

"ALL THE KING'S MEN"

Screenplay by

Robert Rossen

Based on a novel by

Robert Penn Warren

SHOOTING DRAFT

1949

Interior: Jack Burden's Desk, The Chronicle, Day

Jack Burden is looking over the morning edition of "The Chronicle." He reads the society page. A man enters and leans across his desk.

MAN

Burden! Jack Burden! The boss wants to see you.

He folds his paper, rises, and walks by the presses into Madison's office.

Interior: Madison's Office, Day

Madison, the city editor, is correcting copy at his desk.

MADISON

Hey, Jack, ever hear of a fellow called Willie Stark?

JACK

No. Who'd he shoot?

MADISON

Oh, county... uh... treasurer, or something like that.

JACK

What's so special about him?

MADISON

They say he's an honest man. What I want you to do is to hop into your car...

JACK

Why, you promised me a vacation.

MADISON

Well, that can wait.

JACK

Yeah... but there's a... a girl I know.

He opens his newspaper to the society page and shows Madison a photograph of Anne Stanton.

MADISON

Oh... Well, she can wait too.

Jack takes the paper back and looks at it.

JACK

The question is... can I?

MADISON

The answer is... get up there.

JACK

Right.

(starts to go)

Oh... uh... what did you say his name was?

MADISON

Who?

JACK

The fellow's name.

MADISON

Oh, the... uh... Stark... Willie Stark.

Madison goes on with his work.

JACK

(as he leaves)

Willie Stark...

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Kanoma City, Day

As Jack Burden's jalopy pulls up before the Kanoma County Courthouse of this back-country, one-street small town.

JACK

(voice over)

I found him in Kanoma City. A typical, hot, dusty, backwoods county seat.

He gets out of the car, and notices a crowd of people gathered around a platform in the town square. As he walks over the begins to hear the words that Willie Stark is speaking.

WILLIE

...to lie to them in order to line their own dirty pockets with the taxpayers' money. When have the citizens of Kanoma County ever

witnessed a campaign like this? Why is the opposition so anxious to defeat me? Why have they used every dirty method known to make sure I'm not elected county treasurer? Well, I'll tell you why...

A man in shirt sleeves and suspenders, Tiny Duffy, comes out of the local poolroom, listens for a moment to Willie's speech, and signals to two uniformed men to go over and break up the gathering.

Jack Burden stands close to the platform, next to Willie's son, Tom, who waits patiently to distribute handbills.

WILLIE

...Because they're afraid of the truth... and the truth is this. They're trying to steal your money. Yeah, I said steal. The county commissioners rejected the bid on the schoolhouse. Why? Well, they'll tell you their reason is the job will be done better. The county commissioners would have you believe that they're interested in public welfare. They're interested in welfare, sure. But it's their own. Let's look at the reason in the light of the facts and the figures. That brick factory is owned by one of the commissioners. That same brick factory uses convict labor.

The sheriff and his deputy push through the crowd.

SHERIFF

Sorry, Willie, you'll have to move on.

WILLIE

Why?

SHERIFF

City Ordinance Number One-Oh-Five: more than five people congregating is disturbing the peace.

WILLIE

(ignores him)

If you folks'll be so kind as to read these handbills, my boy will pass them out among you.

SHERIFF

There's an ordinance against that too.

WILLIE

(his face grim)

Pass 'em out, Tom.

The sheriff pushes Tom back, grabbing the handbills out of his hand. Willie jumps down off the platform.

WILLIE

Let him alone!

The sheriff collars Willie, then notices Jack on the platform snapping a picture.

SHERIFF

(to deputy)

Get that camera! Willie, you're under arrest.

He takes Willie by the arm and leads him away. The crowd follows them to the courthouse. Tiny Duffy wipes the sweat off his neck and goes back into the poolroom.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Kanoma City Poolroom, Day

Two of Duffy's men, Pillsbury and a local commissioner, are playing pool as Jack enters.

JACK

Where can I find Tiny Duffy?

PILLSBURY

Right over there, mister.

He walks over to Duffy. Some townspeople, who followed him there, gather around him to listen.

JACK

Uh, they told me I could get my camera back here.

DUFFY

Who told you that?

JACK

People. Can I?

DUFFY

You the reporter that's been snoopin' around town?

JACK

Are you Tiny Duffy?

DUFFY

What paper?

JACK

Chronicle.

DUFFY

You sure come a long way to stick
your nose into other people's
business.

JACK

That's true... Only my boss on the
paper can't see it that way.

DUFFY

It ain't any of his business either.

JACK

Whose business is it?

PILLSBURY

Them as is tendin' to it. County
commissioners that the voters of
Kanoma County elected to tend to
their business and not take no buttin'
in from nobody.

JACK

You a commissioner?

PILLSBURY

Yeah. Name's Pillsbury. Dolph
Pillsbury.

2ND COMMISSIONER

Me too. I'm a commissioner too.

JACK

Who isn't a commissioner?

DUFFY

He's the head man.

JACK

(to Pillsbury)

Then you're in a position to know
where --

DUFFY

He's in a position to know nothin'.
And to say nothin'.

JACK

I thought you said he was head man?

DUFFY

(smiling)

He uses my head.

PILLSBURY

(laughing loudly)

Oh, Tiny, you're a card... Ain't he
a card? Yeah, he's a card... Now,
who thought up those city ordinances
about arresting someone for making a
speech?

DUFFY

Who's arrested? Nobody's been arrested.

(looks toward the door)

Hi, Willie.

Willie enters, accompanied by the sheriff and his deputy. The others in the room, including Sugar Boy in his bartender's apron, step aside to let him pass through.

PILLSBURY

Hi, Willie.

DUFFY

(to Sheriff)

Did you apologize to Willie?

SHERIFF

(mumbles)

Yeah, I apologized to Willie.

DUFFY

Did you give him his handbills back?

SHERIFF

Yeah, I gave 'em back.

DUFFY

Give him back his flag and his bag and...

(points to Jack)

give this man his camera.

WILLIE

I'm going to be on that same street corner tomorrow, Mr. Duffy.

DUFFY

You go right ahead, Willie. We all believe in free speech. We got to... it's in the Constitution.

WILLIE

My boy is out distributing those handbills now.

DUFFY

It's a free country, Willie. If you can convince the people to vote for you... you go right ahead.

WILLIE

What did you want to see me about, Mr. Duffy?

DUFFY

I wanted you to meet a fella came all the way up from the state capital

to meet you. A reporter. Wants to write you up... maybe put your picture in the paper.

WILLIE

(turns to Jack)

I'm happy to know you, sir.

JACK

Burden's my name... Jack Burden. Can we go somewhere where we can talk?

DUFFY

Now that ain't polite. Don't you want to hear both sides of the story?

Jack examines the camera that has just been returned to him.

JACK

I know your side.

(finds the plate missing)

What happened to the plate your men took from my camera?

DUFFY

Must have dropped out. Oh, come on, fellas, let's relax. It's a hot day... Hey, Sugar Boy...

SUGAR BOY

Yeah?

DUFFY

Bring some cold beer for the boys.

WILLIE

None for me, thank you kindly.

PILLSBURY

Now you know Willie don't drink, Tiny. His wife don't favor drinking. And Willie's the teacher's pet, ain't you, Willie?

WILLIE

I'll have some orange pop if you don't mind.

Duffy roars with laughter.

DUFFY

Orange pop! All right, Sugar Boy. Bring him some orange pop.

SUGAR BOY

(stutters)

Th-th-the p-p-pop's s-s-sold out.

DUFFY

Did you hear that, boys? The p-p-
pop's s-s-sold out.

They all laugh.

PILLSBURY
Now ain't he a card?

WILLIE
(his face hard)
He stutters, Mr. Duffy, but you...
you don't say anything.
(to Jack)
Let's go, mister.

They turn and go out.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Dirt Road, Day

Jack is driving Willie home to his farmhouse. They pass a farmer and his family walking by the side of the road. Willie smiles and waves to them.

Exterior: Stark Farmhouse, Day

As the car pulls into the drive we see Pa Stark in his rocking chair on the porch, and Lucy, who stands at the top of the steps, waiting to welcome Willie.

WILLIE
(as they go up the
steps)
This is my wife, Lucy, Mr. Burden.

JACK AND LUCY
How do you do?

WILLIE
That's my pa.

Jack reaches out to shake his hand.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Stark Farmhouse, Night

Willie finishes chewing his food, pats his mouth with a napkin, and pushes his plate back.

WILLIE
Now we'll talk.

Camera pulls back to include Jack, Lucy, and Pa, all seated around the dinner table.

JACK
You've been talking for a long time,
Mr. Stark.

PAPPY

Willie's got a lot to say.

LUCY

You sleepy, Pappy? You want to have a nap?

PAPPY

No, I want to hear it.

Lucy gets up and turns on a light in the kitchen.

LUCY

I'm worried about Tom. It's getting dark. He should have been home.

WILLIE

He's a strong boy. Don't worry about him. He can take care of himself.

JACK

How old is the boy?

WILLIE

Fifteen.

JACK

How long have you been married?

WILLIE

Nine years.

Willie grins at Jack's look of surprise. Lucy comes back into the room.

LUCY

(laughs)

He was a neighbor's boy. They were poor folks. Both died. I couldn't have any children, so... He's a good boy.

WILLIE

Oh, he's the best. I couldn't love him any more if he was my own flesh and blood.

JACK

(to Lucy)

And now you, Mrs. Stark?

LUCY

Oh, there isn't very much to tell about me.

JACK

How did you meet?

LUCY

I was teaching school and one day a pupil walked in. It was Willie. I couldn't have a grown man in the class and Willie wanted to learn so badly... so I married him.

JACK

Is that the only reason?

LUCY

(pressing Willie's
arm)

Except that I loved him.

WILLIE

Get the coffee, Lucy.

She goes back into the kitchen.

JACK

When did they fire you, Mrs. Stark?

LUCY

(as she serves the
coffee)

A couple of weeks ago. I'd been teaching for a long time and nobody ever said I wasn't all right. But I don't care. I don't want to teach in a schoolhouse that they built just so somebody can steal some money. And Willie doesn't want to be Treasurer, either, if he has to associate with those dishonest people.

WILLIE

(glumly)

I'm going to run. They can't keep me from running.

JACK

If you don't mind the truth, Mr. Stark, you haven't much of a chance.

WILLIE

I'm going to run. They're not going to kick me around like I was dirt.

LUCY

I don't care if Willie loses... just so he gets the truth to the people. Isn't that true, Willie?

Willie is silent. Jack looks at him.

LUCY

Isn't it, Willie?

WILLIE

Hmmm?... Yeah, yeah, sure, that's

right.

LUCY

Well, if you lose you can give a little more time to studying your law books.

JACK

Oh, you studying law too?

WILLIE

By myself, at night.

PAPPY

Willie's a smart boy.

WILLIE

If I ever find the time I'm going to take a course at the university.

The door opens slowly and Tom comes in from the porch. His clothes are torn and his face is dirty and bloody. He still carries some of the handbills. They rise to their feet and cluster around him.

LUCY

What happened, Tommy boy? What's the matter?

TOM

(head down, muttering)
I gave out the handbills, Pa.

WILLIE

Speak up. Speak up.

LUCY

Let him tell it his own way. Go on, Tommy.

TOM

This time they were waiting for me. They took them away from me. Threw them in the dirt and beat me up. I brought some of them back.

WILLIE

(pats him on the back)
Good boy. Have you eaten yet, Tom?

LUCY

Let him wash up first.

As Tom and Pappy go into the other room, a rock comes crashing through the front window, shattering the glass. Willie, his face filled with anger, throws open the door and stalks out onto the porch. Jack stands at the door, watching Willie shout into the darkness around him.

WILLIE

I'm going to run... and you're not going to stop me. I'm gonna run even if I don't get a single vote.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

Interior: Jack Burden's Desk, Day

Jack's fingers type out a story, the last line of which reads "an honest man with courage." He pulls the sheet out and hands it to Madison.

JACK

Here you are... the last of the Willie Stark articles. Now can I go?

MADISON

Yes. You've earned your vacation. You've been writing these like you really mean them.

Jack rises and walks toward the door.

JACK

I do.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Ferry To Burden's Landing, Day

Jack's car is ferried across the bay to the slip of Burden's Landing.

JACK

(voice over)

I hadn't been home in a long time. Only a hundred and thirty miles from Kanoma City. It was separated from the mainland by a body of water. For the first time I wondered if it wasn't separated by more than that.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Mrs. Burden's Home, Day

As Jack arrives, Mrs. Burden and her husband, McEvoy, are seated at a lawn table near the boat landing.

JACK

Hello, Mother.

She runs forward to meet him.

MRS. BURDEN

Floyd, Jack's home. Oh, he looks fine... doesn't he look fine?
(to Jack, coquettishly)

How do I look, Jackie boy?

JACK

You look beautiful, Mother.

MRS. BURDEN

I've got so many things planned for you... parties and... it'll be just like old times. But first, let's have a drink.

MCEVOY

Can't that wait until this evening?

She goes ahead and pours the drinks.

MRS. BURDEN

Floyd... honey... my son's home.

MCEVOY

How long do you plan on staying?

JACK

(coldly)

Two or three weeks. If that's all right with you.

MRS. BURDEN

I'm sure your father would be --

JACK

Stepfather, Mother.

MRS. BURDEN

(reproachfully)

Now, Jackie... here we all are. Floyd, Jackie, myself.

(raises her glass for
a toast)

To the best time we've ever had together.

JACK

Yes, Mother.

They drink. Mrs. Burden gulps hers down avidly. Jack looks at her and then at McEvoy.

JACK

Excuse me... I...

He turns and walks back toward the shore. He boards a small motorboat and heads toward a house that can be seen across the water.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Stanton Home (Burden's Landing), Day

As the boat approaches the shore. Adam Stanton reaches down

and pulls the boat up on land. He throws his arm around Jack, and the two climb the hill toward Judge Stanton, who stands waiting to greet him.

JACK

Dr. Stanton, I presume.

STANTON

(laughing)

Is my shingle showing?

JUDGE

Good to see you, boy. Very good.

JACK

Good to see you, Judge. How have you been? What have you been doing?

They walk back together to the patio tables.

JUDGE

Oh, just sitting here... waiting for all of you to come home. You know, when a man starts to get old his eyes stray and play funny tricks on him. As I watched you in that boat I thought sure I saw a boy of twelve with a fishing rod in his hands. And I was sure the first thing he'd say would be...

Jack catches sight of Anne Stanton walking down the path. He runs to meet her. As they embrace, he looks back at the Judge.

JACK

Do you mind if I kiss your niece, sir?

He kisses her, and they turn and walk away.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Tennis Court (Burden's Landing), Day

Anne gracefully returns a ball to Jack, then runs to embrace him at the net. Adam, seated near the court, smiles approvingly.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Gulf (Burden's Landing), Morning

Jack and Judge Stanton in a rowboat, on their way to do some duck hunting.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Gulf (Burden's Landing), Day

Adam is at the wheel of his sailboat, with Jack and Anne

behind him.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Stanton Living Room (Burden's Landing), Night

A party in the Stanton living room. Adam plays the piano. He plays a waltz. Jack and Anne hold each other tightly as they move among the other couples.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Burden Dining Room, Night

A formal dinner, attended by Jack and Anne, Mrs. Burden and McEvoy, Judge Stanton and Adam. Mrs. Burden is proposing a toast.

