

ALL THE WAY
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OSF PRODUCTION DRAFT

Revised
July 20, 2012

Commissioned by:
OREGON SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL
Ashland, Oregon

"ALL THE WAY" was developed, in part, with assistance from the
Orchard Project, a program of The Exchange (www.exchangenyc.org).

WALTER leaves as LBJ pulls the covers up over him. SPOT down on LBJ. SPOT UP on REUTHER and KING, HOTEL, ATLANTIC CITY.

MLK

Mr. Reuther? Didn't expect to see you here.

WALTER REUTHER

Neither did I. Had a phone call from the President with a generous helping of the old Texas Twist. You've got to get the MFDP to accept this compromise.

MLK

What the President has offered is a joke; an insult. These people have shed their blood to get here and...

WALTER REUTHER

...*Your funding is on the line.* Get the MFDP to accept the compromise or there'll be no more Union money for the Movement. Not a single goddamn dime.

MLK

Are you serious?

WALTER REUTHER

Fuck, yes!

MLK

You would sabotage the entire Civil Rights movement over this?

WALTER REUTHER

No, *you would.* In the great scheme of things, what difference does it really make, Martin? The number of delegates at a convention? Who cares!

MLK

It's wrong.

WALTER REUTHER

Well, you can go home and feel really righteous while all the progress we've made comes to a complete stop, or you can make the sensible play here and see integration become the law of the land. There will be one more offer. A *final* offer. Get your people to accept it, Martin, or take your tin cup and your principles out onto the street and see how far that gets you.

REUTHER leaves. SPOT expands to include HUMPHREY and the rest of the MFDP leadership: MOSES, FANNIE LOU HAMER, EDWIN KING, etc.

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

I'm pleased to say, we've come up with a mighty fine compromise. The MDFP will get two *voting delegates*: Aaron Henry and Edwin King. All delegates will have to take a loyalty oath to support the Presidential nominee. And the Democratic party will adopt a formal rules change to prohibit any segregated delegation in the future. This is a major victory!

BOB MOSES

We didn't come here for no two votes. This is just like the white plantation boss making all the decisions for his black sharecroppers.

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

Now, let's just hold on, Bob. You've won your case in the court of public opinion and now you've got your token representation...

RALPH ABERNATHY

"Token!"

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

Don't twist my words! What I'm saying is, there is a whole lot at stake here and this is a necessary political compromise.

BOB MOSES

We're not here to bring politics to our morality; we're here to bring morality to our politics. Martin? What do you think we ought to do?

Everybody looks to MLK - Torn between his conscience and political necessity.

MLK

If I were a Mississippi Negro, been through what you've been through, I would vote against it. But...the solemn commitment to end discrimination in all future conventions is, as Senator Humphrey suggests, a mighty big win. *Historic*. The MFDP could take real pride in that achievement. And, as a Negro leader, I want you to take this. An awkward silence.

EDWIN KING

I don't, uh, feel comfortable being the representative here in place of the grass-roots leadership. Maybe I should step aside, let Mrs. Hamer take my place.

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

The President is insisting on your presence Edwin because he wants an inter-racial delegation!

EDWIN KING

I'm sure that Mrs. Hamer has to be a part of this.

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

The President has said that he will not let that illiterate woman speak on the floor of the Democratic convention.

BOB MOSES

What kind of racist bullshit is that!

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

(defensively)

I'm not a racist; that's what the President said!

STOKELY, furious, enters the room.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

It's on TV right now! The Credentials Committee is saying that we all agreed to your two delegate plan and they just passed it with a voice vote! *It's over.*

MOSES turns on HUMPHREY.

BOB MOSES

This whole meeting was a *set-up*, just to get us outta the way, while you cut your damn deal! You're a fucking traitor!

MOSES storms out, followed by STOKELY and the others, leaving only HUMPHREY, KING and FANNY LOU HAMER. A moment.

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY

(bewildered)

Honestly, Doctor King, I didn't know about any announcement. This is news to me. I swear it.

HUMPHREY exits, leaving KING alone with HAMER. SHE looks at KING for a long moment, a mixture of disapproval and disappointment, and then leaves. SPOT out on KING. SPOT up on LBJ in bed. WALTER comes in.

WALTER JENKINS

Mr. President? It's Governor Sanders of Georgia.

LBJ

Not now.

WALTER JENKINS

He says it's urgent.