southern states' economy and infrastructure, and the emancipation of the slaves on which the southern system had depended meant that the process of rebuilding had to start nearly from scratch. The question of how best to rebuild the south, and how to go about readmitting and reconsolidating the seceded states, was hotly debated throughout the federal government. Moderates like Abraham Lincoln and his successor as President, Andrew Johnson, favored a lenient approach. However, the election of 1866 gave radical Republicans a firm majority in Congress, which promptly established military districts to govern the South and embarked on a more aggressive plan for Reconstruction. One element of that plan concerned the status of the nearly four million newly-freed African-Americans living in the South at the end of the war. The federal government was quick to pass legislation protecting the rights of African-Americans, including adopting the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution; these acts, known as the Reconstruction Amendments, outlawed slavery, gave African-Americans the right to vote, and guaranteed due process of law, full citizenship, and equal protection under the law. These measures were quite effective; in the hotly-contested 1868 presidential election, nearly 700,000 black voters cast ballots.

However, these advancements were short-lived. As conservative southern Democrats began to regain control of the southern state governments in the 1870s, a series of legislative barriers were erected with the aim of denying African-Americans the rights guaranteed to them by the Reconstruction Amendments. Poll taxes that the vast majority of African-Americans couldn't afford were levied, literacy tests were used to keep the illiterate from casting ballots, and residency requirements, rule variations, comprehension tests, and a host of other measures were adopted. The various laws, which came to be known as "Jim Crow" laws, were purposefully complex and difficult to understand, often applied unfairly between whites and blacks, and extremely effective at reducing the black vote in the south to virtually nothing. With black voting power neutralized, the conservative Democratic state governments were free to pass further measures which led to institutionalized segregation and ensured that African-Americans remained powerless to improve their position.

"Separate But Equal"

By the end of the 19th century, Jim Crow laws had become institutionalized throughout the south, with many states going so far as to amend their state constitutions to codify the exclusion of African-Americans. In addition to the denial of voting rights, other forms of discrimination had also become the norm, either through law or custom. In many areas of public life, blacks and whites were segregated, with African-Americans attending different (and lower-quality) schools, restaurants, movie theaters, and other institutions. Job



discrimination was prevalent, with many jobs being restricted to white applicants only, and African-Americans were paid less for the same work on the occasions when jobs were not entirely segregated. Neighborhood segregation was enforced, keeping blacks and whites in separate areas of town, and violence and legal intimidation ran rampant, with many African-Americans unable to secure fair trials due to witness intimidation, all-white juries, and even the occasional case of lynch mobs taking the law into their own hands.

Early attempts to challenge this way of life were blocked at every turn. Low-level attempts were often stamped out by intimidation and violence, but on the rare occasion when such efforts reached higher levels of government, they were easily defeated by the solid Democratic voting bloc in the Senate and House of Representatives. The Senate's procedural rules made it possible for a strong minority to table or filibuster legislation to keep it from passing, and a number of southern Senators held powerful committee chairmanships that made the task of stonewalling civil rights legislation even easier. One of the most high-profile challenges came in 1896, after a mixed-race man named Homer Plessy was arrested and jailed for refusing to leave the whites-only car of a train in New Orleans. His case reached the Supreme Court of the United States, and in a 7-1 decision, the Supreme Court ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that state laws requiring racial segregation were constitutional as long as the facilities provided were of equal quality. Despite the obvious and state-ensured differences in quality between white and black facilities, the doctrine of "separate but equal" became the legal standard of the United States for the next 58 years.

Post-World War II

Between the 1890s and the end of World War II, conditions for African-Americans remained largely the same, and the population of African-Americans in the South declined measurably as thousands upon thousands left for better economic and social prospects in the north and west - a movement that became known as the Great Migration. After the war, however, a marked shift in the nation's thinking began – a shift that, for the first time, made serious advancements for African-Americans possible.



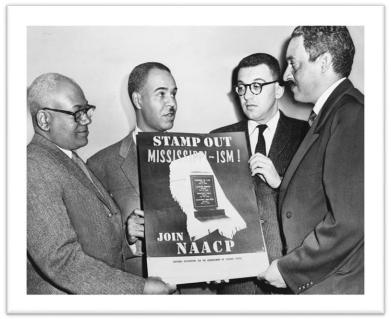
Members of the "Tuskegee Airmen", a segregated unit of military aviators, in Italy, 1945.



A number of factors contributed to the increasingly favorable environment for civil rights. Over 125,000 African-Americans served overseas in World War II; while these servicemen were segregated from whites into all-black units, a number of these units distinguished themselves in combat, gathering attention at home. These high-profile examples of African-Americans bravely serving their country focused attention on the segregated nature of the armed forces, and in 1948, President Truman signed an executive order integrating all branches of the military. Several other factors contributed as well; African-American servicemen, having been exposed to greater tolerance in Europe and having risked their lives for their country, returned with a greater determination to secure their rights at home, and the universally horrified reaction to news of the treatment of Jews in Nazi Germany significantly softened and improved many white Americans' views toward civil rights. With the the African-American community newly energized and the views of other Americans gradually evolving, the moment seemed ripe for change.

Brown v. Board of Education

In the early years of the Civil Rights Movement, the most common tactic for fighting segregation and disenfranchisement was by challenging the unjust laws through litigation in the court system. This strategy was primarily developed and propagated by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), an organization that had been formed in 1909 and had been pursuing courtdispensed justice ever since. Over the years, they had managed to win several small, incremental victories,



NAACP leaders (from l.) Henry Moon, Roy Wilkins, Herbert Hill, and Thurgood Marshall, Mississippi, 1956.