MRS. BURDEN

To all the good times we've had together at Burden's Landing. And especially to this one. Because my son's home.

JACK

Thank you, Mother. Thank you very much.

MRS. BURDEN

Monty, Anne and I have been discussing Jack's career. What do you think he ought to go in for? Shall he be a lawyer, doctor...

Jack looks at Anne.

ANNE

We were just discussing whether you should...

JACK

(to his mother)

I like what I'm doing, Mother.

MCEVOY

You do very well at it. I read your articles about this fellow... Willie Stark. Very convincing... Too convincing for my tastes.

JACK

A lot of people like them.

MCEVOY

A lot of people are fools. Articles like that shouldn't be permitted. They only tend to incite people.

JACK

What are you afraid of?

STANTON

I thought they were very good. I was proud of you, Jack. I was particularly interested in Stark's ideas on health and medicine. You know the conditions at the hospital I work in. They're intolerable. I'd like to meet this Willie Stark. He sounds like an honest man.

MCEVOY

Honest man? This state is full of these log-cabin Abe Lincolns with price tags on them. The louder he yells the higher his price.

JACK

You think you can buy anything, don't you?

MCEVOY

Yes, don't you?

There is a silence. Then McEvoy turns to the Judge.

MCEVOY

What do you think, Judge?

JUDGE

I think this state could stand a few changes.

MCEVOY

(his face white)

Well, I'll tell you what I think --

ANNE

(quickly)

Oh, please... let's not talk politics.

MRS. BURDEN

Anne is right. I absolutely forbid any more of it. I know what we need, we need another toast.

(to the Judge)

You propose it, Monty... you're so good at it.

The Judge picks up his glass and stands up.

JUDGE

To the young people... to Anne, to Jack, to Adam... To what lies before them. To the world they'll make... in spite of the mistakes we've made.

MCEVOY

(rising)

The mistakes you've made, not me.

You're all still pretty high and mighty, aren't you? You all think this state needs a change. You don't like the way it's run. Well, who's going to run it? Willie Stark? The Judge?

(to Jack)

You? You can be bought too. As a matter of fact you have been. And with my money.

Jack's answer is to throw his liquor in his stepfather's face. There is a pause. McEvoy wipes the liquor off with his handkerchief.

MCEVOY

(slowly)

That's a waste of good liquor.

(looks at Mrs. Burden)

Your mother wouldn't approve.

Jack turns and leaves the room.

MRS. BURDEN

Jack...

She hurries after him.

Exterior: Veranda, Night

As Mrs. Burden comes out after Jack. Anne stands in the doorway.

MRS. BURDEN

Jack... you go back in and apologize.

JACK

Apologize? I'd rather die.

MRS. BURDEN

I've got to live with him.

JACK

Well, I don't. Neither do you. You don't love him, Mother. You never did.

MRS. BURDEN

Son, don't spoil anything now... He can help you.

JACK

I can get along without him. You need this house. And the parties. And the cars and the clothes and the lies. I don't. It's the truth, Mother, face it. For once in your life, face it.

Mrs. Burden appeals to Anne.

MRS. BURDEN

Anne, please... please make him understand.

Anne says nothing. Mrs. Burden goes back into the house.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Stanton Living Room, Night

Anne and Jack sit alone in the room, beneath the portrait of the old Governor Stanton.

JACK

Anne, Burden's Landing is a place on the moon. It isn't real. It doesn't exist. It's me pretending I live on what I earn. It's my mother trying to keep herself young, and drinking herself old doing it. It's you and Adam living in this house as though your father were still alive. It's an old man like the Judge dreaming of the past... Anne, come away with me.

ANNE

And do what?

JACK

(rises impatiently)

And live in a shack and eat red beans. Anne, what do you want me to do?

ANNE

Oh, Jack, Jack, you haven't been sure. You've gone from one thing to the other... a year at law school, and now this job as a reporter...

JACK

Are you afraid I can't make a living?

ANNE

Oh, no, Jack, it isn't that. I don't care about the money. It... it's just that I... I want you to be something.

JACK

What is it you want me to be?

ANNE

I don't know. It's just that I want you to be... to do... something important.

Jack looks up at the portrait of Governor Stanton.

JACK

Like your father. All right. I'll run for governor.

(pause)

Anne, I'm sorry. I'm sorry I said that.

ANNE

All right, Jack. I'll go away with you. I'll do anything you want me to do.

They kiss.

JACK

Anne, I've wanted you to say that more than anything in the world, and now that you've said it... Anne, I guess you were right. I'm not sure of anything, including myself. I'm not sure I could live up to the...

(looks again at the portrait)

Anne, wait for me. Please wait for me.

ANNE

I'll wait for you.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Madison's Office, Day

Madison is at his desk as Jack enters.

MADISON

Hello, Jack. Cut your vacation short, didn't you?

JACK

Yeah.

MADISON

By the way, Jack, the fellow you wrote the articles about... uh... Stark.

JACK

Yeah?

MADISON

He lost.

JACK

Well, I guess that's the end of Willie Stark.

He turns around and walks off toward his desk.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

Interior: Stark Farmhouse, Night

Lucy and Willie are seated together at the table. Willie has his law books open before him.

WILLIE

...Measure of the damages is caused
by...

LUCY

(prompting)
A breach...

WILLIE

A breach...

LUCY

Of an agreement...

WILLIE

Of an agreement...

LUCY

To sell personal property...

WILLIE

To sell...
(slams the book shut)
Oh, two years of this.

LUCY

(leaning over to him)
Oh, go on, Willie, go on.

He opens the book again.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Willie's Law Office (Kanoma City), Day

Willie positions the framed diploma on the wall. The camera pulls back to show Tom and Lucy, looking on.

WILLIE

Willie Stark... Bachelor of Law...

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Kanoma City Farm, Day

Close shot of Willie, talking to a farmer.

WILLIE

If you'll just let me take your
case...

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Farm, Day

Willie walks beside a farmer who is plowing his field.

WILLIE

Really, I'll wait for my fee. Just
as long as you want me to.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Willie's Law Office, Night

Through the window, on which is printed "Willie Stark:
Attorney at Law," we see Willie, alone, pacing back and forth
in his office.

LUCY'S VOICE

Go on, Willie, go on.

WILLIE'S VOICE

They're not going to kick me around
like I was dirt.

LUCY'S VOICE

If you lose you can give a little
more time studying your law books.

WILLIE'S VOICE

I'm going to be on that same street
corner tomorrow, Mr. Duffy!

DUFFY'S VOICE

By all means. Free speech, free
country, Willie.

WILLIE'S VOICE

That brick factory is owned by a
brother-in-law of one of the
commissioners. The county
commissioners rejected the low bid
on the schoolhouse.

Willie crumples a piece of paper in his hand and tosses it
against the window.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Schoolhouse (Kanoma City), Day

A plaque on the school wall reads KANOMA CITY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Interior: Schoolroom, Day

Teacher faces her class. The clanging of a fire bell is heard.

TEACHER

All right, children, this is a fire
drill.

The children rise and start to march out of the room in double file.

TEACHER

Remember now, walk quietly.

Exterior: Schoolhouse, Day

The children's feet, as they climb down the fire escape. Camera pans past children to an iron rod supporting the fire escape. The brick around the rod starts to crumble and it rips loose. The children scream out in fear and agony.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Cemetery, Day

The whole town is there. Willie Stark, Lucy, Tom stand modestly in the background. Quiet sobbing is heard as the minister reads from the Bible. When he finishes the prayer, he walks past the line of mourners, shaking their hands. The ceremony is over. As they start to go, a man spots Willie, goes over to him, and lifts Willie's arm in the air.

MAN

Oh, Lord, I'm punished for voting against an honest man.

This sudden action brings response; women begin to cry and people push their way forward to grab Willie by the hand.

VOICES OF THE MOURNERS

God bless you, Willie. If we had only listened to you, Willie. You were right, Willie. Let me shake your hand, Willie. We should have listened, Willie. You were right all the time.

On Willie's face is the realization that something important has happened to him.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Stark Farmhouse, Night

An article is pasted in a scrapbook. It reads: "VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS. Recent school tragedy is a potent reminder that a man named Willie Stark..." A hand draws a pencil underneath the name.

WILLIE'S VOICE

A voice in the wilderness. A man named Willie Stark...

Camera pulls back to show Willie at the table busy with his scrapbook. He looks up at Lucy.

WILLIE

How about that, Lucy, that's me.

She looks at him, unsmiling, and sits down to help him clip various articles from other papers.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Stark Farmhouse, Night

A series of clippings are being pasted in the scrapbook. They read:

A. SCHOOL VICTIMS SUE COUNTY: STARK FILES DAMAGE SUIT

"Will prove graft cause of tragedy," says Attorney Stark.

B. CITIZENS COMMITTEE FORMED

Draft Stark to lead fight to rid state of graft.

C. CITIZENS COMMITTEE DEMANDS STATE-WIDE INVESTIGATION

D. Large photograph of Willie. Under it, the caption: RURAL AREAS IN REVOLT

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Madison's Office, The Chronicle, Day

The clippings are spread out on Madison's desk. He looks up at Jack.

MADISON

Get up there. Get up there fast.
Your friend, Willie, is hotter than
a firecracker.

Jack starts toward the door.

MADISON

Stay there with him.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Harrison's Political Headquarters (State Capital), Day

A politician points to a map on the wall.

POLITICIAN

Look, before this Kanoma City business
we had this whole area tied up. Now
we're losing to Hickville.

Camera pulls back, revealing the candidate, Harrison, Tiny Duffy, and a woman, Sadie Burke.

POLITICIAN

We must find a way to split that
vote.

HARRISON

Well, all I know is, the way it is now it looks like I'm not going to win.

POLITICIAN

I know a way... find a dummy.

SADIE

Find a dummy.

(looks at Harrison)

That's what we've got.

POLITICIAN

A guy from the sticks... strong enough to grab some votes and dumb enough not to ask questions.

DUFFY

If you want to listen to a boy from the sticks, I know just the guy.

They crowd around to listen.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Stark Farmhouse, Day

Jack sits at the dinner table, with Willie and Lucy. Tom stands next to Willie. Pappy dozes in his chair.

JACK

No more politics, eh, Willie?

WILLIE

No, I worked too hard in my time to get there. I think I'll just go on practicing law and make a little more money.

JACK

The question I'd like to know is, why all the speeches you're making around the countryside?

Willie is about to answer when he hears the sound of approaching cars.

WILLIE

Wonder who that is?

He goes to the window, and we see a big black limousine turning into his drive. He opens the door and waits as Sadie, Duffy, Dolph Pillsbury, and other politicians climb the steps to meet him.

DUFFY

Brought some people all the way up from the state capital just to meet you.

(turns to others)
Folks, I want you to meet Willie
Stark, the next governor of our state.

Willie, Lucy, and Tom beam happily. Jack looks skeptically
at Sadie, whose only reaction is to smile, politely.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Country Road, Day

Close shot of three posters on a billboard. They read ELECT
JOE HARRISON (HAPPY JOE) GOVERNOR FOR GOVERNOR ELECT McMURPHY
WILLIE STARK FOR GOVERNOR.

The camera pans to the road, where an old Model T comes
bouncing along. As it passes we see a poster stuck on its
back: WILLIE STARK -- GOVERNOR.

Exterior: Railroad Station, Day

Willie Stark walks out on the platform at the rear of the
train and talks to some of the townspeople who have gathered
at the station.

WILLIE
Folks, if you'll just bear patiently
with me for a couple of minutes, I'd
like to tell you what this state
needs. It needs a balanced tax
program. Now I'd like to give you
the facts and the figures.

Some of the townspeople start to move away.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Train, Day

As the train pulls away from the station, Willie turns around
to Jack.

WILLIE
How did it sound, Jack?

JACK
Fine, Willie, fine.

WILLIE
(alarmed)
Say... I forgot to send a telegram
to Lucy... Conductor!

Jack and Sadie exchange looks.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Train Club Car, Day

Willie, jacket off, works over a speech with Duffy as

Pillsbury and Sadie look on.

WILLIE

Now right here... right here I'd like to add something about last year's taxes... eh?

DUFFY

I wouldn't add a thing. Just give them the facts.

PILLSBURY

Yeah... and the figures.

DUFFY

Great speech.

Sadie sips her drink.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Street Corner (Upton), Day

Willie stands on a platform, next to an American flag, reading from his prepared speech.

WILLIE

What this state needs is a balanced tax program. Last year, last year the state claimed to have spent on roads...

Sadie turns and walks away, no longer able to listen. Jack follows her toward the hotel.

Interior: Hotel Lobby (Upton), Day

As Jack and Sadie cross the street, enter the lobby, and sit down next to the front window. We can still see Willie and his small street-corner audience in the background.

JACK

Do you mind if I sit with you, Sadie?

SADIE

(shrugs)
Stand... sit...

JACK

Thanks... Tell me, what are you on this merry-go-round for?

SADIE

I take notes.

JACK

For whom?

SADIE

For those who pay me.

JACK

Which is.

SADIE

People.

JACK

Smart people.

SADIE

Oh, yeah. Anybody that pays me is smart.

JACK

You don't have to be smart to frame a guy like Willie Stark.

SADIE

No. No, brother, you don't.

JACK

(lights a cigarette)

It is a frame, isn't it?

SADIE

Why don't you give me a cigarette?

JACK

(gives her the pack)

To split the vote and win the election for Harrison, huh?

SADIE

If you know, why do you ask?

JACK

I just want to make sure.

SADIE

Yeah.

JACK

Look, why don't you tell the boys back home to save their money. Willie couldn't steal a vote from... from Abe Lincoln in the Cradle of the Confederacy.

SADIE

I wish the poor... had enough sense to have somebody give him a good greasing for the beating he's going to get. 'Cause this way all he gets out of it is the ride.

(looks at Willie through the window)

Hey, those speeches! Ain't they awful? Ain't they just plain awful? Question to you: if somebody told him he was

a sucker, do you think he'd quit?

Willie has just finished his speech and is on his way over to the hotel.

JACK

I don't know, Sadie. I really don't know.

WILLIE

(as he comes into the lobby)

Did it sound all right, Mr. Burden?

JACK

Fine, Willie, fine.

WILLIE

Thanks.

He and Jack go upstairs together. Sadie watches them.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Sadie's Hotel Room (Upton), Night

Sadie lies on her bed, listening to Willie in the next room, rehearsing one of his speeches.

WILLIE'S VOICE

Now, friends, if you will bear patiently with me for a few minutes, I'll give you the figures. What we need is a balanced tax program...

JACK'S VOICE

No, Willie, no.

Sadie pulls off a shoe and hurls it at the wall.

SADIE

What I need is some sleep. Shut up!

Interior: Jack's Hotel Room (Upton), Same Time

Willie lies on his bed. Jack finishes shaving in the bathroom as he continues to rehearse him.

JACK

(shouting back at Sadie)

Shut up yourself!

(goes to bed, shakes Willie)

Listen, Willie, try it on your feet this time.

WILLIE

Oh, no. Wait a minute. My feet are killing me. Let me stay here, huh?

JACK

All right... Look, Willie, you tell 'em too much. Just tell 'em you're going to soak the fat boys and forget the rest of the tax stuff.

WILLIE

(pathetically)
That's what I say.

JACK

But it's the way you say it. Willie, make 'em cry. Make 'em laugh, make 'em mad, even mad at you. Stir 'em up and they'll love it and come back for more. But for heaven's sake don't try and improve their minds.

WILLIE

(suddenly)
A man don't have to be governor.

JACK

(surprised)
What?

WILLIE

A man don't have to be governor.

Pause.

JACK

Well, they haven't counted up the votes yet.

WILLIE

(quietly)
Oh, I'm going to lose, Mr. Burden. I know that. Don't try and fool me. I'm not going to lie to you. I wanted it. I wanted it so badly I stayed up nights thinking about it. A man wants something so badly he gets mixed up in knowing what he wants. It's something inside of you. I would have made a good governor. Better than those other fellows.

There is a knock on the door.

JACK

Come in.

WILLIE

(almost to himself)
A great governor.

Sadie enters. She immediately spots the liquor, and pours herself a drink.

SADIE

Since you won't let me sleep you
might at least give me a drink.

WILLIE

(muttering)
Build them highways... greatest system
of highways in the country.

JACK

(to Sadie)
Help yourself.

WILLIE

I'll build schools.

SADIE

(to Jack)
What's up?

JACK

Nothing... except Willie here has
been saying as how he's not going to
be governor.

SADIE

(directly, to Jack)
So you told him.

JACK

I don't tell anyone anything... I
just listen.

SADIE

(goes to Willie)
Who told you?

WILLIE

Told me what? Told me what?

SADIE

That you're not going to be governor.

WILLIE

(getting up)
Jack! Told me what?... Told me what?

Jack says nothing. Sadie gulps down her drink, bangs the
empty glass on the bureau top, and turns to face Willie.

SADIE

(loudly)
All right! That you've been framed,
you poor sap.

Willie looks at her steadily for a moment.

WILLIE

(quietly)

Framed?

SADIE

And how! Oh, you decoy, you woodenhead decoy! And you let 'em. You let 'em because you thought you were the little lamb of God. But you know what you are?

(she waits for his answer; he has none)

Well, you're the goat! You are the sacrificial goat! You are a sap... because you let 'em.

JACK

Sadie! That's enough.

SADIE

Enough? He didn't even get anything out of it. Oh, they'd have paid you to take a rap like that, but they didn't have to pay a sap like you. Oh, no, you were so full of yourself and hot air, all you wanted was a chance to stand up on your hind legs and make a speech: my friends, what this state needs is a good five-cent cigar. What this state needs is a --

WILLIE

(to Jack)

Is it true?

SADIE

(prayerfully, to the ceiling)

He wants to know if it's true.

WILLIE

Is it true?

JACK

That's what they tell me.

There is a long pause. Willie looks almost as if he is going to cry. Sadie pours out another drink, a stiff one.

SADIE

(handing it to him)

Here.

Willie drinks it all.

JACK

Hey, lay off that. You're not used to it.

SADIE

(jeeringly)

He's not used to a lot of things.

Are you, Willie?

JACK
(angrily)
Why don't you lay off of him, Sadie?

SADIE
(ignores Jack)
Are you, Willie? Are you? Are you...
are you, are you, are you?

She shoves the bottle at him. He takes it and pours himself a drink.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Sadie's Hotel Room (Upton), Morning

Willie is snoring on the bed. Sadie's coat is thrown over him. She is in the bathroom, applying lipstick. Jack enters.

SADIE
Hi.

JACK
Well, things seem to have quieted down.

SADIE
(laughs)
Yeah, I quieted him down.

JACK
Yeah. How was he? Noisy?

SADIE
Oh, he reared some. He's been telling me all the things he's going to do. He's going to do big things, this fella. He's going to be President. He's going to kill people with his bare hands. I quieted him down... Hey! Who's Lucy?

JACK
His wife.

SADIE
He talks like she's his mammy... she's going to blow his nose for him.

Jack sits on the bed next to Willie.

JACK
Well, I'll take him from here on in. They're waiting for him at the barbecue.

Sadie pulls her coat off Willie and goes to the door.

SADIE

Yeah, well give me a receipt for the
body and I'll be on my way.

She leaves. Jack bends over Willie, who continues to snore.

JACK

Hey, Willie, Willie... come on, wake
up, Willie. Come on, Willie.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Fairgrounds (Upton), Day

A crowd mills about underneath a banner that reads HEAR WILLIE
STARK MAMMOTH BARBECUE -- UPTON FAIRGROUNDS

Exterior: Fairgrounds, Day

Willie, staggering a bit, hung over, reacts painfully to the
staggering height of the Ferris wheel. He leans on Jack for
support, and they walk on.

Exterior: Fairgrounds, Day

Willie takes a seat on the children's swing as Jack goes off
to get some coffee. Two little girls stare curiously at him.
Willie waves them off. Jack returns with the coffee and pours
some whisky in it. Willie tips his hand, forcing him to pour
more, then gulps his drink down.

Exterior: Bandstand (Upton), Day

Duffy, Pillsbury, and the other politicians stand on the
platform, waiting for Willie. A band plays march music. Duffy
goes over to Sadie, who is standing on the steps of the
platform.

DUFFY

Where is he?

SADIE

(pointing)

There he is.

Escorted by Jack, Willie approaches the platform and stumbles
up the steps past Sadie.

SADIE

Whoops!

DUFFY

(to Jack)

Is he drunk?

JACK

Never touches the stuff. Lucy doesn't
favor drinkin'.

Duffy follows Willie up on the platform.

SADIE

(to Jack)

How'd you get him here? He was out stiff.

JACK

Hair of the dog that bit him.

SADIE

Hair? He must have swallowed the dog.

On the platform, Duffy looks uneasily at the bleary-eyed Willie. The band suddenly plays a fanfare, and the chairman steps up to the microphone.

CHAIRMAN

Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me a great deal of pleasure to introduce to you that true man of the people, the next governor of the state... Willie Stark.

There is scattered applause as Willie steps forward to speak.

WILLIE

My friends...

He turns his face from side to side, and fumbles in the right side of his coat pocket to fish out his speech.

WILLIE

My friends... I...

He tries to focus on the speech, which he clutches before his eyes with both hands. Then he lifts his head, and looks directly at the people who have come to hear him. As he speaks, the camera focuses on the faces of these people: the farmers, workers, hicks, red-necks who are Willie's audience, Willie's people.

WILLIE

I have a speech here. It's a speech about what this state needs. There's no need in my telling you what this state needs. You are the state and you know what you need... You over there... look at your pants. Have they got holes in the knees? Listen to your stomach. Did you ever hear it rumble from hunger?... And you, what about your crops? Did they ever rot in the field because the road was so bad you couldn't get them to market?... And you. What about your kids? Are they growing up ignorant as dirt, ignorant as you, 'cause there's no school for them?... No,

I'm not going to read you any speech.

He throws his speech away. Duffy looks alarmed.

WILLIE

But I am going to tell you a story.
It's a funny story...

SADIE

(from the steps)

Hey!

WILLIE'S VOICE

...So get ready to laugh.

SADIE

What's he up to?

JACK

Shut up!

WILLIE

Get ready to bust your sides laughing,
'cause it's sure a funny story. It's
about a hick... a hick like you, if
you please. Yeah, like you. He grew
up on the dirt roads and gully washes
of a farm. He knew what it was to
get up before dawn and get feed and
slop and milk before breakfast...
and then set out before sunup and
walk six miles to a one-room, slab-
sided schoolhouse. Oh, this hick
knew what it was to be a hick, all
right. He figured if he was going to
get anything done, he had to do it
himself. So he sat up nights and
studied books. He studied law because
he thought he might be able to change
things some... for himself, and for
folks like him.

Sugar Boy listens intently, sharing in the anger in Willie's
speech.

WILLIE

No, I'm not going to lie to you. He
didn't start off thinking about the
hicks and all the wonderful things
he was going to do for them. No. No,
he started off thinking of number
one. But something came to him on
the way. How he could do nothing for
himself without the help of the
people. That's what came to him. And
it also came to him, with the powerful
force of God's own lightning, back
in his home country, when a
schoolhouse collapsed because it was
built of politics... rotten brick.

It killed and mangled a dozen kids. But you know that story. The people were his friends because he fought that rotten brick. And some of the politicians down in the city, they knew that... So they rode up to his house in a big, fine, shiny car and said as how they wanted him to run for governor...

Jack, electrified, grips Sadie's arm.

JACK

Sadie, he's wonderful... wonderful...

Duffy fidgets as Willie continues to pace and speak, his face filled with conviction, and with fury.

WILLIE

...So they told the hick... and he swallowed it. He looked in his heart and he thought in all humility how he'd like to try and change things. He was just a country boy who thought that even the plainest, poorest man can be governor if his fellow citizens find he's got the stuff for the job. Well, those fellows in the striped pants... they saw the hick and they took him in.

He points his finger at Duffy, who is coming over to speak to him.

DUFFY

(low voice)

Willie, what are you trying to do?

Willie turns on him, roaring.

WILLIE

There he is! There's your Judas Iscariot.

(he pushes Duffy across the platform)

Look at him... lickspittle... nose-wiper.

Duffy gestures frantically to the band.

DUFFY

Play! Play!

WILLIE

(pushing him again)

Look at him!

DUFFY

Play anything.

The band starts to play, adding to the pandemonium. Willie shouts above it.

WILLIE

Look at him! Joe Harrison's dummy!
Look at him!

DUFFY

That's a lie!

WILLIE

Look at him!

Duffy signals to some of his goons standing near the platform.

DUFFY

Go get him, boys... go get him.

Sugar Boy leaps up on the platform, his pistol drawn and pointed at Duffy's men. Willie throws up his arms to silence the crowd.

WILLIE

Now, shut up! Shut up, all of you.
Now, listen to me, you hicks. Yeah,
you're hicks too, and they fooled
you a thousand times, just like they
fooled me. But this time I'm going
to fool somebody. I'm going to stay
in this race. I'm on my own and I'm
out for blood.

The camera moves in close on Willie's face.

WILLIE

Listen to me, you hicks...

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Willie's Speeches, Day and Night

A series of close-ups of Willie's face as he shouts and jeers his message, always accompanied by the loud and frenzied cheers of the crowd. Superimposed over his face is the figure of Jack Burden, at his desk, typing out his stories.

WILLIE

Listen to me and lift up your eyes
and look at God's blessed and
unflyblown truth... And this is the
truth. You're a hick. And nobody
ever helped a hick but a hick himself.

Loud cheers and yells.

WILLIE

All right, listen to me... listen to
me. I was the hick they were going
to use to split the hick vote. But
I'm standing right here now on my

hind legs... even a dog can learn to do that. Are you standing on your hind legs? Have you learned to do that much yet? Here it is, here it is, you hicks. Nail up anybody who stands in your way! Nail up Joe Harrison! Nail up McMurphy! And if they don't deliver, give me a hammer and I'll do it myself.

DISSOLVE TO:

NEWSPAPER HEADLINE

There is a photograph of Willie and a headline that reads

STARK CHANCES BOOMING

Superimposed over the newspaper is a shot of a crowd applauding and yelling for Willie.

Interior: Joe Harrison's Campaign Headquarters, Night

Duffy, Pillsbury, and other aides stand looking at a poster of Willie.

POLITICIAN

I want his throat cut, from ear to ear.

Exterior: Willie's Campaign Montage

Rock crashes through a window, knocking down a poster of Willie.

Poster being torn off the side of a building.

A man is attacked as he tries to distribute leaflets.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Jack Burden's Desk, The Chronicle, Night

Jack is working on a story when Madison comes to his desk.

MADISON

No use going any further, Jack. We aren't printing them any more.

JACK

I thought the Chronicle line was --

MADISON

Divide and conquer? Stark is getting too big for his britches and the hicks are getting too smart. We're now supporting Harrison.

JACK

(stands up)

How do you square that?

MADISON

I work here.

JACK

(putting on his coat)

Well, I don't... not any more.

MADISON

Jack, you fool.

JACK

If you had any guts you'd print
this...

MADISON

I work here. I take orders.

JACK

I know. You've got a wife and three
kids and your boy goes to Princeton.

MADISON

You won't find it easy to get another
job.

JACK

I'm too rich to work.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Street Outside State Capitol, Day

NEWSPAPER HEADLINE READS

HARRISON WINS CLOSE RACE
STARK SWEEPS RURAL AREAS
CITY VOTE DECIDES ELECTION

Superimposed over newspaper is a crowd cheering at Harrison's
victory parade. Willie, raincoat thrown over his shoulders,
looking grim, and Sadie and Sugar Boy are part of that crowd.
They turn away and walk toward a bar.

Interior: Bar, Day

Jack is already at the bar. Willie, Sadie, and Sugar Boy
join him there.

JACK

We didn't do so good.

WILLIE

Double bourbon.

SADIE

(sitting next to Jack)
Same for me.

WILLIE

And a beer.

(to Jack)

I hear you got fired from the paper.

JACK

You heard wrong, Willie. I quit.

WILLIE

(passing the beer
back to Sugar Boy)

You're smart. 'Cause before I'm
through with that mob they're not
going to have enough money left to
pay the boy that cleans the spittoons.

JACK

How do you feel, Willie?

WILLIE

I feel fine, fine. You see, Jack, I
learned something.

Willie and Sadie exchange looks.

JACK

Yeah... what?

Close shot of Willie.

WILLIE

How to win.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

Exterior: Road, Day

Jack stands on the side of the road, thumbing a ride.

JACK

(voice over)

I didn't see Willie again until his
second campaign... four years later.

Interior: Office, Night

Jack turns in some copy to a man at a desk.

JACK

(voice over)

I drifted from job to job...

Exterior: Street, Day

Jack and others in front of an employment agency.

JACK

(voice over)

...That is, whenever I could find one.

Interior: Bar, Night

Jack, at the bar, looking haggard and disheveled, picks up a newspaper and turns to find a photograph of Anne. The caption reads STANTONS ARRIVE HOME.

JACK
(voice over)
But always further and further away from Anne, and the life at Burden's Landing.

Exterior: Street, Day

Camera pans with Jack as he trudges along the street.

JACK
(voice over)
But Willie wasn't drifting. He knew where he was going.

We see an insert of a newspaper. It has a caricature of Willie, swinging a sledge hammer. The caption reads

STARK ATTACKS ADMINISTRATION
CHARGES OLD MACHINE STILL CORRUPT

JACK
(voice over)
He had his foot in the door and he kept right on pushing to get in. He had lost the election but he had won the state... and he knew it... and the people knew it.

MONTAGE: WILLIE'S LIFE

Writing on a fence: THE PEOPLE'S WILL SHOULD BE THE LAW OF THE STATE... WILLIE STARK
Painted on a rock: KNOWLEDGE BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE... WILLIE STARK

Lettering on a barn: FREE MEDICINE FOR ALL PEOPLE -- NOT AS A CHARITY BUT AS A RIGHT... WILLIE STARK

Poster on a building: MY STUDY IS THE HEART OF THE PEOPLE... WILLIE STARK

JACK
(voice over)
They were all hopping on his bandwagon... even Tiny Duffy.