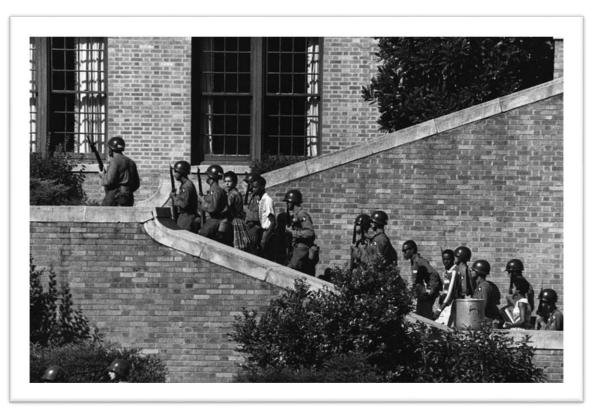
but it wasn't until 1954 that the first major blow for civil rights was struck.

In 1951, a class-action lawsuit was filed against the school board of Topeka, Kansas, by thirteen black parents who challenged the board's policy of segregated schools. The District Court, in accordance with the precedent set by *Plessy v. Ferguson*, ruled in favor of the school board, but in 1953 the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case. The case was argued by an NAACP legal team headed by future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, and on May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court voted unanimously to overturn Plessy v. Ferguson and ban segregation in public schools.

Supporters of segregation did not take this defeat lying down. While many areas of the south accepted the Supreme Court's order, many others vowed to fight integration at every turn. U.S. Senator Harry F. Byrd Sr. declared a policy of "massive resistance," which took



a number of different forms across the South – in one example, the Virginia state legislature passed a law defunding any integrated school. The NAACP and other organizations were forced to bring further lawsuits all over the South, and in many areas desegregation took years to arrive. In 1957, President Dwight D. Eisenhower was forced to send in units of the U.S. Army's 101st Airborne Division to forcibly integrate Little Rock Central High School in Arkansas after Governor Orval Faubus called out the National Guard to bar nine black students from entering.



Soldiers of the 101st Airborne escort nine black students into the formerly all-white Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, 1957.

Post-Brown: Martin Luther King Jr. and Civil Disobedience

After *Brown* struck the first major blow against segregation in 1954, the Civil Rights Movement was radically energized, and a number of organizations like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC or "Snick"), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) redoubled their efforts for change. However, many civil rights activists, seeing how determined southern society was to resist civil rights – even going so far as to defy the Supreme Court - were rapidly losing faith in the court system as the best way to effect change. The idea of civil disobedience, or the refusal to comply with unjust laws, had proven extremely effective in Mohandas Gandhi's campaign for Indian nationalism, and many civil rights leaders saw it as their best hope for achieving equality. One such leader was Martin Luther King Jr., and when in 1955 a woman named Rosa Parks refused to give her seat on a segregated public bus to a white man in Birmingham, Alabama, this theory was put to a



test. King and a coalition of African-American leaders directed a social and political protest in Birmingham centered around a boycott of the buses. Despite violence against the protesters, including the firebombing of four black churches, and the jailing of many of the boycott's leaders, including King, the boycott proved successful and brought national attention to the cause of desegregation.

In the wake of the success in Montgomery, a number of other protests were organized in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Sit-ins in Nashville, TN, Greensboro, NC, and Atlanta, GA saw students seeking to integrate public accommodations like lunch counters, and in 1961, CORE organized a group of "Freedom Riders" who rode buses into the south to test bans on segregated interstate travel. Often these protests were met with violence – in one instance in Birmingham, AL, in 1961, Public Safety Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor allowed members of the Ku Klux Klan to savagely beat a group of Freedom Riders for fifteen minutes before coming to their aid.

Kennedy, Johnson, and the Turning Point

By 1963, while incremental progress had been made for civil rights, the struggle was still very much ongoing. In early 1963, Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders organized a protest in Birmingham, Alabama, in an attempt to draw attention to the desegregation efforts there. The boycott essentially shut down the city, and was met with increasingly violent tactics by Bull Connor, now the city's chief of police. Protesters were arrested by the thousands, and dogs and fire hoses were turned on the crowd to disperse them. The principles of nonviolent resistence were sorely tested, and when Ku Klux Klan bombers targeted King and his brother on the night of May 11, 1963, the city erupted in a riot. Angry African-American protesters attacked policemen, and many houses and cars were set on fire, eventually causing President John F. Kennedy to send in 3,000 federal troops to restore order.

As 1963 came to a close, the Civil Rights Movement had reached a turning point. King's ideals of nonviolent resistance had enabled the movement to achieve progress, and protests were growing by the day, culminating in the August 28, 1963 March on Washington, which saw an estimated 200,000 - 300,000 demonstrators gather at the Lincoln Memorial and witness King's famous "I Have a Dream" speech. Despite the groundswell of public support for civil rights, however, resistance remained fierce. When President Kennedy whose support of civil rights had largely been confined to speeches - introduced a civil rights bill into Congress, it was quickly bottled up by the powerful southern coalition which had successfully prevented any major legislative advancement in civil rights for over fifty years. Many southern communities remained fiercely opposed to civil rights, and as evidenced in Birmingham, were willing to fight for those beliefs. As progress stalled, many voices in the Civil Rights Movement, viewing civil disobedience as another failed strategy, began to call for violent uprising as the only way to effect true change. The tension seemed close to boiling over, and as 1964 dawned, it seemed obvious that America was coming to a crossroads.



Setting the Scene: The Civil Rights Movement in 1964 DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

- 1. What was the NAACP's main strategy for civil rights progress? Do you think it was effective? Why or why not?
- 2. What was Martin Luther King Jr.'s main strategy for civil rights progress? What are some of the main factors that led to its success in the 1950s and early 1960s?
- 3. What do you think were the biggest challenges faced by civil rights advocates before 1900? From 1900-1945? From 1945-1964?