Newspaper caricature: it shows Willie on a bandwagon headed for the state capitol. Everyone is trying to climb aboard. Caption is THEY'RE ALL FOR WILLIE NOW. Huge poster on the side of a building: MY STUDY IS THE HEART OF THE PEOPLE. Camera pans up to photograph of Willie on the poster.

JACK
(voice over)
Yep, Willie came back like he said
he would.

Interior: Willie's Office, Day

Willie is being interviewed by a group of reporters. Sugar
Boy lounges nearby, leaning against the wall.

WILLIE
Do you want to know what my platform
is? Here it is: I'm going to soak
the fat boys and I'm going to spread
it thin.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Circus Grounds, Day

We see balloons with inscriptions reading "I'm for Willie,"
and a large banner stretching overhead, saying FREE CIRCUS
TODAY -- COMPLIMENTS OF WILLIE STARK. The crowd moves about,
gazing at the clowns, animals, the trapeze act.

JACK
(voice over)
Willie was right -- he'd learned how
to win...

Exterior: Park, Day

A truck loaded with beer kegs pulls into the park. On the
back of the truck is a sign: BIG STARK RALLY TODAY -- FREE
BEER -- FREE FOOD -- EVERYBODY INVITED. Superimposed over
this is the image of dollar bills floating through the air.

JACK
(voice over)
He spent a lot of money doing it...
an awful lot of money... I was
beginning to wonder where he got it
from.

Montage: Willie's Second Campaign

Hand holding check made payable to Willie Stark Campaign
Fund... \$7000. Willie's hand reaches out and takes it.

Hand holding check payable to cash for \$5000. Superimposed
is Willie, looking on, and his hand endorsing the back of
the check.

Another check to the Stark Campaign Fund for \$3500. Poster
of Willie is superimposed.

JACK
(voice over)
There were rumors throughout the

state that Willie was making deals
with all kinds of people... strange
deals... for Willie Stark.

Crowd milling about circus grounds, with Willie's poster
superimposed.

Fireworks exploding. Crowd cheers.

JACK
(voice over)
The second time out, it wasn't a
campaign... it was a slaughter. It
was Saturday night in a mining town.

Huge poster is affixed to the side of a building. It bears
Willie's face, and his slogans.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Hotel (State Capital), Day

Crowd stands about as Willie and Jack make their way into
the hotel.

JACK
(voice over)
He came back and he took me with
him.

Interior: Hotel Lobby, Day

The lobby is packed as Willie, Jack, Sugar Boy, and Pillsbury
enter. Willie makes signals to Duffy to tag along with the
entourage. Willie leans over to speak to the room clerk.

WILLIE
This is Jack Burden, a friend of
mine. From now on he's going to live
here. Give him anything he wants.

The group starts up the stairs, past the officers who are
standing guard. Duffy stops to speak to one, pointing his
finger at some of his men standing below.

DUFFY
Let these boys through, officer.

WILLIE
(to Jack)
Duffy works for me now.

JACK
It looks like everybody works for
you.

They start up the second flight of stairs.

WILLIE
No. No, not yet. But I want to keep

him around. He reminds me of something
I never want to forget.

Willie stops and looks around at Duffy's men hurrying up the
steps.

WILLIE

(to Duffy)

Come on, come on, come on, come on.
Are these the boys?

DUFFY

These are the boys that can get the
boys.

WILLIE

How many do you think we can get?

DUFFY

Fifty.

WILLIE

How much?

DUFFY

Five dollars a head.

WILLIE

(to Sugar Boy)

What do you think, Sugar? Do they
look like good boys?

SUGAR BOY

T-t-they b-b-better be.

WILLIE

Get a hundred... All right, go on,
all of you. Blow. Blow, blow. You
too, Duffy. Go on.

Duffy and his men turn and go downstairs.

WILLIE

(to Jack)

Handbill distributors.

JACK

If they all look like them I'd hate
not to take one.

WILLIE

That's the object. Not like when
they beat up my boy Tom.

JACK

How is Tom?

WILLIE

Oh, he's fine. He starts college in
the fall.

JACK

Oh. And Lucy?

Willie's expression changes. He starts up the stairs.

WILLIE

Fine... fine.

Interior: Willie's Campaign Office In Hotel, Day

The place is a beehive of activity, with typists and messengers scurrying about, all supervised by Sadie.

SADIE

Hey, I need a boy... Where's a boy?

(boy runs up)

Take that downstairs; they're waiting for it. Right away, on the double.

(to typist)

Listen, baby, you've got to double-space all of this... he can't read, see.

The door opens and Willie, Jack, and Sugar Boy come in.

JACK

Sadie!

SADIE

(to typist)

And they need four copies.

(looks up)

Hi, Jack. How are you?

WILLIE

Sadie is my secretary now.

(to messenger, trying

to squeeze by)

Oh, pardon me.

As Willie and Jack walk toward adjoining room, Sadie calls out:

SADIE

Fix your tie, Willie.

Interior: Bedroom Hotel Suite, Day

Willie and Jack enter from the office.

WILLIE

Hey, Sugar.

Sugar Boy appears in the doorway. Sadie slips by into the room.

WILLIE

Keep everybody out of here. I want to talk to Jack and Sadie alone.

He walks over to Jack, who leans back on the bed.

WILLIE

From now on you're working for me.

JACK

Doing what?

WILLIE

I don't know. Something will turn up, won't it, Sadie?

SADIE

Yeah. We need a college man around... for research.

WILLIE

How much did they pay you on that newspaper?

JACK

Three hundred dollars a month.

WILLIE

(laughs)

I could buy you cheap, couldn't I?

JACK

For a bag of salt.

WILLIE

No. No, I don't play that way. I like you, boy. I always have. I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll give you four hundred dollars a month and traveling expenses.

JACK

You throw money around like it was money.

Willie gets up and walks to the window.

WILLIE

Money?... I don't need money. People give me things.

JACK

Why?

WILLIE

Because they believe in me.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Burden's Landing, Day

Willie's car is on the ferry crossing the bay to Burden's Landing. Sugar Boy drives the car off the ferry and up the

road toward the house.

JACK
(voice over)
I was going home again. But this time it was different. Now I had a feeling that maybe the waiting was over... for me, and for Anne.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Stanton Living Room (Burden's Landing), Night

Close shot of Willie standing in front of the fireplace, beneath the portrait of Governor Stanton.

WILLIE
It's a far cry from where I come from... to this house.

Camera pulls back. The room is crowded with people, all of them friends of the Stantons. Anne, Adam, Judge Stanton, Mrs. Burden, and McEvoy are part of the audience sitting around the fireplace. Jack stands next to Willie.

WILLIE
And standing here under the portrait of one of the greatest governors of this state, talking to you people... well, it's an honor I never thought I'd have.

JACK
Are there any questions?
(looks around)
Mr. McEvoy.

MCEVOY
(smiles)
No, I have no questions.

JACK
Judge?

JUDGE
A few... but it will hold.

STANTON
I have a question.

WILLIE
Shoot.

STANTON
A lot of people in this state have been saying that you've been making deals... some of them with the very groups that you claim you're against. Is that true?

JACK

Adam, you know how rumors start...

WILLIE

Yes. Yes, that's true. I have nothing to hide. I'll make a deal with the devil if it'll help me carry out my program. But believe me, there are no strings attached to those deals.

STANTON

You're sure about that?

WILLIE

Doc, Jack here has been telling me how you feel about things... how you'd like to see a new hospital built, a hospital that's the biggest and best that money can buy. You want those things, Doc, because, well, because you're a man who wants to do good. Now, I'd like to ask you a question.

STANTON

Shoot.

The guests laugh good-naturedly.

WILLIE

Do you know what good comes out of?

STANTON

You tell me, Mr. Stark.

WILLIE

Out of bad... that's what good comes out of. Because you can't make it out of anything else. You didn't know that, did you?

STANTON

No, I didn't... There's another question I'd like to ask you. You say there's only bad to start with and the good must come with the bad. Who's to determine what's good and what's bad?... You?

WILLIE

Why not?

STANTON

How?

WILLIE

Why, that's easy. Just... just make it up as you go along.

More laughter. Willie smiles and goes on.

WILLIE

Folks, there's a time to talk and there's a time to act. I think the time to act is right now. And with your support, I not only will win but I will do all of the things I promised. I need your help. Oh, I need it badly. But I'm not going to beg for it. In the name of this state which we love... in the name of the governor in whose house we meet... I demand it.

There is immediate applause. Anne is the first to rush over and shake Willie's hand.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Stanton Home, Night

The last of the guests are leaving. Jack and Willie remain with the Judge, Anne, and Adam.

WILLIE

(to Judge)

Well, what do you say, sir?

JACK

You've got to say yes. With you in the race...

JUDGE

I'm an old bird... I...

WILLIE

But a game one.

They laugh.

WILLIE

Look, I'll give you complete power as attorney general. You can do anything you see fit. I'll swing the ax to clear the way for you. Is that a deal?

The Judge smiles, then puts out his hand.

JUDGE

It's a deal.

They shake hands.

WILLIE

Jack, we have to get back to town... a lot to do.

(shakes hands with
Adam)

Dr. Stanton.

Jack kisses Anne on the cheek. Anne comes over and shakes Willie's hand.

ANNE

I'm very glad to have met you.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

Interior: Hotel Lobby (State Capital), Day

People stand before the election return board in the hotel lobby. Camera pulls back, revealing a newspaper picture of Willie, and the headline

STARK ELECTED GOVERNOR
WILLIE WINS

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Street Outside Willie's Hotel Balcony, Night

A crowd stands below Willie's hotel window, chanting together:

CROWD

We want Willie! We want Willie!

A high angle from the balcony shows Anne, Jack, and Adam in the center of the excited crowd, looking expectantly upward. Some of the people around them are carrying torches. Arc lights play over the dome of the state capitol in the background. In response to the chants, Willie appears on the balcony. With him, standing on the balcony, are Tom and Lucy. The crowd erupts into cheers as he steps outside.

WILLIE

(raises his hands for
silence)

This is not a time for speechmaking.
I should get on my knees and ask God
to give me strength to carry out
your will.

Loud cheers. Adam watches Anne. She applauds. Willie looks down at the crowd and continues his speech.

WILLIE

This much I swear to you. These things
you shall have. I'm going to build a
hospital. The biggest that money can
buy... and it will belong to you.
That any man, woman, or child who is
sick or in pain can go through those
doors and know that everything will
be done for them that man can do. To
heal sickness. To ease pain. Free.
Not as a charity, but as a right.
And it is your right that every child

shall have a complete education.
That any man who produces anything
can take it to market without paying
toll. And no poor man's land or farm
can be taxed or taken away from him.
And it is the right of the people
that they will not be deprived of
hope...

The crowd applauds, and Willie waves. We see Anne, face aglow,
turn to Jack.

ANNE

Does he mean it, Jack? Does he?

STANTON

(as he walks away)
That's his bribe.

Anne and Jack watch Adam as he leaves.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

Montage: Willie Becomes Governor

Willie, Sadie, and Jack leaving their old campaign
headquarters.

Willie, Sadie, Jack, and others going upstairs in the
governor's mansion. The ousted politicians are just packing
up and leaving.

JACK

(voice over)
What if it was his bribe! He swept
the old gang out of office. What if
they hollered like stuck pigs? He
jammed through bill after bill and
the people got what they wanted.

Willie yelling at the legislators during a session.

WILLIE

I demand that this bill be passed.
Nobody's going to tell me how to run
this state.

Road excavation -- a bulldozer clears away dirt.

A huge crane maneuvers over a dam site. Men are seen working
on the girders of a large power plant.

JACK

(voice over)
He started to build the roads, the
schools, the power dams, to change
the face of the state from one end
to the other... His methods?

Shots of uniformed policemen roughing up citizens. Willie and Sugar Boy move in on a man being held by cops.

Willie looks on as Jack thumbs through his little black book.

JACK
(voice over)
Politics is a dirty game... and he played it rough and dirty. Willie's little black book was a record of sin and corruption. And me, Jack Burden? I kept the book and added up the accounts.

Willie in a nightclub, surrounded by some show girls. A photographer takes a picture of Willie with a girl balanced on his knee.

Willie leads a marching band out onto a football field.

JACK
(voice over)
Clown, show-off, playboy, they yelled at him. Building football stadiums. Fiercely proud of his son who played in them.

Shot of Tom in football uniform running across the field with the ball. Willie, in the stands, hugs Lucy.

WILLIE
Oh, look at him go. He's going to be All-American.

Willie makes an inspection of the police. He stops to adjust an officer's tie.

JACK
(voice over)
They said he was building up a private army. But he was building, always building...

Sign at building excavation reads HERE ON THIS SITE WILL BE ERECTED THE GOVERNOR STARK HOSPITAL -- "TO HEAL SICKNESS. TO EASE PAIN. FREE. NOT AS A CHARITY -- BUT AS A RIGHT"... WILLIE STARK.

JACK
(voice over)
Always playing up to the crowd. Letting them trample on tradition. Well, tradition needed trampling on.

A square dance at the governor's mansion. Willie dances with Anne.

JACK
(voice over)

The crowd loved it... Willie loved
it... and so did I.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

Interior: Executive Office Corridor, Day

Jack walks down the corridor on the way to Willie's offices.

Interior: Willie's Executive Offices, Day

As Jack enters from the corridor, Sadie is coming out of
Willie's private office.

SADIE
(through open door)
You low-down, no-good redneck...

She slams the door hard. We hear Willie laugh.

JACK
(to secretary)
What goes on here?

SECRETARY
That's what Sadie wants to know.
(she shows Jack
newspaper containing
photograph of Willie
at the nightclub)
The boss poses for too many pictures.

Jack grins, then walks into Sadie's office.

SADIE
I'll kill him.

JACK
Why, Sadie, I'm surprised at you.

SADIE
I'll kill him.

She goes to the door to yell to the secretary.

SADIE
I hate all women.

She slams the door again, and returns to her desk.

SADIE
Was she pretty?

Jack shoves the paper at her. She ignores it.

SADIE
Was she pretty?

JACK

If I met her on the street I'd never recognize her.

SADIE

Was she pretty?

JACK

How should I know? I wasn't looking at her face... Look, if it's going to cause all this grief, why don't you let him go?

SADIE

Let him go? I'll kill him. I'll drive him out of this state.

JACK

Just because a guy's sitting with a couple of girls on his knees in public...

SADIE

Public or private... I know him. How about what happened in Chicago? That girl on skates... and the time you both went to St. Louis... There's a new invention, you know, Photography and newsreels. Willie Stark in a nightclub... Willie Stark with a blonde.

JACK

You could always bleach your hair.

SADIE

I could also break every bone in his neck. After all I've done for him... Now he goes two-timing me.

JACK

He's been two-timing Lucy. So there's another kind of arithmetic for what he's doing to you.

SADIE

Lucy?

(laughs)

If she had her way he'd be back in Kanoma City slopping the hogs right now. And he knows it. He knows what she'd do for him. She had her chance.

JACK

You seem to think Lucy's on her way out, don't you?

SADIE

He'll ditch her... Give him time.

JACK

You ought to know.

She slaps his face.

JACK

Hey, you got the wrong guy. I'm not
the hero of this piece.

The door to Willie's office bursts open and Willie dashes
out.

WILLIE

All right, come on, both of you.
Let's go, hurry it up.

They go out through the reception room, pick up Sugar Boy,
and head down the corridor.

WILLIE

Come on. Pillsbury put his hand in
the pork barrel and got caught. You
know, I never did trust that guy.

Some newsmen are waiting on the top landing.

NEWSMEN

Have you heard about Pillsbury? What
do you intend to do about Pillsbury?
How about it, Governor?

Willie pushes by them.

WILLIE

Later, boys, later.
(to Jack)
Say, Jack, go back and get the Judge.
Let's get him over to my hotel just
as soon as you can.

They all hurry after Willie as he rushes down the stairs.

Interior: Lobby State Capitol, Day

Anne is about to go up the stairs when she meets Willie and
the others on the way down.

ANNE

(to Willie)
I waited for you.
(she sees Sadie)
Hello.
(back to Willie)
You promised we could... uh... discuss
my charity project... Children's
home?

WILLIE

Well, I'm very sorry. Something very
important came up. You'll call me

later, won't you?

ANNE
Yes, certainly.

SADIE
We're late.

Anne watches as they cross the lobby and exit.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Stark's Hotel Suite, Night

Close shot of Willie, seated, with his feet propped up on a table. Pillsbury stands before him. Jack, Sadie, Duffy, and Sugar Boy are also in the room.

WILLIE
Look at you, Pillsbury. Fifty years old, gut-sprung, teeth gone, never had a dime. If the Almighty had intended for you to be rich he'd have taken care of that a long time ago. The idea of you being rich... that's plain blasphemy. Ain't that a fact?

Pillsbury doesn't answer.

WILLIE
Answer me!

PILLSBURY
Yes.

WILLIE
Louder, man. Don't mumble. Speak up. Say it's a fact, a blasphemous fact.

PILLSBURY
It's a fact, a blasphemous fact.

Sugar Boy laughs loudly. The phone rings and Sadie picks it up.

SADIE
Yeah?... Oh, I see.
(hangs up)
Dumond can't come. He says his wife is sick.

WILLIE
I don't care if she's dying. Sugar, get the car. Get him and bring him over here.

Sugar Boy exists. Willie turns back to Pillsbury.

WILLIE

Now, you know what you're supposed to do, don't you, Pillsbury? You're supposed to stay poor and take orders. Oh, there'll be some sweetening for you from time to time... but Duffy'll take care of that. Don't you go setting yourself up on your own again, do you understand that?

PILLSBURY

Yes.

WILLIE

Louder, man. And say, I understand that.

PILLSBURY

I understand that.

WILLIE

Give him a pen and some paper, Sadie.

There is a knock on the door.

WILLIE

See who that is, Duffy.

Judge Stanton enters.

WILLIE

Oh, hello, Judge. Sit down. I'll be with you in just a couple of seconds.

(back to Pillsbury)

Now write what I tell you to write... Dear Governor Stark. I wish to resign as auditor due to ill health, to take effect as soon as you can relieve me. Respectfully yours.

(after a pause)

Did you sign it?

PILLSBURY

No.

WILLIE

(roaring)

Well, sign it! Don't put any date on it. I can fill that in when I need it.

Pillsbury signs the paper.

WILLIE

Now bring it to me.

Pillsbury moves slowly, so Sadie yanks the paper out of his hand and passes it to Willie.

WILLIE

Now get out.

Pillsbury slinks out of the room.

JUDGE

The papers have the story.

WILLIE

Yeah, I know.

JUDGE

They're talking about impeachment proceedings.

WILLIE

(rising)

Against who?

JUDGE

This time, Pillsbury.

WILLIE

I got that "this time," Judge.

JUDGE

How true is it?

WILLIE

It's too true.

The phone rings.

SADIE

Yes?

(hands phone to Willie)

This is it, Willie. Jeff Hopkins on the wire.

Willie takes the phone, but puts his hand over the mouthpiece so that he can speak to Jack.

WILLIE

What have we got on Hopkins, Jack?

(as Jack riffles through the black book)

Hello, Jeff. About that Pillsbury business...

(reads from black book Jack holds out for him)

Here's what I want you to do when it comes up in the legislature. Now, wait a minute, wait a minute. You listen to me.

(still reading from book)

You got a mortgage coming due on that place of yours in about five weeks, haven't you? You'd like to get it renewed, wouldn't you?

(pause)
All right, Tiny'll talk to you in
the morning.

He grins and hangs up the phone.

WILLIE
Get going, Tiny.

Duffy leaves.

JUDGE
You haven't answered my question.
Why are you saving Pillsbury's hide?

WILLIE
I'm not a bit interested in
Pillsbury's hide. It's something
much more important than that. If
the McMurphy boys get the notion
they can get away with this, there's
no telling where they'll stop.

JUDGE
(quietly)
Or where you will... Pillsbury is
guilty. As attorney general of this
state, it's my job to prosecute.

WILLIE
Judge, you talk like Pillsbury was...
was human. He isn't. He's a thing.
You don't prosecute an adding machine
if the spring goes busted and makes
a mistake. You fix it. Well, I fixed
him. I'm not a bit interested in
Pillsbury. It's something much bigger
than that.

JUDGE
(getting up)
Yes, it is.

JACK
He's right, Judge. Can't you see
that he's right?

JUDGE
He's right because you want him to
be right. Because you're afraid to
admit you've made a mistake. Do it
now before it's too late.
(to Willie)
I'm offering my resignation as
attorney general. You'll have it in
writing by messenger in the morning...
dated.

WILLIE
(softly)

It took you a long time to make up your mind, Judge. A long time. What made you take such a long time?

JUDGE

I wasn't sure.

WILLIE

And now you are?

The Judge nods.

WILLIE

I'll tell you what you are. You're scared. You sat in that big easy chair of yours for thirty years and played at being a judge. Then all of a sudden I came along and put a bat in your hand, and I said, go ahead, Judge, start swinging. And you did. And you had a wonderful time. But now you're scared. You don't want to get your hands dirty. You want to pick up the marbles... but you don't want to get your hands dirty. Look at my whole program, Judge. How do you think I put that across?

JUDGE

I knew how, but I never knew why.

He starts to leave.

WILLIE

You're not by any chance thinking of going over to McMurphy's boys, are you?

JUDGE

I'm through with politics.

WILLIE

I'm happy to hear that.
(extends his hand)
No hard feelings.

JUDGE

(ignores the hand)
Goodbye, Governor.
(to Jack)
Are you coming with me, Jack?

Jack turns away.

JUDGE

You're making a mistake.

He goes. Willie closes the door behind him.

WILLIE

Do you think he means it when he says he's through with politics, Sadie?

SADIE

No. No, I don't.

WILLIE

What about you, Jack?

JACK

I've known the Judge all my life. He's always meant everything he's said.

WILLIE

All right. All right. Take it easy. I'll take your word for it.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Willie's Hotel, Night

Willie's car draws up to the curb. Sugar Boy hops out to open the door for Willie.

Sadie is watching him from a window upstairs in the hotel. Anne is in the back seat; Willie leans down to talk to her.

WILLIE

Sugar, take Miss Stanton home.
(to Anne)
When am I going to see you again?

She doesn't answer.

WILLIE

What's the matter, Anne?

ANNE

Please take me home now, Sugar Boy.

WILLIE

You've got to understand me.

ANNE

(turns away)
I understand you. It's myself I don't understand.

WILLIE

Do you think I like sneaking around corners any more than you do? But right now, with the Pillsbury business and with your uncle quitting... If I got a divorce...

ANNE

Maybe we'd better stop seeing each other.

WILLIE

No. No, we won't stop seeing each other, will we?

ANNE

(slowly)

No.

WILLIE

Because you believe in what I tell you.

ANNE

(puts her hand on his)

Because I believe what you tell me.

Sadie approaches.

SADIE

Good evening, Governor Stark.

(looks at Anne, but talks to Willie)

I thought you might like to know that Judge Stanton kept his promise.
(directly to Willie)

He gave the story to every paper in town.

WILLIE

Sugar, meet me at the hotel as soon as you can.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

NEWSPAPER HEADLINE

ATTORNEY GENERAL RESIGNS:
STANTON ACCUSES STARK OF
QUASHING PILLSBURY GRAFT

Interior: State Legislature Assembly Room, Day

Duffy stands in the foreground, looking in on the uproar and confusion of the assembly.

SENATOR

These are serious charges that Judge Stanton has given to the press. This legislature is entitled to a complete and full report on the Pillsbury affair. Let the truth be known.

2ND SENATOR

Let it come out.

3RD SENATOR

I move that we adjourn.

4TH SENATOR

I second the motion.

CHAIRMAN

All those in favor, say aye... Motion
carried. The house is adjourned.

As Duffy turns and walks away, other senators rise up in
their seats in protest.

DISSOLVE TO:

MONTAGE: PILLSBURY SCANDAL

Sign on building reads: CITIZENS COMMITTEE MEETING, Subject:
PILLSBURY SCANDAL, 8 P.M. Tonight -- Town Hall.

A man pastes a strip across the sign: CANCELED.

A man is making a speech to a small group of people.

MAN

If you let Willie Stark get away
with the Pillsbury graft, there's no
telling...

Thugs break up the meeting. The speaker is beaten up. Jack
Burden turns through the pages of the little black book.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Stark's Hotel Suite, Day

Willie is lying on the bed. Jack is seated. Sadie and Sugar
Boy stand nearby.

JACK

But we beat the Pillsbury rap...
It's over.

WILLIE

These things are never over. I'll
tell you what I want you to do, Jack.
I want you to start a new page in
that black book of yours... under
then name of Judge Stanton.

JACK

You're crazy. There's nothing on the
Judge.

SADIE

Why? Because his name is Stanton?

WILLIE

Ssshhh, easy.

JACK

What if I won't do it?

WILLIE

You know, some of this has rubbed off on you.

JACK

What are you going to do? Have me shot?

WILLIE

No... no... but I'll have to get myself a new boy.

JACK

I tell you there's nothing on the Judge.

WILLIE

Jack, there's something on everybody. Man is conceived in sin and born in corruption.

JACK

It's a waste of time.

WILLIE

What's the matter, Jack? Are you afraid you might find something out?

Jack stares at him.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Burden's Landing Ferry, Night

Jack's car is seen coming across on the ferry.

JACK

(voice over)

I kept saying to myself that Willie was wrong about the Judge. If there was anything left at Burden's Landing, it was honor. I had to believe that.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Stanton Living Room, Night

Jack and Anne stand together in the living room.

JACK

Anne, I want to ask you a question. Was the Judge ever broke? Really broke?

ANNE

Why do you want to know?

JACK

I don't want to know, but I've got

to.

ANNE

Did he tell you --

JACK

Did who tell me?

ANNE

I don't know. I... how should I know
if the Judge was ever broke?

She walks away from him. Adam enters, carrying bundles of
food and two wine bottles.

STANTON

Hello... Come on, Anne, take this
food and start cooking. I'm hungry.

Anne takes the grocery bundles. Jack grabs the wine.

JACK

Me, I'm on the thirsty side. Bring
some glasses, Anne, quick.

He joins Adam, who has opened the piano.

STANTON

(laughing)

It's been a long time since I played
this thing. What do you say we wake
up the ghosts, huh?

JACK

(calling to Anne)

Another glass, Anne, for a ghost.

STANTON

(starting to play)

Remember the last time I played this?
You and Anne were dancing?

Anne returns with three glasses. Jack grabs her around the
waist and whirls her around.

JACK

Shall we dance?

ANNE

Let's... let's have a drink first.

Adam starts to pour the wine.

JACK

No, no... keep playing. Anne and I
want to hear this, don't we, Anne?

(Jack pours the wine)

Adam... ghost... and me.

STANTON

What shall we drink to?

JACK

To the ghost?... To Adam, to the director of the new medical center.

STANTON

(bangs the piano keys)
Don't you ever stop working for him?

ANNE

Adam!

STANTON

I came up here to get away...

JACK

I'm sorry, Adam.

ANNE

Well, I'm not. What's wrong with being the director of the new medical center?

STANTON

Nothing, except that I'm not going to take it.

JACK

Why? Because your uncle resigned?

STANTON

That's partly it. There are other things.

ANNE

What other things?

STANTON

(looks at her)
You too?

ANNE

Yes, me too.

JACK

Anne, if Adam doesn't want to discuss it, let's not.

STANTON

All right, let's discuss it.

ANNE

But calmly.

STANTON

Calmly. Go ahead, Jack. Why do you think he wants me?

JACK

Because you're the best man for the job.

STANTON

It could have nothing to do with my name being Stanton?

JACK

It could have. Let's grant that.

STANTON

That's your answer.

JACK

No, it's not. If that were the only answer I wouldn't be with him any more. There's another side of it. I've learned something from him. You can't make an omelet without cracking eggs.

STANTON

Or heads.

ANNE

But at least a hospital will be built, and the sick will be cared for.

STANTON

At what price?

JACK

At any price.

STANTON

Do you really believe that, Jack?

JACK

I really believe that Stark wants to do good. You do too. It's a matter of method. Many times out of evil comes good. Well, pain is an evil. As a doctor you should know that.

STANTON

Pain is an evil; it is not evil. It is not evil in itself. Stark is evil.

JACK

The people of the state don't think so.

STANTON

How would they know? The first thing he did was to take over the newspapers and the radio stations. Why be so afraid of criticism? If Stark is interested in doing good, he should also be interested in the truth. I don't see how you can separate the

two. No, Stark is not for me.

ANNE

(upset)

No, Stark is not for you. Well, what is for you? Pride. Pride, that's all it is... foolish, stupid pride. All you've ever talked about is what you could do if... if somebody would tear down and build. All right, all right, somebody has, and he's given it to you. But he's not for you. No, he's not for you.

She throws down her glass and runs crying from the room. Adam goes after her.

STANTON

Anne... Anne...

Interior: Stanton Hallway and Stairs, Night

Anne runs upstairs and Adam follows. The Judge comes out of his room to see what has happened, sees Jack standing at the foot of the stairs, hesitates a moment, and then goes back to his room without speaking.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: County Recorder Room, Day

Jack enters and speaks to a clerk, who then directs him to one of the files. He starts to look through the files marked MORTGAGES DEFAULTED.

JACK

(voice over)

Will I find anything, Judge? Will I? I didn't find it all at once. It takes a long time to go through old courthouse records and musty deeds... a very long time. But it wasn't too hard for me. I was well trained in research, especially this kind.

He pulls out a file.

JACK

(voice over)

I found what I didn't want to find.

He takes the file back to the clerk.

JACK

Have some photostat copies made of these. I'll be back tomorrow for them.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Jack's Hotel Bedroom, Day

Jack is lying on his bed, looking over the documents that relate to the Judge. He looks haggard and worried. There is a knock on the door. Jack doesn't answer; the knock is repeated.

JACK

Who is it?

SADIE'S VOICE

It's me, Sadie Burke.

JACK

Wait a minute.

He hides the documents under his pillow.

JACK

All right, come in.

She comes in, sniffs the air.

SADIE

Phew! Awful lot of smoke. Awful lot of whisky. You sober?

JACK

Stone.

SADIE

I'll have one with you.
(starts tidying up
the room)
What are you hiding out for?

JACK

I'm not. I've been sleeping.

SADIE

For four days? You've been back in town for four days.