In Their Own Words: LESSON PLAN http://edsitement.neh.gov/.

This activity is based on a lesson plan provided by EDSITEment, a website for humanities education developed by the National Endowment for the Humanities. For more information, visit

Grade Level: 9-12.

Purpose:

In All the Way, we see Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his advisors and allies debate the best way for the African-American community to advance their cause. This lesson focuses on the real-life debate around MLK's concept of nonviolent resistance and the role of civil disobedience, using primary sources to consider the arguments from both sides.

Objectives:

After completing this activity, students should be able to:

- -Summarize the concerns that Alabama clergymen expressed about the racial conflict in Birmingham, AL, in 1963.
- -Summarize Martin Luther King Jr.'s concept of nonviolent resistance, and his reasoning behind it.
- -Analyze the techniques used by both sides to argue for their positions on the issue.

Time Needed: 1 class period.

Materials:

Copies of the required texts, as well as discussion questions, are included in the All the Way Study Guide.

Procedure:

1. Familiarize your students with the events in Birmingham, AL, in March and April 1963. A brief explanation can be found in "Setting the Scene: The Civil Rights Movement in 1964" on page 27 of the All the Way study guide; for more information, see http://www.pbs.org/black-culture/explore/civil-rights-movement-birmingham-campaign/



- 2. Have your students read "Letter to Martin Luther King from a Group of Clergymen, April 12, 1963" on page 35, and lead discussion using the questions on page 36.
- 3. Have your students read the excerpts from Martin Luther King Jr.'s "Letter From Birmingham Jail" provided on page 37, and lead discussion using the questions on page 42.
- 4. For homework, have your students answer the discussion questions on page 43.

The full text of the Letter from Birmingham Jail can be found at the King Center: http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-birmingham-city-jail-0

Evaluation:

Students should be graded on their in-class participation and the quality of their written responses to the activity.

Extension:

Have students read Joseph H. Jackson's "Annual Address to the National Baptist Convention" (September 10, 1964) and lead discussion about Jackson's advocacy for the "law and order" approach to civil rights.

Jackson's "Address" can be found at http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/annual-address/

Letter to Martin Luther King

April 12, 1963

We clergymen are among those who, in January, issued "an Appeal for Law and Order and Common Sense," in dealing with racial problems in Alabama.

We expressed understanding that honest convictions in racial matters could properly be pursued in the courts, but urged that decisions of those courts should in the meantime be peacefully obeyed.

Since that time there has been some evidence of increased forbearance and a willingness to face facts. Responsible citizens have undertaken to work on various problems which cause racial friction and unrest. In Birmingham. recent public events have given indication that we all have opportunity for a new constructive and realistic approach to racial problems.

However, we are now confronted by a series of demonstrations by some of our Negro citizens. directed and led in part by outsiders. We recognize the natural impatience of people who feel that their hopes are slow in being realized. But we are convinced that these demonstrations are unwise and untimely.

We agree rather with certain local Negro leadership which has

called for honest and open negotiation of racial issues in our area. And we believe this kind of facing of issues can best be accomplished by citizens of our own metropolitan area, white and Negro, meeting with their knowledge and experiences of the local situation. All of us need to face that responsibility and find proper channels for its accomplishment.

Just as we formerly pointed out that "hatred and violence have no sanction in our religious and political traditions," we also point out that such actions as incite to hatred and violence, however technically peaceful those actions may be, have not contributed to the resolution of our local problems. We do not believe that these days of new hope are days when extreme measures are justified in Birmingham.

We commend the community as a whole, and the local news media and law enforcement officials in particular, on the calm manner in which these demonstrations have been handled. We urge the public to continue to show restraint should the demonstrations continue, and the law enforcement officials to

remain calm and continue to protect our city from violence.

We further strongly urge our own Negro community to withdraw support from these demonstrations, and to unite locally in working peacefully for a better Birmingham. When rights are consistently denied, a cause should be pressed in the courts and in negotiations among local leaders, and not in the streets. We appeal to both our white and Negro citizenry to observe the principles of law and order and common sense.

SIGNED BY

C.C.J. CARPENTER, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Alabama.

JOSEPH A. DURICK, D.D., Auxiliary Bishop, Diocese of Mobile-Birmingham

Rabbi MILTON L. GRAFMAN, Temple Emanu-El, Birmingham, Alabama

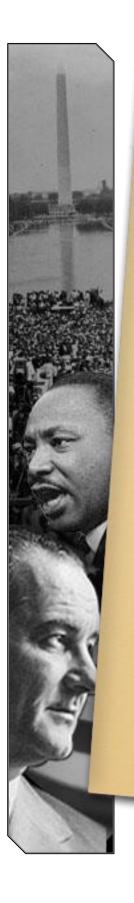
Bishop PAUL HARDIN, Bishop of the Alabama-West Florida Conference of the Methodist Church

Bishop NOLAN B. HARMON. Bishop of the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church

GEORGE M. MURRAY, D.D., LL.D., Bishop Coadjutor, Episcopal Diocese of Alabama

EDWARD V. RAMAGE, Moderator, Synod of the Alabama Presbyterian Church in the United

EARL STALLINGS. Pastors, First Baptist Church, Birmingham, Alabama



Letter to Martin Luther King, April 12, 1963: DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

- 1. What recommendations did the Alabama clergymen propose to resolve the racial conflict in Birmingham? Do you think these recommendations would be effective? Why or why not?
- 2. What criticisms did the Alabama clergymen make of the demonstrations and protests in Birmingham? Do you think these criticisms were fair ones? Why or why not?
- 3. What praise did the clergymen give to local news media and law enforcement? Do you think their praise was justified? What effect do you think the conduct of the media and law enforcement had on the protests?

Excerpt from "Letter from Birmingham Jail." April 16, 1963

My Dear Fellow Clergymen,

While confined here in the Birmingham City Jail, I came across your recent statement calling our present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom, if ever, do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas ... But since I feel that you are men of genuine good will and your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I would like to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should give the reason for my being in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the argument of "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every Southern state with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some 85 affiliate organizations all across the South ... Several months ago our local affiliate here in Birmingham invited us to be on call to engage in a nonviolent direct action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: 1) collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive; 2) negotiation; 3) self-purification; and 4) direct action. We have gone through all of these steps in Birmingham ... Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of police brutality is known in every section of the country. Its unjust treatment of Negroes in the courts is a notorious reality. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than in any city in this nation. These are the hard, brutal, and unbelievable facts. On the basis of these conditions Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the political leaders consistently refused to engage in good faith negotiation.

Then came the opportunity last September to talk with some of the leaders of the economic community. In these negotiating sessions certain promises were made by the merchants—such as the promise to remove the humiliating racial signs from the stores. On the basis of these promises Reverend Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to call a moratorium on any type of demonstrations. As the weeks and months unfolded we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. The signs remained. As in so many experiences in the past, we were

confronted with blasted hopes, and the dark shadow of a deep disappointment settled upon us. So we had no alternative except that of preparing for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and national community. We were not unmindful of the difficulties involved. So we decided to go through the process of self-purification. We started having workshops on nonviolence and repeatedly asked ourselves the questions, "Are you able to accept the blows without retaliating?" "Are you able to endure the ordeals of jail?"

You may well ask, "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, etc.? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue.

My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without legal and nonviolent pressure. History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups are more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was "well timed," according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This "wait" has almost always meant "never." It has been a tranquilizing Thalidomide, relieving the emotional stress for a moment, only to give birth to an ill-formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "justice too long delayed is justice denied." We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jetlike speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter.

I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say wait. But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize, and even kill your black

brothers and sisters with impunity; when you see the vast majority of your 20 million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see the tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son who is asking in agonizing pathos: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?" When you take a cross country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" men and "colored" when your first name becomes "nigger" and your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and when your wife and mother are never given the respected title of "Mrs." When you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tip-toe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness"—then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss of injustice where they experience the bleakness of corroding despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

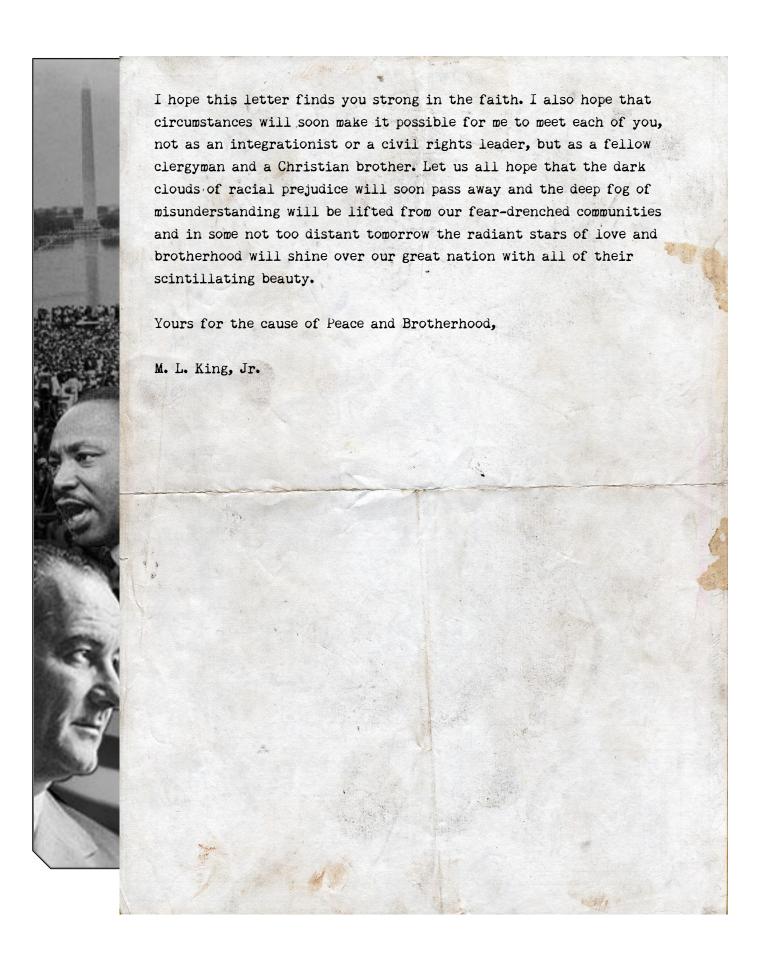
I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First, I must confess that over the last few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White citizens' "Councilor" or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action"; who paternistically feels that he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by the myth of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait until a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