JACK

Willie knows everything.

SADIE

Willie's worried about his boy.

JACK

Willie's boy is worried about Willie's boy.

SADIE

Well, why don't you put something on the phonograph -- a low-down, mean blues. Play it over and over again until you're sick of it. Then crack it and go back to work.

(sits down)

I do it all the time.

JACK
That's not my problem.

SADIE
No, it isn't your problem.
(gets up again)
I'll wait for you if you want to
powder your nose.

Jack goes into the bathroom.

JACK
I'll be with you in a minute.

Sadie wanders around. She goes to the dresser, upon which is a photograph of Anne Stanton. She picks up the picture and places it so she can see it in the mirror and compare it with her own reflection.

SADIE
Hmmm. Yeah, I can see it. I've got
to look in the mirror to be able to
see it. Soft, white skin... not like
mine.
(runs her hand across
her cheeks)
I had smallpox when I was a kid.
Where I lived it seemed nearly all
the kids had smallpox...

Jack watches her through the open bathroom door.

SADIE
It leaves your face hard. Then she's
got poise. Look at the way she holds
her head... at just the right angle.
That takes training. That takes years
of training...

Jack, towel in hand, comes out and stands behind her. He looks at her in the mirror, puzzled.

SADIE
I see what Willie sees. Willie's got
big ideas, Jack.

JACK
What do you mean?

SADIE
A girl like that could be a governor's
wife. Or even a President's.

JACK
What are you talking about?

SADIE
He ditched Lucy, he ditched me, and

he'll ditch you.

JACK
(shaking her)
Answer me!

SADIE
He'll ditch everybody in the whole world because that's what Willie wants. Nobody in the world but him.

JACK
What are you talking about?

SADIE
You and your high-tone friends. What do they know? What do they know about anything? Why did you have to mix her in?

JACK
You're crazy, Sadie. You're out of your mind.

SADIE
Am I? Well, why don't you go down and ask her. Or ask him. Ask Willie.

JACK
Shut up!

SADIE
Go ahead, ask him.

JACK
Shut up!

SADIE
Ask him!

He slaps her hard.

SADIE
Ow-oo... oh... oh.

She starts to laugh.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Football Field, Day

A football team is practicing on the field. Willie watches from the bench. A player kicks the ball and Tom misses it. Jack walks over to Willie.

JACK
He's off today.

WILLIE
It's only practice. He'll be all

right tomorrow... You been gone a long time, Jack.

JACK
Yeah. I figured if you needed me you'd yell.

WILLIE
Why'd you lay around the hotel?

JACK
Thinking.

WILLIE
About what?

JACK
Things.

WILLIE
What did you find on the Judge?

JACK
Nothing.

WILLIE
You sure you didn't find anything on the Judge?

JACK
Yeah, I'm sure.

WILLIE
You're going to keep trying, aren't you?

JACK
If you want me to.

WILLIE
I want you to. There's something else I want you to do too.

JACK
What? Bucket boy? Towel slinger? What?

WILLIE
(looks at him closely)
What's eating you, Jack?

JACK
(avoiding it)
What else do you want me to do?

WILLIE
If you've got something on your mind, boy, spit it out. We've been together too long to play games.

JACK

What do you want me to do?

WILLIE

I hear your pal Adam Stanton turned down the job as director of the hospital. That's bad. Especially at a time like this.

JACK

Oh? How did you hear it?

WILLIE

Why? What difference does it make?

JACK

I just wanted to know.

WILLIE

I heard it around.

JACK

(insistent)

How did you hear he turned it down, Willie?

Out on the field the boys have stopped playing and are huddled around the coach.

WILLIE

I'll be right back, Jack. I want to see what's happening here.

He goes over to the group on the field. The coach is talking to Tom.

COACH

You going to practice the way I tell you.

TOM

I'm going to do it the way I want to do it.

Willie comes up to them.

WILLIE

Tom, come here. What's going on here?

COACH

I don't care if he is your son, Governor... No special rules for him.

TOM

It doesn't make any difference to me either way... whether I play or not.

WILLIE

Well, it does to me.

(to coach)
What do you want him to do?

COACH
To behave himself. Like the rest of
the boys. Four times this season
he's broken training. He comes on
the practice field half potted.

WILLIE
Tom, you're going to have to obey
the rules. Do you hear me? You're
going to obey the rules.

TOM
I put 'em across, don't I? Every
Saturday I put 'em across and I can
still do it, drunk or sober. That's
all you want, isn't it... for me to
put 'em across so you can big-shot
it around? Isn't that all you want?

He walks away.

WILLIE
Tom!
(to coach)
He's a little high-strung.
(goes after Tom)
Tom, come here. Tom!

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Highway, Foggy Day

Sign in foreground reads: WILLIE STARK HIGHWAY U.S. 56. A
car swerves around a bend and careens down the highway.

Tom and his girl friend Helene are in the car. Tom is
drinking.

HELENE
(laughing)
Come on, Tommy... let's go faster.
Come on...

The car goes across a bridge, weaving. Two motorcycle cops
parked there start to give chase.

Tom's car swerves out of control and crashes through a fence.

The two motorcycle cops ride out to the field to the wrecked
car. They find Tom and Helene, unconscious. One of the cops
picks up the empty bottle and hands it to the other.

2ND COP
(looking at Tom)
It's the governor's son.

He throws the bottle away.

DISSOLVE TO:

NEWSPAPER HEADLINES

GOVERNOR'S SON HURT:
GIRL NEAR DEATH IN CRASH

Below the headline is a picture of Helene Hale's father.
Another picture of Mr. Hale on the front page. Caption reads:

GIRL'S FATHER CLAIMS DRUNK DRIVING CAUSE OF WRECK
ADMITTANCE TO HOSPITAL DENIED PRESS

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Governor's Mansion, Night

Lucy and Mr. Hale walk across the large reception room toward Willie. Jack, Sugar Boy, and Duffy stand around in the background.

LUCY

Willie, Mr. Hale's here to see you.

Willie comes to meet them, a drink in his hand. He is obviously drunk.

WILLIE

Go on upstairs, Lucy. I have some business I want to talk over with Mr. Hale.

HALE

What I've got to say anybody can listen to... Where's your boy?

WILLIE

Now... now, don't get excited.
(to Sugar Boy)
Get me another drink, Sugar.

HALE

My daughter may die.

WILLIE

She's not going to die. She'll get the best medical attention there is. No expense will be spared.

HALE

Where's your boy?

LUCY

I'll get him.

WILLIE

Wait a minute, Lucy. He's asleep. And the doctor said after a good night's sleep he'll be all right.

LUCY

No, he won't be all right unless you make him all right. I'll get him.

She goes.

WILLIE

Lucy!
(to Hale)
You care for a drink?

HALE

No thanks.

WILLIE

Accidents will happen, you know.

HALE

Accidents? Your boy was drunk.

WILLIE

I saw the police report. There... there was nothing about drunkenness on the police report.

HALE

Whose police and whose report? I say the boy was drunk. And I know it.

Tom comes down the stairs, with Lucy.

HALE

(to Tom)
Right here before your father... I want you --

TOM

Mr. Hale --

WILLIE

Tom, the doctor says you need rest, boy.

TOM

(turns on him)
I don't want you to try to cover up for me. I was wrong... that's all there is to it.

WILLIE

You don't know what you're talking about. I saw the police report --

TOM

I don't care what the police report says. I was driving and I was drunk. It's all my fault.

(to Hale)

Anything you want to do to me, you

can do. Whatever you want me to do,
I'll do.

WILLIE

Nobody has to do anything. Stop
worrying. I'll take care of
everything.

TOM

I don't want you to take care of
anything.

Tom looks ill; he presses his hand to his forehead.

WILLIE

Tom, go on upstairs and get some
rest, boy. Go on... go on... go on.

Tom walks slowly toward the stairs.

WILLIE

Sugar, help him... Mr. Hale, come on
over and sit down. You sure you
wouldn't care for a drink, Mr. Hale?

Hale sits down, shakes his head.

WILLIE

Hey, Tiny, go home. Go on, out of
here... out of here. Go on.

Duffy leaves, disgruntled. Willie sits on a coffee table. He
pours himself another drink.

WILLIE

What business did you say you were
in?

HALE

I didn't say.

WILLIE

What business are you in?

HALE

Trucking business.

WILLIE

Trucking business. Trucks run on
state roads. If a man in the trucking
business had a contract with the
state, a big one, that would be pretty
good, wouldn't it?

(to Jack)

Go on, Jack. Tell him what would
happen.

Jack is silent.

WILLIE

Go on, tell him.

HALE

You're trying to bribe me, aren't you?

WILLIE

No, no. No, I'm not trying to bribe you. I'm... I'm only talking things over with you, that's all.

HALE

You're pretty good at talking. I remember when you first started talking. A place called Upton. You did a lot of talking then and the things you said made sense, to me and a lot of other people. I believed in you... I followed you... and I fought for you. Well, the words are still good. But you're not.

(rises)

And I don't believe you ever were.

He walks out of the room.

WILLIE

(after a pause)

Sugar, follow him. Keep calling in.

Sugar goes, leaving just Jack and Willie. Willie, very drunk, tries to get up but falls against the piano.

WILLIE

(yells)

Lucy!... Lucy!

He staggers up the long stairway. Halfway up he tumbles, groaning. Jack helps him to his feet.

JACK

I'd like Anne to see you now. I'd like Anne to see you now, you drunken sot!

(drags him up the stairs)

Come on.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

NEWSPAPER

Photograph of Helene Hale on front page. Headline reads:

GIRL CRASH VICTIM DIES

Under the photograph there is a caption:

FATHER MYSTERIOUSLY DISAPPEARS AFTER BARING BRIBE OFFER BY
GOVERNOR STARK

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Governor's Mansion, Day

Willie, Jack, and Sugar Boy are accosted by a group of newsmen
as they come down the stairs.

NEWSMEN

What about the girl's father,
Governor? Have you a statement to
make?

WILLIE

All right, all right, gentlemen.
I'll give you a statement. This whole
thing is a mess of lies. It's a frame.
The man that made that statement...
have him repeat it to my face. He
can't. He vanished. Let me ask you
some questions. Where has he gone?
Where is he?

REPORTER

Maybe you could answer those questions
too, Governor.

Sugar Boy makes a move for the reporter but Willie holds him
back.

WILLIE

I won't dignify that question with
an answer.

ANOTHER REPORTER

One more question, Governor... Where's
your son?

WILLIE

At the football stadium, where he's
supposed to be. He's going to play
for State University, which this
administration is responsible for.
He's not hiding from anybody,
gentlemen. He'll be out there in
full view of seventy thousand cheering
fans.

(starts down the stairs)

One of which will be me. See you,
men.

He leaves, followed by Jack and Sugar Boy.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Football Field, Day

The game is in progress and the stands are packed. But there

is no cheering. Instead we hear boos, and shouts for Tom.

CROWD VOICES

Where's Stark? How about Tommy Stark?
Hey, Willie, send your boy in.

Exterior: Willie's Box

Willie, Jack, Sugar Boy, and Lucy are in one box. Sadie and Duffy sit in the adjoining one. Willie is standing up. The crowd continues to heckle him.

WILLIE

Why don't they put him in!

MAN

Come on, Willie... send your boy in.

A drunk comes over to his box.

DRUNK

What's the matter, Willie... is your
little boy ashamed to show his face?

DUFFY

Shut up!

Willie signals angrily to the police.

WILLIE

Get that man out of here! Come on,
get him out of here.

The man is dragged away. The crowd boos, and Willie gets up and leaves the box, followed by Jack.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Stadium Dressing Room, Day

Tom is sitting on one of the massage tables with a towel around his shoulders as Willie and Jack come in. The sound of the boos can still be heard.

WILLIE

They're booing you.

TOM

(holds his head)
Ever since the accident, my head...

WILLIE

The doctor said it was nothing.

TOM

Get dizzy... can't see... dizzy...

WILLIE

You're scared... plain scared.

TOM
(looks up angrily)
Get out of here!

WILLIE
Atta boy... get mad. Show some spirit.
Jack, tell him what his playing means.
Go on, tell him.

JACK
You can never tell about a head
injury. Maybe the boy's hurt.

WILLIE
He's hurt? I'm hurt. It wasn't me
that wrapped that car around the
tree. It wasn't me that got drunk.
But me, I'm takin' the rap.
(softer, to Tom)
Go on, kid. Get out there and play.
Show 'em the kind of stuff a Stark
is made of.

TOM
(coldly)
I wouldn't know.

Enraged, Willie slaps him. Tom fights back, and Jack has to
pull them apart.

JACK
Tom... cut it out!

TOM
(breathing heavily)
All right, I'll play. Now get out of
here.

Camera holds on Tom as Jack and Willie leave. He picks up
his uniform, stops, then rubs his head.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Football Stadium, Day

Tom is on the field. He runs up to the coach.

P.A. ANNOUNCER
Stark's going in!

The boos turn to cheers. The crowd applauds.

Willie signals from his box to the coach. He wants Tom sent
in. Tom runs out on the field and joins the team. The players
are lined up, in position to play. Tom shakes his head, as
if trying to clear it.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Football Stadium, Time Lapse

The crowd yells excitedly. Tom, looking weary, gets the ball and runs with it downfield. Three players tackle him hard and fall on him. A silence falls over the stadium as he fails to get up with the others.

In Willie's box, everyone is standing.

LUCY

Tommy... Tommy... Tommy!

Willie rushes out onto the field and kneels beside Tom as the doctor and stretcher bearers arrive.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Hospital Waiting Room, Night

Lucy and Willie are waiting for news about Tom. Sugar Boy comes in with a paper bag and sets it on a table.

SUGAR BOY

B-b-boss, you gotta eat. You g-g-gotta.

Willie motions him away.

WILLIE

I'm the one that made him play. I sent him in.

LUCY

Sit down, Willie. Please sit down.

WILLIE

I sent him in.

LUCY

What difference does that make now?

Jack comes in.

WILLIE

What goes on?

JACK

There isn't a plane flying.

WILLIE

They gotta fly. This is my son. He's got to live.

Adam Stanton enters.

STANTON

I just got a call from Dr. Birnham. The earliest he can possibly get here will be tomorrow morning.

WILLIE

Isn't there anybody else we can get?

JACK

I still think Dr. Stanton should operate.

STANTON

That's up to Governor Stark. He wanted another doctor... a specialist. I sent for one.

WILLIE

How bad is it really, doctor?

STANTON

He's unconscious... and paralyzed.

Lucy slumps in her chair.

WILLIE

Has he got a chance?

STANTON

To live? Yes.

WILLIE

What do you mean?

STANTON

Even if the operation's successful -- that is, if he lives -- I think he'll be paralyzed for life.

WILLIE

You'll do everything you can, won't you? Anything between you and me.. that won't count, will it? It doesn't have to. Look, doc, anything you want in the world you just ask for it and you got it. Go on, doc... ask for it.

STANTON

(coldly)

There are some things, Governor Stark, that even you can't buy. Do you want me to operate, or don't you?

LUCY

Yes... I want you to operate.

(stands up)

Please, may I see Tom now?

STANTON

Yes.

They leave together.

WILLIE

(to Jack)

How much does the doc know?

JACK

About what?

WILLIE

Oh, you know what I'm talking about.

JACK

About what?

WILLIE

About Anne and me.

JACK

(after a pause)

He doesn't know a thing... not a thing.

Jack turns and walks away.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Hospital, Night

Anne has been waiting outside the hospital. She turns to Jack as he comes out the door.

ANNE

Jack, how is he?

JACK

The boy?

ANNE

Yes.

JACK

He'll live.

ANNE

Oh, thank God. How is --

JACK

Willie?

ANNE

He blames himself, doesn't he?

JACK

(as he walks down the street)

He'll find someone else to blame in a few days.

ANNE

(following him)

Oh, I tried to call here at the hospital, but I just...

They walk together, along the waterfront.

JACK

Anne... Anne, why did you do it?

ANNE

He wasn't like anybody I ever knew before.

JACK

You mean he wasn't like me.

ANNE

He wasn't like anybody I ever knew before. I love him, I guess. I guess that's the reason.

JACK

Everybody loves him.

ANNE

He wants to marry me.

JACK

Are you going to?

ANNE

Not now. It would hurt him. A divorce would hurt his career.

JACK

His career!

ANNE

Jack... Jack, what are you going to do? You can't leave him now. He needs you now more than he ever did before.

JACK

What Willie needs, Willie's got.

ANNE

You don't know him. You've known him all these years and you don't really know him at all.

JACK

What about Adam?

ANNE

Adam?

JACK

Well, you don't have to worry about him. If Adam finds out it'll be easy to prove a Stanton is no different than anybody else.

(gives her the papers
on the Judge)

Just show him these. Willie was

right... a man is conceived in sin
and born in corruption. Even Judge
Stanton. Show them to him, Anne.
Change the picture of the world that
Adam has in his head, just like our
picture of it has been changed.

He grips her by the shoulders.

JACK

Wipe out everything he's ever believed
in. It'll be good for him. There's
no God but Willie Stark. I'm his
prophet and you're his...

(pushes her aside,
then feels sorry and
walks after her)

Oh, Anne... Anne, I'm sorry. I didn't
mean... Anne!

A policeman comes over.

POLICEMAN

What's going on here?

Jack catches up to Anne. He takes her arm and they start to
walk back together.

JACK

It's all right, officer... we both
work for Willie Stark.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

Exterior: Hospital Site, Day

Willie, Anne, Adam, and Jack inspect a construction site.
There are newsmen and photographers present.

WILLIE

(to Adam)

Right over there, that's going to be
the main building... fifteen stories
high, like on the model. Over there,
that's the laboratory. Finest
technical equipment in the world.

STANTON

What are you trying to convince me
of? I've taken the job.

WILLIE

Why?

STANTON

My reasons are my own. Why are you
building a hospital?

WILLIE

To do some good for the people of
the state.

STANTON

And get some votes.

WILLIE

Oh, there are lots of ways to get
votes.

STANTON

Yes, I know... I won't stand for any
interference.

WILLIE

I won't interfere. I may fire you,
but I won't interfere.

STANTON

If that's a threat, you're wasting
your time. You know what I think of
your administration.

WILLIE

Yes, I know. I'll tell you what...
You stay on your side of the fence;
I'll stay on mine. Is that a deal?

They climb up onto the platform, where the newsmen gather
around to take pictures. Willie and Adam shake hands.

JACK

(voice over)

Now he had us all... me, Anne, and
Adam. Now we all worked for him.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

Interior: Projection Room, Day

Willie, Jack, and Sugar Boy are watching a newsreel, similar
in style to the March of Time newsreels. A producer, his
assistant, and two policemen are also in the room.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

And so the eyes of the entire nation
are now focused upon Governor Willie
Stark, an amazing phenomenon on the
American political scene. The whole
state is filled with his
accomplishments -- each of them, of
course, bearing his personal
signature, to make sure that no one
will ever forget who gave them to
the state.

MONTAGE: THE NEWSREEL

Large plaque on side of the highway: THIS BRIDGE WAS BUILT DURING THE FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR STARK. A TOLL BRIDGE STOOD HERE FOR FIFTY YEARS... NOW THE PEOPLE TRAVEL FREE

Camera pans to shot of the bridge.

Plaque over college entrance: STARK COLLEGE... THAT EVERY MAN, WOMAN, OR CHILD, RICH OR POOR, SHALL HAVE AN EDUCATION... WILLIE STARK

Shot of library -- lettering reads WILLIE STARK LIBRARY. KNOWLEDGE BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE Shot of bad road running through dry, barren land.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

This is the way the roads used to be. But there are those who claim that they were adequate for the people's needs, that you don't need a four- or six-lane highway for a horse and buggy.

Shot of horse pulling a plow.

The empty, untraversed STARK HIGHWAY.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

When Stark boasts of his great school system, his critics say: you can't go to school and work in the fields at the same time. And they question the benefit of these projects, charging that the need and the poverty of the people is as great as before.

Shot of large school. Camera cuts to men working in the field, then to ramshackle barn, and to a farmer walking across his rotted cornfield.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

Willie Stark has never forgotten the source of his power: the people who supported him.

Willie talking to the farmers.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

He still keeps in touch with these people of the backwoods, making periodic trips to such places as Kanoma City, now famous as his birthplace...

Willie's official car and escort speeding through a street. Sign reads: KANOMA CITY, BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIE STARK

Shot of Willie having his picture taken with Lucy and Pappy on the porch of the old farm.

Willie mending the fence on the farm. Willie feeding the pigs.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

For those who say that Willie Stark is a man of destiny, there are others who claim that he is a man of evil, a man who cares neither for the people nor the state, but only for his own personal power and ambition.

Willie making a speech to a huge crowd of cheering people.

Willie inspecting his police force.

Willie pounding the desk in the state legislature.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

Obviously, these ambitions go far beyond the boundaries of the state. Just how far, only time will tell. Meanwhile, he is here...

Big close-up of Willie as he delivers a speech.

NARRATOR'S VOICE

...and from the looks of things, he is here to stay. Willie Stark: messiah or dictator?

The picture goes off and the lights in the room come on.

PRODUCER

How do you like it, Governor?

Willie stands and faces the producer.

WILLIE

How many theaters will this play in?

PRODUCER

All over the country.

WILLIE

Hear that, Jack. All over the country.

They start to leave. Willie stops for a moment.

WILLIE

Oh, there's one thing in there I didn't like too well. That messiah or dictator.

PRODUCER

That's our point of view, Governor. And that's the way it stands.

There is a silence. Willie's face is hard. Then he grins.

WILLIE
All right, all right, that's the way
it stands... as of now.

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

NEWSPAPER HEADLINE

STARK BEGINS RE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN
STATEWIDE TOUR STARTS WITH VISIT TO KANOMA CITY

DISSOLVE TO:

EXTERIOR: STARK FARMHOUSE, DAY

Tom and Pappy Stark are seated on the porch. Tom is in a wheelchair. Lucy comes onto the porch as the sound of sirens is heard, and Willie's two cars, motorcycle escort, and the car of reporters turn onto the drive. Tom, upset, flips his cigarette away as the cars stop in front of the porch. Lucy puts her hand on his shoulder to calm him. Then Willie climbs up the steps to greet Lucy.

WILLIE
Hello, Lucy... How are you making
it, Pa?... How are you, Tom?

Tom doesn't answer. Lucy offers her cheek to Willie. Sadie, Jack, and Sugar Boy wait at the bottom of the steps, along with the reporters.

LUCY
I made some refreshments for your
friends. I'll get them.

SADIE
I'll help.

LUCY
(firmly)
No, thank you. Thank you kindly.

JACK
If you don't mind, Mrs. Stark... the
boys have to get back to make the
morning editions.
(to photographers)
Set 'em up on the porch, fellows.
We'll take some pictures out here,
first.

He starts arranging the family for the picture.

JACK
Mrs. Stark, please... All right,
fellows, take one down there, will
you please... Shoot it up this way.

The cameras click.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Stark Farmhouse, Night

Willie is finishing his meal, seated at the table with his family and Jack. Sugar Boy stands behind Willie. Sadie has left the table and is examining the room.

WILLIE

(on the last bite)

You're still a great cook, Lucy.
Great cook.

(gets up)

Well, I guess I better be getting
back to town. Nice to have spent the
day with the family.

(kisses Lucy on the
forehead)

Goodbye, Lucy.
(extends his hand to
Tom)

Tom.

TOM

(ignores the gesture)

Goodbye.

WILLIE

Take care of yourself, Pappy. Oh,
uh... how do you like the new radio
I got you?

(walks over to it)

You know how it works? You can get
police calls on it. Come here, come
here... I'll show you.

Pappy leans over as Willie demonstrates how it works.

WILLIE

This one for police calls up here.

He turns the dial.

POLICE BROADCAST

Car sixty-two, proceed to five-
eighteen Oak Street. Tom Jones beating
his wife again.

Pappy laughs delightedly. He reaches out to turn the dial.

WILLIE

All right, go ahead, go ahead.

ANNOUNCER'S VOICE

We interrupt this program to bring
you a special announcement. This
afternoon, the body of Richard Hale,
father of the girl who died in the

automobile accident involving the governor's son, was found. A medical examination revealed he was beaten to death.

Tom starts to wheel toward Willie, but Lucy restrains him.

ANNOUNCER'S VOICE

The ugly charge of "official murder" has been hurled at the administration by a coalition of Stark's opponents, led by Judge Stanton, lately an outspoken critic of the administration.

WILLIE

(to Jack)

Your friend, the Judge.

ANNOUNCER'S VOICE

Thus an almost forgotten incident provided the spark that might set off the explosion needed to rock Willie Stark out of power. The latest report is that impeachment proceedings may be instituted...

Willie turns off the radio. There is a silence. Then Willie turns to Lucy.

WILLIE

How long will it take you to pack? I want you to go back to Capital City with me tonight.

LUCY

Why?

WILLIE

Because I need you.

TOM

What for?

WILLIE

(still speaking to
Lucy)

I'll explain all of that later. Now, Lucy, do like I say.

JACK

I'll wait outside.

WILLIE

You stay right here, Jack. I want you bear witness to what I've got to say.

LUCY

(indicating Sadie)

She can be a witness too.

SADIE

(starting toward the
door)

I'm going back to the capital and
get hold of Duffy.

WILLIE

You stay right here, Sadie.

SADIE

Somebody's got to go back to the
capital. I'll go in the other car.

WILLIE

All right, then tell Duffy not to do
anything or say anything until I get
there.

SADIE

Yes, Governor.

She leaves.

TOM

Now he needs us. Now that he's in
trouble he needs us, so he can lead
us around like monkeys with rings in
our noses. So he can say to people,
look at me, feel sorry for me...
just a family man with a wife and a
crippled son...

WILLIE

(shouts)

Shut up!

LUCY

Willie!

TOM

Why don't you leave us alone?

Tom wheels himself into his own room. Lucy starts to follow.

WILLIE

Leave him alone. How many scrapes
have I gotten him out of? How many
girls?

LUCY

Willie, stop.

WILLIE

It's not him they're after. It's me.
How many halfwitted apes do you think
I'm going to have to pay to square
this one? What do you think this is
going to cost me?

LUCY
What do you think it cost him?

Suddenly Willie turns his face away.

WILLIE
(in a broken voice)
A man builds for his son. That's all
he builds for.

LUCY
Willie!
(turns and goes into
Tom's room)
Tom... Tom.

Willie looks up at Jack and Pappy.

WILLIE
Give me a drink, Jack.

Jack hands him a bottle and he takes a slug.

WILLIE
She'll go.

Pappy shakes his head.

PAPPY
No good, Willie. No good.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Stark Farmhouse, Night

Pappy stays behind on the porch as Tom is carried in his
wheelchair down the steps and into Willie's car. Lucy follows.
The motorcycle escort leads them away from the farm.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Highway, Night

As the cars speed to Capital City.

Interior: State Legislature, Night

There is great excitement in the assembly room. One senator
steps forward and addresses the speaker of the house.

SENATOR
Mr. Speaker, I offer a house
resolution. Whereas Willie Stark,
governor of this state, has been
guilty of incompetence, corruption,
and favoritism in office -- yes, and
other high crimes -- that he is hereby
impeached, and ordered to be tried
by the senate.

His resolution is met with a mixture of cheers and boos.

Exterior: State Capitol, Night

A huge crowd is gathered outside. Pillsbury, Sadie, and Duffy, waiting with the crowd, step forward as they see Willie's car approach. Newsmen take pictures as Willie gets out of the car.

WILLIE

(as he meets Duffy)

What's the score?

DUFFY

They're lined up against you solid.
They had a meeting.

WILLIE

How do you know? Were you there?

DUFFY

Me? What would I be doing there?

WILLIE

Selling me out.

He starts up the steps of the building.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Willie's Executive Offices, Night

WILLIE

How many votes have we got?

SADIE

(going through some
files)

Eleven.

WILLIE

We need twenty.

DUFFY

We might be able to dig up a few
more.

WILLIE

Yeah. Do you know how?

DUFFY

No.

Willie turns to Jack.

WILLIE

Oh, Jack. Come here. What have you
got in your black book about that
old friend of yours?

JACK

Who do you mean?

WILLIE

You know who I'm talking about...
your old friend, the Judge.

JACK

If and when you need it.

WILLIE

If and when? I need it right now.
He's got four senators wrapped up in
his hip pocket. Come on, come on,
boy... what have you got?

JACK

I'm going to give him a break. If he
can prove it isn't true, I won't
spill it.

WILLIE

I ought to bust you, Jack.

JACK

I promised two people I'd do it this
way.

WILLIE

Who are they?

JACK

Myself... and someone else. It doesn't
matter who. I'm going to give him a
break.

WILLIE

All right, give him a break. But if
you got the facts, you got the facts.
The truth is sufficient... just like
it says in the Bible.

JACK

That's the way it's going to be.

WILLIE

All right, boy... I'll trust you.
Where are you going?

JACK

(on his way out)
I'll be around.

Willie turns to go into his private office.

SADIE

Who else do you think he promised,
Willie?

Willie shrugs.

SADIE

You'd be smart... play square with him. You're going to need people like us around.

WILLIE

(as he shuts his door)
Are you sure?

DISSOLVE TO:

MONTAGE: THE IMPEACHMENT

Willie's car speeding down a road.

Willie, with Lucy and Tom seated behind him, addressing crowd.

Willie speaking from the back of a train to a railroad station audience.

JACK

(voice over)

The chips were down, and Willie knew it. He was fighting for his life. He roared across the state making one speech after another. And all of them added up to the same thing... "It's not me they're after, it's you!"

Close-ups of Willie, speaking to the people.

JACK

(voice over)

Willie hollered foul. Willie knew if you hollered long enough, hard enough, and loud enough, people begin to believe you. Just in case they didn't, he organized spontaneous demonstrations.

Sign on back of a car: FIGHT WITH WILLIE

Crowds carrying signs: WIN WITH WILLIE

Willie talking on the telephone. Sadie listens.

WILLIE

Tell the boys to get the hicks out. Bring 'em in from the sticks, empty the pool halls. Turn 'em out. Turn the yokels out.

More men with WIN WITH WILLIE signs. Man directing crowd from top of bus. Other bus loads of people are seen, all of them bearing signs.