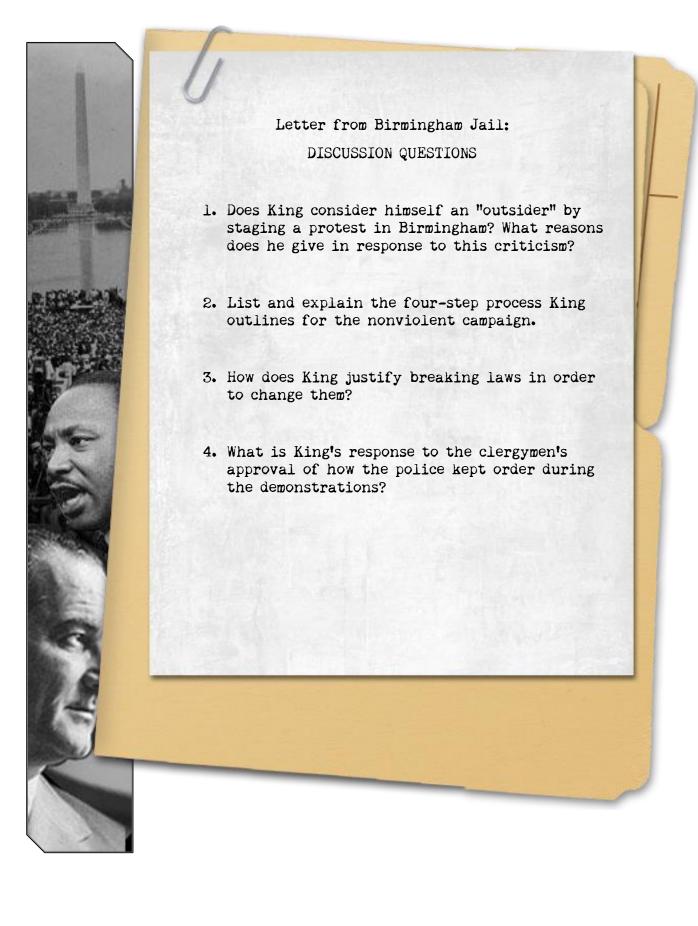
You spoke of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I

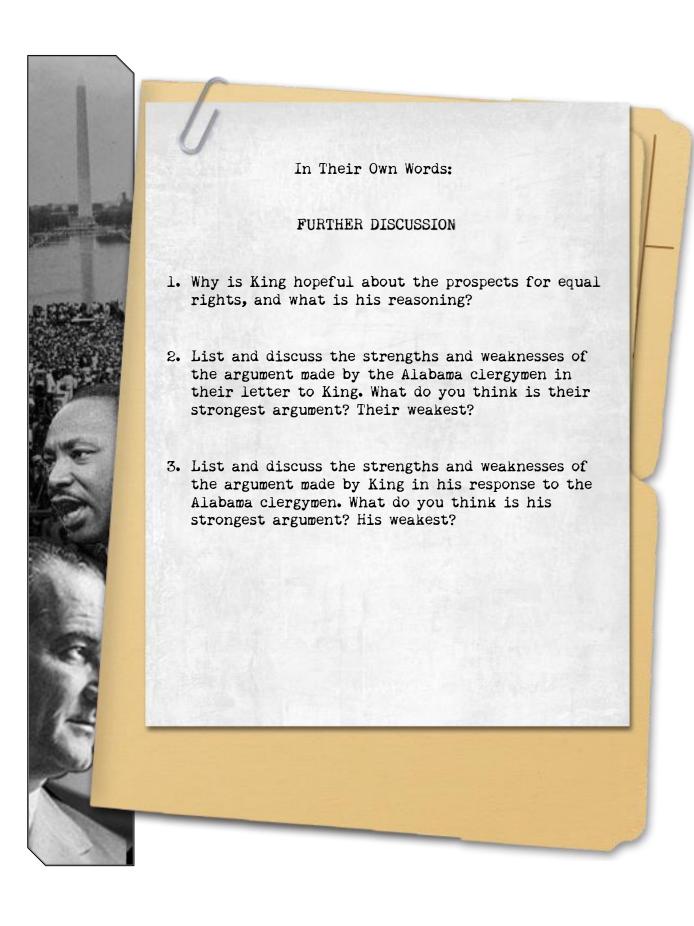
was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of an extremist. I started thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency made up of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, have been so completely drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation, and a few Negroes in the middle class who, because of a degree of academic and economic security, and at points they profit from segregation, have unconsciously become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness and hatred and comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up over the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. This movement is nourished by the contemporary frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination. It is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incurable "devil."

The Negro has many pent-up resentments and latent frustrations. He has to get them out. So let him march sometime; let him have his prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; understand why he must have sit-ins and freedom rides. If his repressed emotions do not come out in these nonviolent ways, they will come out in owinous expressions of violence. This is not a threat; it is a fact of history. So I have not said to my people, "Get rid of your discontent." But I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channeled through the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action.

In spite of my shattered dreams of the past, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership in the community would see the justice of our cause and, with deep moral concern, serve as the channel through which our just grievances could get to the power structure. I had hoped that each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed. I have heard numerous religious leaders of the South call upon their worshippers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers say "Follow this decree because integration is morally right and the Negro is your brother." In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churches stand on the sideline and merely mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard so many ministers say, "Those are social issues with which the Gospel has no real concern," and I have watched so many churches commit themselves to a completely other-worldly religion which made a strange distinction between body and soul, the sacred and the secular.







Unit III: Living History Lesson Overview



Grade Level: 9-12

LIVING HISTORY focuses on the development of All the Way and the process of bringing history from the page to the stage. In this unit, students will read about the challenges of adapting real-life events into drama, analyze several of the play's specific elements and devices, and get to try their hand at creating monologues based on historic photographs.

The Process of Adapting History into Drama

In *The Process of Adapting History into Drama, All the Way* dramaturg Tom Bryant gives background on the creation of the play, and discusses some of the unique challenges involved. Have your students read the article, watch the interview segments with playwright Robert Schenkkan on page 48, and answer the discussion questions. This can be done in class if time permits, or can be assigned for homework.

ACTIVITY: Need To Tell

Using the lesson plan provided on page 50, guide your students through *Need To Tell*, an activity designed to give students a firsthand look at the process of adapting history into drama. This activity can be done in class if time permits, or can be assigned for homework.

Post-Play Discussion

After your class has seen *All the Way*, have your students watch the interview segments on page 56 in which playwright Robert Schenkkan discusses some of the specific theatrical techniques used in the play. You can use the questions on page 57 as a homework assignment or as prompts for an in-class discussion of your students' response to *All the Way*.

Connections to Guiding Principles:

NYS Learning Standards for the Arts

Standard 1: Creating, Performing, and Participating in the Arts

Standard 2: Knowing and Using Arts Materials and Resources

Standard 3: Responding to and Analyzing Works of Art

Standard 4: Understanding the Cultural Dimensions and Contributions of the Arts

THE PROCESS OF ADAPTING HISTORY INTO DRAMA

By Tom Bryant, Dramaturg

The origins of *All the Way* lie in the creation of the American Revolutions Project at the Oregon Shakespeare Festival (OSF). The mandate from Artistic Director Bill Rauch and Project Director Alison Carey was to create a series of plays that would have a similar function in the American cultural context as Shakespeare's history plays' function in English history: to illuminate the key issues in American political history in terms of the American presidency. Robert Schenkkan was commissioned to write a play for the series and he chose Lyndon Johnson as his subject of study. I had previously worked with Robert on many plays over the years, including *The Kentucky Cycle*, which was also historically-based, and so Robert asked me to help him develop this play.

In the beginning of working on *All the Way*, Robert told me that he had chosen to focus on Johnson because dramatically, Johnson offered incredible possibilities. Johnson was bold, larger-than-life, incredibly skilled and sophisticated, but often extremely vulgar and heavy-handed in his use of power to achieve his ends. He also had deep empathy for the poor and disadvantaged. The many sides of this complex man offered a dimensionality of character that normally would be hard for a dramatist to invent.

Johnson's character provided great attendant possibilities for dialogue. In addition to anecdotal accounts, the tapes of his actual White House conversations were rich with Johnson's witticisms and colorful speech. On one tape, he is heard flirting with Katherine Graham, the publisher of the Washington Post, saying: "I hear that sweet voice of yours and I'd like to break out of here and be like one of the young animals on my ranch – jump a fence!" In contrast, some of Johnson's speeches feature some of the most stirring oratory in U.S. history. In his speech on the introduction of the Voting Rights Bill in 1965: "There is no Negro problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem. And we are met here tonight – not as Democrats, not as Republicans – we are met here as Americans to solve that problem."

But the main appeal was the incredible story of Johnson's orchestration of the most important advances in civil rights since the Lincoln administration. The story also had great resonance to our current era; Robert felt that the seeds of the current conservative resurgence started during the Johnson Administration in the backlash surrounding the civil rights legislation, as southern Democrats left the party and the cost of Vietnam War inflation and Great Society social programs led to burgeoning fiscal conservative opposition. Illuminating both this high water mark in American progressivism and the conservative backlash was part of Robert's goal in writing *All the Way*. But in a more universal sense, Robert wanted to deal with the theme of power and the irony of its means and ends that finds such perfect expression in Shakespeare's history cycles. Johnson was an ideal figure to use to explore this theme; he was one of the most ruthless and clever political operatives in American politics, and at the same time he used that acumen and skill to pass some of the most idealistic, humanistic and progressive legislation in American history. This was tremendous material for a dramatist.



Originally in my discussions with Robert, we were not sure what period of the Johnson administration to focus on. After all, Johnson was in office for five years, from late 1963 through 1968, and a full rendering of the events of those years seemed beyond the scope of a three-hour play. Eventually Robert decided to focus on Johnson's first year in office, 1964; Johnson had assumed the presidency a month before, and he ran for president merely a year later, which presented a natural set of boundaries. 1964 also contained landmark events with some incredible dramatic possibilities - most prominently, the passage of the 1964 civil rights bill; Mississippi's Freedom Summer, the campaign for voting rights in Mississippi during which three civil rights workers were murdered; the passage of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which heralded America's first major escalation into the Vietnam War; and finally, the election of Johnson for his own term as President in the fall of 1964.

Starting with chronologies of the legislative and cultural power struggles, we began to sift through the events looking for the most likely candidates for scene dramatization. This type of research involves looking at history from the very particular point of view of what is useful for dramatization, which benefits from anecdotes which illuminate the conflicts in history in an entertaining, shocking or insightful way, or incidents that involve intense conflict, as well as memorable bits of verbal banter or quotable discourse. One might describe this research process more as panning for dramatic nuggets rather than purely factual inquiry.

History sometimes cooperates with this dramatic agenda. In looking at the process of Johnson's investigation of the deaths of the three civil rights workers, we learned that the discovery of the bodies of the civil rights workers on August 4, 1964 was just two days after the events in Gulf of Tonkin precipitated our first major escalation into war in Vietnam, and this was merely two weeks before the Democratic Convention. Both those events represented major issues for Johnson to deal with just before the convention. This type of compression of events was an incredible dramatic plus for showing Johnson in a state of crisis just before a key political event.

But sometimes, history presents impediments to the dramatic process. For instance, one of the most difficult issues in the process of historical adaptation is the choice of characters in the portrayal of historical events. The reality of history is that there is a plethora of characters involved in events and issues, but in terms of the dramatic adaptation of history, one must boil down the number of persons or the audience will be confused as to whom to follow. For example, in terms of the conflict over the civil rights bill, Hubert Humphrey and Richard Russell stood out as particularly apt choices to represent the pro-civil rights and anti-civil rights positions. Richard Russell was the unofficial leader of the segregationist southern caucus, but had also been LBJ's mentor in the Senate and his dearest friend. Thus Russell as his opposition provided complexity and rich dramatic possibilities. Humphrey had unassailable liberal credentials, and early on in his Senate years LBJ had forged an alliance with Humphrey in order to secure liberal support. LBJ had always been suspect in northern liberal circles because of his southern background. But Humphrey was vastly different from Johnson both in temperament and style. Additionally, Humphrey's desire to be, and eventual selection as, Vice President made for a high-stakes personal issue between the two men. Ultimately, the history of passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 involves many people, activists, senators, and congressmen, but it seemed best to



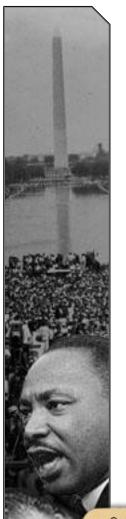
focus on a few key players like Russell and Humphrey as representative of the struggle as a whole.