JACK

(voice over)
In case anyone hollered back, he
organized spontaneous slugging. Willie
pulled every trick he ever knew --
and added a few more.

Crowd looks on as two uniformed police drag a man away.
Willie's car waiting. Two thugs talk things over with a man
on his doorstep.

Willie discussing matters with a man in his office. Two cops
stand with him.

Willie and Jack in the car. Sugar Boy drives. It is night.
Sugar Boy drives fast, and has to swerve to avoid colliding
with a truck.

JACK
Hey, Sugar!
(To Willie)
You'll never live to be impeached!

WILLIE
Boy, I'll live to be President...

Jack and Sugar wait in the car as Willie leans out the car
window to talk to a senator. He offers the man a piece of
paper.

WILLIE
I've got fourteen senators to vote
against impeachment. If I win, you're
out of politics.

SENATOR
(refuses to sign)
I'll do whatever the Judge says.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Highway, Night

Willie's car, as it races down the highway.

JACK
(voice over)
And always the trail led to one
place... Burden's Landing... and the
Judge.

Exterior: Ferry to Burden's Landing, Night

Willie's car coming across on the ferry.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Stanton Home, Night

As Willie's car stops and they all get out.

WILLIE

You sure you don't want me to go in with you?

JACK

I'm sure.

WILLIE

Well, hurry it up, boy. We've got places to go.

Jack goes into the house alone.

DISSOLVE TO:

Interior: Judge Stanton's Study, Night

Jack and the Judge are seated opposite each other.

JACK

Judge, I beg you, as a favor to yourself, to me... call up, release your votes.

JUDGE

I made a mistake once, Jack... when I resigned. It was too easy then, just resigning, pulling out. No, Jack, I've made my choice. I have nothing more to lose.

JACK

Judge, you know what Stark is capable of. Think it over. I'll leave now. I'll come back tomorrow and we'll talk about it again. You can give me your answer then.

The door opens and Willie and Sugar Boy enter.

WILLIE

I can't wait until tomorrow. I'm a very impatient man.

JACK

(rising)

I told you not to come in here.

WILLIE

(ignoring him)

Is it true, Judge, that you're behind the impeachment proceedings?

JUDGE

Yes, it's true.

Willie takes a seat in an easy chair.

WILLIE

I wanted to hear you say it with

your own silver tongue.

JUDGE

Well, you've heard it. If that's all you came to hear you could have saved yourself a trip.

Willie picks up a decanter off the table.

WILLIE

Mind if I pour myself a drink? How about you, Judge, will you have one? You better... You're going to need it.

Jack and Judge Stanton remain standing, silently watching Willie.

WILLIE

What'd he say, Jack?

JACK

You'll get your answer tomorrow.

WILLIE

Are you kidding? Did you show it to him, or didn't you?

JUDGE

Show me what?

WILLIE

That's what I figured. Let's get down to cases, Judge. Do you remember a man with the name of Littlepaugh?

The Judge shakes his head. He doesn't.

WILLIE

Remember the Fortune Electric Company?

JUDGE

Of course. I was their counsel for over ten years.

WILLIE

Remember how you got the job?

JACK

How did you find out?

WILLIE

(hands the Judge some papers)

Do you remember how you got the job?

The Judge examines the papers.

WILLIE

You know, Judge, dirt's a funny thing.

Some of it rubs off on everybody.
How did you get the job, Judge?
Blackmail?

JUDGE

(to Jack)

I swear I never even remembered his name. Isn't that remarkable, Jack? I never even remembered his name. It's all so long ago it's hard for me to realize it ever happened.

WILLIE

Yeah. But it did.

JUDGE

Yes, it did. But it's difficult for me to realize it.

JACK

For me too, Judge.

JUDGE

Thanks for that much.

WILLIE

Well, I guess you know what the next move is, don't you?

JUDGE

Yes, I do. Jack Burden. Willie Stark's hatchet man.

JACK

(to Willie)

I asked you... how did you find out?

JUDGE

This would never stand at law, not for a minute. It happened over twenty-five years ago, and you could never get any testimony. Everybody is dead.

WILLIE

Everybody except you, Judge. You're alive. And people think you're a certain kind of man. And you just couldn't bear for people to think otherwise.

JUDGE

Ever since then I... I've done my duty. I... I'm responsible for many good things.

(looks at the papers
again)

But I also did this.

WILLIE

Yes, yes, you did.

JACK

Judge, I beg of you, call and release
your votes, for your sake.

JUDGE

You have tender sensibilities for a
hatchet man.

(goes to the door)

Good night, gentlemen.

WILLIE

How about my answer?

JUDGE

You'll have it in the morning.

WILLIE

I want it tonight.

JUDGE

In the morning. Good night, gentlemen.

There is silence. Then the three men get up to go. The Judge
closes the door behind them.

Interior: Stanton Hallway, Night

As the three men walk to the front door.

JACK

How did you find out?

WILLIE

We've got a lot to do. It's getting
late, Jack. Let's get back to town.

JACK

You know we're through, don't you?

WILLIE

Aw, you don't mean that, boy.

The front door opens, and Adam and Anne come in.

STANTON

What are you doing here?

WILLIE

It's all right, doc. Just here to
discuss some politics with the Judge.

STANTON

Oh, I see.

(starts upstairs)

Well, good night.

WILLIE

Good night.

JACK
(to Anne)
Did you give him --

WILLIE
Wait a minute, Jack --

JACK
Answer me. Did you give --

A shot is fired. They turn and rush into the Judge's study. They find the Judge face downward in his leather chair. Adam and Jack kneel beside him. Willie, holding on tightly to Anne's arm, stands in the doorway. Jack picks up the Judge's pistol and looks at Adam.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: Stanton Home, Night

Jack comes out of the house, followed by Anne and Adam.

STANTON
Aren't you going back with him?

JACK
No.

STANTON
Why not? You belong with him. Jack, how could you have done it? When Anne brought me those papers she told me you promised not to tell Stark until...

JACK
Yeah. I know.
(walks away)
Well, I kept my promise.

Adam looks unbelievably at Anne. She looks away.

STANTON
Anne? Anne?

FADE OUT

FADE IN:

Interior: Jack's Hotel Room (State Capital), Day

Jack looks out the window. A portable radio is blaring out the news.

ANNOUNCER'S VOICE
From all over the state they're streaming in. From the hill country and farms, the lumber camps... by boat, by train, by horse, and on foot. Willie Stark's army.

Through Jack's window we see the street blocked with cars and people, all headed for the State Capitol Building. Anne is in the crowd, trying to get across the street. Seeing Jack in the window, she pushes her way across and enters the hotel. He slams the window shut and comes back into the room.

ANNOUNCER'S VOICE

The state capital is filled with rumors, one of which is that Stark is planning to seize power by force. As commander of the state militia, he has --

Jack turns it off. He goes over to his bed and starts putting clothes into a valise. There is a knock on the door. He ignores it. Another knock.

JACK

Come in. The door's open.

Anne enters.

ANNE

Jack...

JACK

What do you want?

She starts to cry. He grabs her, pulling her face close to his.

JACK

(bitterly)

No, I want to see you cry.

He lets her go and she falls to the bed, sobbing.

JACK

Stop it!

ANNE

I called you. All afternoon I've been calling you.

JACK

I know. I was here.

ANNE

You've got to tell Adam. You've got to see him.

JACK

Tell him what?

ANNE

He knows about me and...

JACK

About you and Willie?

ANNE

(nods)

I tried to explain to him. I... I tried to explain to him that it wasn't the way he thought it was.

JACK

How was it, Anne? You tell me.

ANNE

He hit me, Jack. My own brother... he hit me.

JACK

Your brother is an old-fashioned man. He believes in his sister's honor. Me, I'm a modern man.

(slams clothes into
the valise)

The twentieth-century type. I run.

ANNE

(rises)

I'm frightened, Jack.

JACK

For who? Your brother, or Willie?

ANNE

(quietly)

We're through.

JACK

Who's through with who?

ANNE

He called me this afternoon. He's going back to Lucy. He said it was better that way.

JACK

Better for who? Him.

ANNE

Both of us.

JACK

Did he tell you that too when he asked you to betray the Judge? At least I walked out on him.

ANNE

Oh Jack... help me, please, please. Adam's all I've got left now. Oh, Jack, if you ever loved me...

JACK

If I ever loved you.

(pause)

I'll go find Adam.

He takes up his coat.

DISSOLVE TO:

EXTERIOR: HOSPITAL SITE, DAY

A large billboard. It reads HERE ON THIS SITE WILL BE ERECTED THE GOVERNOR STARK HOSPITAL -- TO HEAL SICKNESS -- TO EASE PAIN -- FREE. NOT AS A CHARITY BUT AS A RIGHT. WILLIE STARK

Adam enters, looks at the sign, and walks on.

Exterior: Street Near Capitol Building, Day

Crowds of people headed toward the building, some with WIN WITH WILLIE signs. A marching band plays music for them.

Exterior: Capitol Building, Day

Crowd waiting outside the building. Mounted policemen keep them in line. From a large platform, loaded with people, comes the chant "We want Willie, we want Willie." Jack pushes his way through the people and speaks to a policeman standing guard on the Capitol steps.

COP

Where do you think you're going?

(recognizes Jack)

Oh, I'm sorry. I didn't recognize you.

JACK

Do you know who Dr. Stanton is?

COP

Yes sir.

JACK

Did he try to come through here today?

COP

Haven't seen him, sir.

JACK

Well, can you check the other entrances?

2ND COP

There's no other entrances today. The other entrances are blocked off. Orders are to take no chances.

COP

If you care to come inside and wait, Mr. Burden, we can find you a seat.

JACK

No, thanks. I'll wait out here. If

Dr. Stanton shows up, let me know.
Pass the word along to the boys,
will you?

COP

Yes sir.

Jack turns and looks at the large crowd. A voice from a public address loudspeaker begins to yell out commands to the crowd.

LOUDSPEAKER

All right now. Everybody... that
means everybody... let's let Willie
know we're here! All together: WE
WANT WILLIE. WE WANT WILLIE.

The chant is picked up enthusiastically by the crowd.

Interior: State Legislature, Day

The speaker is trying to speak over the clamor of the chanting.

SPEAKER

We will first proceed to take the
judgment of the senate on the question
of the impeachment of the governor.

SENATOR

(rising)

Mr. Speaker, this is a farce to ask
us to vote in the face of the kind
of intimidation and pressure that
has been exerted here in the past
few weeks. Even that crowd outside,
yelling on cue, is part of that
pressure.

CROWD NOISE

We want Willie. We want Willie.

Willie gets up, and goes to the window.

Exterior: State Capitol, Day

The crowd, with Jack in the foreground. The crowd suddenly goes wild as they see Willie appear at the window. In the growing darkness he seems only a shadowy figure as he raises his hands to wave to the crowd.

We see various shots of people straining to get a little closer to the steps in order to see him better. Willie then turns and goes back into the room.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: State Capitol, Day

The crowd again, still waiting. The camera pans upward to a loudspeaker.

ANNOUNCER

Attention, please. Attention, please.
This is a special announcement from
Willie Stark to you people out there.
He doesn't want any one of you to
leave...

The camera moves over the faces of the people listening.

ANNOUNCER

He wants you to stay in front of
this state Capitol until the fight
is over. If you want Willie Stark to
win, stay where you are.

They cheer. Camera picks up Jack watching the crowd's
reaction, then up to a plaque over the entrance to the Capitol
Building. It reads THE PEOPLE'S WILL IS THE LAW OF THIS STATE --
GOVERNOR STARK.

ANNOUNCER

Do you hear me... stay where you
are. Don't go away. Stay where you
are. Don't go away.

DISSOLVE TO:

Exterior: State Capitol, Night

Newsmen, photographers stand about, bored. The crowd, every
bit as large, is quiet but expectant. Everyone holds still
as the announcer's voice is heard again.

ANNOUNCER

Attention, please. Attention, please.
The balloting on the impeachment
proceedings against Governor Stark
has just ended. This is the result:
Willie Stark has won.

The crowd explodes. People break through the police barriers.
Mounted policemen ride in quickly to prevent a riot. Camera
picks up Anne in the crowd, trying to push through.

Jack stands on the steps of the Capitol, watching it all.
Suddenly Willie appears at the top of the steps, followed by
Sugar Boy. Sadie, Duffy, Pillsbury follow close behind. Willie
grabs hold of the mike and addresses the suddenly hushed
crowd.

WILLIE

They tried to ruin me. But they are
ruined. They tried to ruin me because
they did not like what I have done.
Do you like what I have done?

Loud applause, and cries of "yes."

WILLIE

Remember, it's not I who have won,
but you. Your will is my strength,
and your need is my justice, and I
shall live in your right and your
will. And if any man tries to stop
me from fulfilling that right and
that will, I'll break him. I'll break
him with my bare hands. For I have
the strength of many.

Having finished, he waves at them all. Then he notices Jack
and comes down the steps to greet him.

WILLIE

Hello, Jack boy, I'm glad you're
here. I knew you'd come back.

He walks back up the steps, his arm around Jack's shoulders.
They start to go into the building that way when Willie sees
someone. He smiles and puts out his hand.

WILLIE

Oh, doctor, I'm very glad to see
you.

Adam is seen, waiting at the entrance of the building. Before
Willie has taken a step Adam fires several shots into him.
Willie falls to the ground and Sugar Boy whips out his pistol
and fires at Adam. Three policemen with tommy guns open fire,
shooting into Adam's already fallen body. Then they turn and
point their guns at the mob of people rushing toward Willie,
forcing them back.

COP

Stand back, everybody. Stand back.

Sugar Boy kneels beside Willie. Sadie stands against a pillar,
looking down on him.

SUGAR BOY

(nearly crying)

D-does it hurt m-much, boss? D-d-
does it hurt much?

Jack looks up to see Anne struggling through the screaming
mob to get to Adam. She looks at Adam for a moment, then
turns away.

JACK

Anne, Anne... Where are you going?

She doesn't answer, only walks away. He runs after her and
catches hold of her arm.

ANNE

I don't know. Leave me alone.

JACK

To do what?

ANNE

I don't care.

JACK

No, that's too easy.

ANNE

I don't know, I don't know, I don't know.

JACK

I do.

ANNE

Leave me alone, please.

JACK

No, no more.

ANNE

He's dead.

JACK

We're alive.

ANNE

My brother's dead.

JACK

We've got to go on living.

ANNE

How?

JACK

So that Adam's death has meaning, so that it wasn't wasted. Anne, our life has to give his death meaning. Don't you see that? Look at those people...

He turns her around so that she can see the crowds still struggling to get a look at Willie.

JACK

Look at them! They still believe in him. And we've got to make them see Willie the way Adam saw him, or there's no meaning in anything... anything.

A policeman approaches.

POLICEMAN

Mr. Burden... the governor's asking for you. You better hurry. He's going fast.

JACK

(to Anne)

Will you wait here?

No reply.

JACK

Will you wait here?

She nods her head slowly. Jack walks through the building to the pillar against which Willie has been propped. Sugar Boy is still beside him. He stands behind Sadie and Duffy, looking down at Willie.

WILLIE

It could have been the whole world,
Willie Stark. The whole world...
Willie Stark. Why did he do it to
me... Willie Stark? Why?

His head droops to the side and he dies.

FADE OUT

THE END