History also presents plot issues. In history, although there are causal connections to events, the connections are not as tidy as one would like for dramatic purposes. There are also multiplicities of events that make focus in a linear time progression difficult. For instance, the murder of the three civil rights workers took place in early June of 1964, and the civil rights bill was not passed until July 2, 1964. If we were to follow exact chronological order, it would have involved attempting to wrap up the story of the passage of the bill just as the murders took place, presenting a major dramatic challenge. Ultimately we decided to tinker with the timeline of history a bit: to show the passage of the bill and then show the events of the murder afterward.

This brings up a fundamental question in historical adaptation: to what degree is it desirable or permissible to alter facts in history? If Shakespeare is any example, the answer is: to any degree you want! By all accounts Richard III was not a particularly bad king, but according to Shakespeare, he was. For Robert and I, the clear, bright line was that the chronology was not, per se, a huge issue in this particular case. It did not meaningfully alter the basic facts of those events, or distort the sense of Johnson's struggle and achievements during the period of time in question.

Development is not just a research and writing process. It is impossible to emphasize enough the importance of readings and workshops in the process of play development and the role of the director and actors in this process. We were extremely fortunate in having Bill Rauch's guidance at the Oregon Shakespeare Festival and in having a permanent company of actors on hand for the workshop process, who in many cases would be playing the roles in the production itself. All told, during a four-and-a-half year process beginning in 2007, there were seven readings and/or workshops, including readings at OSF and new play development festivals such at the New Harmony Project in Indiana and the Orchard Project in New York; the play was vastly reworked as a result of this process to achieve its final form.





Schenkkan_{Speaks}

In a series of interviews conducted with the Columbia Center for New Media Teaching and Learning, playwright Robert Schenkkan discusses several aspects of his work. Watch the following segments and answer the questions below.



Robert Schenkkan

Origins of the Play

http://kennedyprize.columbia.edu/winners/2013/schenkkan/media/playwright-interview-origins-play

Complexity in LBJ's Personality

http://kennedyprize.columbia.edu/winners/2013/schenkkan/media/playwright-interview-complexity-lbjs-personality

Playwright's Obligation to History

http://kennedyprize.columbia.edu/winners/2013/schenkkan/media/playwright-interview-playwrights-obligations-history



The Process of Adapting History Into Drama /
Schenkkan Speaks:
DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

- 1. Bryant and Schenkkan both mention Johnson's complex and often contradictory personality. Do you think this would prove to be an advantage or a disadvantage when trying to adapt Johnson's life to the stage? Why?
- 2. According to Schenkkan, what are some of the differences between a historian and a dramatist? Compare and contrast their obligations, and the advantages and disadvantages of writing a historical work versus a dramatic one. Do you agree with his assessments? Why or why not?
- 3. Both Bryant and Schenkkan discuss the necessity of altering the details of historical events when adapting history into drama. Do you agree with their assessments? In your opinion, is it possible for a dramatist to "go too far" when adapting real-life events to tell a story? Why or why not?

NEED TO TELL LESSON PLAN

This activity is based on a lesson plan provided by Young Playwrights Inc., a theater company dedicated to identifying, developing, and promoting playwrights aged 18 and under. You can visit their website at http://www.youngplaywrights.org for more information.

Grade Level: 9-12

Purpose:

Students have read about the process and challenges of creating drama based on history. In this exercise, students will try their hand at the process by writing a monologue based on a historic photo.

Objectives:

During this activity, students will:

- Create, explore, and develop a compelling character based on historic source material.
- Write a monologue for their character, combining their knowledge of dramatic writing and adaptation.

Time Needed: 1 class period.

Materials:

All necessary materials are included in the All the Way study guide.

Procedure:

Have your students read and follow the instructions beginning on page 51 to complete this activity.

Evaluation:

Students should be graded based on the depth of their characters' exploration and development, as evidenced by their completion of their Character Creation Sheets, and on how well they integrate this exploration into their monologues.

Extension:

If time permits, have your students perform their monologues in class. Can the other students guess which picture each student picked based on the content of their monologue?

NEED TO TELL CHARACTER GREATION SHEET

Schenkkan Speaks

Watch the following clip from an interview with playwright Robert Schenkkan where he discusses his process of creating characters for *All the Way*. In this activity, you'll get a chance to try your hand at creating your own characters based on historic photographs.

http://kennedyprize.columbia.edu/winners/2013/schenkkan/media/playwright-interview-process-creating-characters

Take a look at the following photographs. Select one that seems to speak to you. Take a moment to study the photographs and to think about the people pictured. Choose one person in one of the photographs. You will be writing a monologue for this character, based on what you can infer about them from the photo.

Photo 1:





Photo 2:



Photo 3:

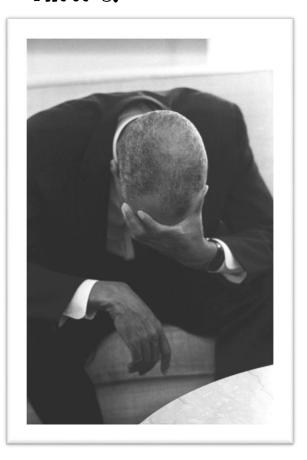


Photo 4:





When you are ready, begin to think about and answer the following questions. If there is a question that you can't answer based on the photograph, you should use your imagination to come up with an answer. Be as specific as you can – the more specific information you have about your character, the easier it will be to write a monologue for them.

For this activity, you do not need to incorporate any knowledge of the real-life people or events pictured – your response should be based solely on what you gather from the photographs.

Remember: in this activity, just as in playwriting, there are no right or wrong answers!

Part 1

Who is this person?

How old is he or she?

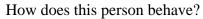
What does he or she do for a living?

What is the person's background?

Does he or she have a family?

What is special or unique about her or him? Concentrate on the things that can be observed, even if those things can't be seen in the photograph.

How does this person talk, walk, dress?





Does this person have any observable quirks that tell us something about his or her personality?

Where is she or he? Derive what information you can from the photograph, and continue to use your imagination from there. Be as specific as you can. For example: A restaurant. What kind of restaurant? Expensive or cheap? Does she or he eat there all the time or is this the first time? What's the name of the restaurant?

How does she or he feel about being there? Why? Happy? Sad? Angry? Worried? What does the expression in the picture tell you? Thinking about these things gives the character an identity grounded in place, time, and tone.

What does this person need, want, or dream about?

What's stopping her or him from getting it?

Part 2



Based on your answers to the questions in Part One, you will write a one-page monologue as your character. This monologue can be about anything you want, as long as the choices you make are based on the information that you came up with in Part One – it's important that the choices you make for your monologue are true to the character you developed. Your character should speak in the first person (using I, me, my, mine, etc.) and you should focus on what the character needs to tell by answering the following questions. The character doesn't need to directly answer these questions in your monologue, but the answers should be what drives her or his words.

What does she or he need to tell? Why is this important to your character?

Who is she or he telling? How might that affect what your character says?

Why does this need to be told right now? What is your character's purpose behind their speech – is it to inform? To persuade?

What specific choices is he or she making in the way they speak?

How do the answers to these questions affect the speech your character is giving?

Part 3

When you get to a comfortable stopping place, reread the questions in Parts One and Two. Now reread what you've written. Does your monologue fit your answers to the questions? Is anything unclear? Revise what you've written as needed.

POST-PLAY DISCUSSION

Schenkkan Speaks

The Role of Multimedia

http://kennedyprize.columbia.edu/winners/2013/schenkkan/media/playwright-interview-role-multimedia-all-way

The Influence of Shakespeare

http://kennedyprize.columbia.edu/winners/2013/schenkkan/media/playwright-interview-influence-shakespeare

On Epic Theater

 $\underline{http://kennedyprize.columbia.edu/winners/2013/schenkkan/media/playwright-interview-epic-theater}$



Bryan Cranston and Brandon J. Dirden in All the Way.



Post-Play Discussion Questions

- 1. Discuss Schenkkan's use of multimedia in the play. What thematic and pratical goals was he trying to accomplish with the use of projections, especially the tallyboard? Did you feel it was effective? Why or why not?
- 2. Both Bryant and Schenkkan refer to Shakespeare's work as an influence for All the Way. What are some of the common themes present in both All the Way and in Shakespeare's history plays? Are there certain scenes or characters in All the Way that remind you particularly of Shakespeare's work? Why or why not?
- 3. How does Schenkkan define "epic theater?" What aspects of All the Way fit this definition? Are there elements of All the Way that you feel don't conform to this idea? Why or why not?

GREDITS



The *All the Way* Education Staff is grateful to the following people for their assistance and contributions:

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LESSON CREDITS

Several of the lessons and articles in this guide were modified from existing resources. This has been noted in the individual articles where necessary.

PHOTO CREDITS

Cover: Bryan Cranston: Evgenia Eliseeva.

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Sidebar: Lyndon Johnson: Library of Congress.

Sidebar: Martin Luther King: Julian Wasser, Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.

Sidebar: March on Washington: Hulton Archive/Getty Images.

Page 1: Johnson and civil rights leaders: LBJ Library, photo by Yoichi Okamoto.

Page 3: Who's Who

LBJ: White House Press Office, photo by Arnold Newman.

Lady Bird Johnson: White House Press Office.

Walter Jenkins: Source unknown.

Hubert Humphrey: Library of Congress.

Muriel Humphrey: United States Congress Biographical Directory.

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Lurleen Wallace: Alabama Department of Archives and History.

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Stanley Levison: WNYC.org

Ralph Abernathy: Library of Congress.

Page 11: Johnson and Welhausen School students: LBJ Library.

Page 12: '41 Senate campaign: LBJ Library, Austin American-Statesman.

Page 13: "Johnson Treatment": LBJ Library, photo by Yoichi Okamoto.

Page 14: Swearing-in ceremony: LBJ Library, photo by Cecil Stoughton.

Page 28: Tuskeegee Airmen: Library of Congress, photo by Toni Frissell.

Page 29: NAACP Leaders: Library of Congress, World Telegram & Sun, photo by Al Ravenna.

Page 30: 101st Airborne: U.S. Army.

Page 50: Need to Tell

Johnson/Russell: LBJ Library, photo by Yoichi Okamoto.

Johnson/Gandhi: LBJ Library, photo by Yoichi Okamoto.

Roy Wilkins: LBJ Library, photo by Yoichi Okamoto.

Fannie Lou Hamer: Library of Congress, photo by Warren K. Leffler.

Page 56: Bryan Cranston/Brandon J. Dirden: Evgenia Eliseeva.